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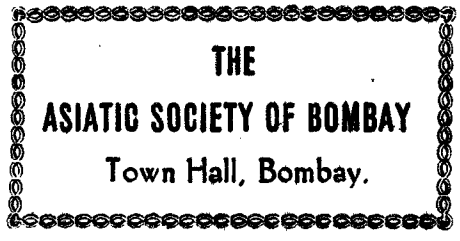

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. I

Three Inscriptions of Kokkarunandadakkar

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No. II

The Huzur Office Plate of Vikramaditya Varaguna

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No. 1. THE HUZUR OFFICE PLATES

The name **Kô=kKarunaṇḍadakkaṇ** was first brought to my notice four years ago by my late Field Assistant, Mr. Gaṇêśa Piḷḷai. He found it in two inscriptions which he discovered at Tiruviḍaikkôḍu and read it then as Kô=kKarunnaṇḍakkar. At that time nothing more could be learnt by him about this king. Some time after I joined my present appointment, a set of six copper-plates were made over to me by the order of the Chief Secretary by Mr. L. Sakhârâm Rao of the Huzur Secretariat. It would appear these plates were lying in a corner of an almirah in the **Huzur Office** for a long time and no one in that office is able to state how or when they happened to go there. The history of the plates remaining unknown, it is at present impossible to trace a few of the plates that are found missing in the set. Of these six plates, one bears on it a complete record of the reign of a sovereign named **Vikramâditya Varaguṇa**(1). One of the remaining **five** plates begins with the inscription of Kô=kKarunandaḍakkaṇ given below; another has the end of a document which appears to be the same as that begun on the first plate. From the subject-matter of the passages contained in the other plates, one can easily assert that they all belong to one and the same inscription. On the whole the writing on the five plates, though obviously belonging to the same record, is fragmentary.

All the plates are engraved on both sides with deeply and neatly cut letters of the **Tamiḻ alphabet**; the **language** of the inscription is also Tamiḻ. There are a few orthographical peculiarities which require special notice here. The vowel *a* has an appearance very nearly similar to the same Dêvanâgari vowel, *minus* the top line: *e. g.*, in *aḍikkaḍi* in *l.* 4, in *agânâḷigai* in *l.* 7, in *aṭṭi*° in *l.* 9, etc., in Pl. I. The other and more ordinary form is used also in some instances, as in *aṭṭiṇa* in *l.* 7, in Pl. I. *anubhavi*° in *l.* 4, Pl. II, *aḍuttôduvadu* in *l.* 8, *añju* in *l.* 12, in Pl. IV., etc. In the formation of the secondary *u* and û, of the consonants *t*, *ṇ*, *n*, *ṟ*, and *l*, a distinct loop, in the part representing these secondary vowels, is formed as in modern writing(2): *e.g. nû* and *tu* in *nûrâyirattu* in *l.* 1, *ṇu* in *Karunandaḍakkaṇukku* in *l.* 2, *ṇû* in *tonṇûṟu* in *l.* 6, *ṟu* in *oṉṟum* in *l.* 10, Pl. I; *lu* in *paḍiṇâlu* in *l.* 4, Pl. IV. In some instances the vertical stroke of *k* curls up as in the Grantha alphabet: *e. g. Kuttukkâṟ*° in *l.* 1, Pl. II. The secondary *ai* in Pl. I, II, IV and V, are formed by prefixing the separate secondary *ai* symbol in the majority of instances, even in such cases as *ṇai*, *lai*, *ḷai* and *ṉai* where the *ai* symbol is different and is generally attached to the consonants themselves; the former form is found, for example, in *ḷai* in *viḷai*, *l.* 4; in *lai* occurring in *Sâlai* in *l.* 6, *kollai* in l. 9, and *talai*° in *l.* 12 in Pl. I; in *ṉai* in *paḍiṇaiñju* in *l.* 13, Pl. I. The latter form of the secondary *ai* is almost exclusively employed in Plate III, even in the cases where the other symbol ought to be used: *e. g.*, in *ṟai* in *poṟai* in *l.* 1, in *ḍai* in °*ruḍaiya* in the same line; *ḷai* in *Iḷâyâṉ* in *l.* 4; in *dai* in *vidai* in *l.* 5, &c. In a single instance the conjunct consonant *ṇṇa* is employed in *uṇṇa* occurring in *l.* 7, Pl. V. The secondary *û* is often formed by the addition of a separate secondary *â* near the secondary *u*: *e. g.*, in *kurâttûr* in *l.* 8, in *irunûṟṟu*° in *l.* 6. In one instance, the secondary *ṉâ* is formed by the addition of that secondary *â* symbol which forms part of the consonant and which occurs in the

(1) This will be published very shortly.

(2 The same peculiarity is observable in other inscriptions of the same period as this inscription.

several Pallava records published by Dr. Hultzsch in his "South Indian Inscriptions;" *e.g.*, in *Iḷavêṇâṭṭunallûr* in *l.* 13, Pl. II. The *puḷḷi* or the sign of *virâma* is employed in a large number of instances in which it is required and very often also where it is not wanted; for instance, it occurs on *m* in *Mâyilaṛai* in *l.* 12, Pl. I, on *n* in *éḻu-nâḷum* in *l.* 6, Pl. II, on Y in *vaiyâkaraṇa*° in *l.* 5, Pl. IV. All Sanskrit words are written in the Grantha alphabet: *e. g., Svasti S'rî* in *l.* 1, Pl. I and V. b, *Vishṇu-bhaṭṭârakarai-pratishṭhai*, *l.* 5, *Pârthivas'ékharapuram* in *l.* 5. *trai-râjya vyavahâram* in *l.* 5, Pl. IV, &c. On the second side of the fifth plate there is a Sanskrit verse and it is written, as in the case of other Sanskrit portions, in the Grantha character.

The writing on Plates I, II and III appear to have been engraved by one person while that on the fourth and fifth plates seems to be the work of a second engraver. This trivial difference in writing might be advanced as a reason against these plates belonging to the same record. But the analysis of the contents of all the plates given below will show clearly that they all really belong to the same record.

The preservation of the inscription is generally good; but the second side of the third plate alone is somewhat corroded; however, a large portion of the writing contained on it could be easily made out from the impression.

The first plate contains the date, the 1449087th **day of the Kali era**, which, the record says, was also the **fifteenth day of the ninth year of the reign** of the King **Karunandaḍakkan**. The inscription informs that this prince gradually purchased from the *sabha* of Miṇchiṛai, the plot of land locally known as the *Uḷakkuḍiviḷai*, fixed its boundaries, erected a temple on it, set up the image of Vishṇu in the temple and named the village round it **Pârthivaśekharapuram**. He also established **a S'alai** (a boarding school) in which arrangements were made to feed ninty-five *Śaṭṭars*. Then the record describes the lands granted for the temple services. The second plate prescribes the duties of the temple servants and of the person employed to supply flowers to the temple. Then comes an enumeration of the lands granted for maintaining the perpetual lamps in the temple. A festival of seven days' duration is required to be celebrated in the month of Paṅguṇi, ending on the day on which the *Vis'âkha nakshatra* falls; that day the deity is to be bathed in the river. The temple servants and the chiefs or elders among the Saṭṭars receive double remuneration during these seven days of the festival. Some land is assigned, from the income of which this festival is ordered to be celebrated. The third plate contains the list of lands granted to meet the pay of the temple servants, such as the *S'ântis'eyvâṉ* (the officiating priest), the *Aganâḷigaippaṇis'eyvâr*, he that mixes the five products of the cow (*Pañcha-gavyam-teḷippâṉ*), the flower supplier and the musicians. The fourth plate enjoins on the people of the various *nâḍus* or countries the duty of protecting the charitable institution, the *S'âlai*. The number of *S'aṭṭars* of the *Bhavishya*, the *Taittiriya* and the *Talavakâra charaṇas* eating in the *S'âlai* shall be 45, 36 and 14 respectively. The remaining plates lay down the rules of conduct of the *S'aṭṭars* and the mode in which they have to proceed with their studies; the procedure in collecting rent from the lands is referred to next. The rules governing the conduct of the temple servants towards the *Śaṭṭars* then follows. At the end of the fifth plate, it is mentioned that S'âttaṉ Muruganṉ *alias* Tengaṉâḍu-kiḻavaṉ and Tiraiyaṉ S'ingaṉ Kuṇṇappôḻaṉ *alias* Ômâyaṉâḍu-kiḻavaṉ were the *âjñapti* and the writer respectively of the document. At the beginning of the second side of the fifth plate there is, as I have already mentioned, a single Sanskrit verse, in praise of a person named S'rîvallabha. A *double entendre* runs throughout the verse, applicable to Vishṇu (the lord of S'rî) and S'rîvallabha. Thus we see from the analysis given above that the contents of plates are obviously portions of the same record; at present it is not quite possible to say how many plates are missing.

In this inscription the name of the King is written unmistakably as Kô = kkaruṇandaḍakkaṇ, which is also clearly the reading of the stone inscriptions at Tiruviḍaikkôḍu. The record is dated the 1449087th day of the Kali era, which, as we have already seen, corresponded with the fifteenth day of the ninth year of the reign of the king. This mode of dating the inscription in the days of the Kali era is rather rare; we have not got more than three or four such instances(3). The day given in the present instance falls in the year 786-7 S' (864-5 A. D). Therefore the date of accession of the king must be 777 S' (855-6 A. D.)

The name Kô-kkarunandaḍakkaṇ belongs to a king hitherto unkown to South Indian Epigraphy; the family of the Yâdavas or Âys to which he belonged, resided in the hilly regions of the Travancore state and was known to the ancient Tamiḻ Literature, but not to Indian history. The discovery of the Huzur Office plates, the stone inscription at Kaḻugumalai of the reign of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṇ mentioning a king of this dynasty, and the Pâḻiyam plates yield some names of the kings of the *Ây-kula*. The earliest known Ây was one Ây-Aṇdiraṇ. He was a subordinate chief ruling over the mountain tracts of Southern Travancore with Aykuḍi as his capital. He was the lord of the Podiya (Malaya) mountain and the garland of *Surappuṉṉai* was peculiar to his dynasty. The Âys were Veḻḻâḻas of the higher social scale, that of the overlords of the farmers of the soil. Aṇḍiraṇ was one of the seven great philanthropists praised in the later Tamiḻ literature; he is said to enrich poets and other learned men with money and other valuables and elephants. He is also described as having won a victory over the kings of the Kongu Country. One curious story related of him is that he obtained from a serpent a fine fabric of blue colour which it obtained by the performance of a severe penance and presented to S'iva seated underneath a banyan tree. His contemporary poets were Muḍa-Môs'iyâr, a resident of the Ênichchêri suburb of Uṟaiyûr, Oḍaikiḻâr of Tuṟaiyûr and Kuṭṭuvaṇ Kîraṇâr.(4)

Another member of this ancient dynasty is Karunandan. This name occurs in an inscription, first discovered by Mr. T. Raghaviah, B.A., P.C.S., in Kaḻugumalai, which runs thus:—

Text (5)

1. S'rî Kô-Mâṟañjaḍaiya[r]-
2. ku yâṇḍu irubattu-
3. muṉṟu [॥ *] avv-âṇḍu Ma-
4. lai-nâṭṭu S'aḍaiyan-
5. Karan[nda]r meṟ—paḍai pô-
6. y Ariviûr—kkôṭṭai (6)
7. aḻittu naṉṟu s'ey-
8. du paṭṭâr Peruṇech-
9. chuṟattu Eṭṭimaṇ—
10. ṇaṉ-âyiṉa Maṅgala Ê-

(3) Epigraphia Carnatica,

(4) Puṟaṇânûṟu, Introduction by Mahâmahôpâdhyâya Svâminâtha Ayyar, p. 2., and Vv. 127—136, 158, 240, 241, 374 and 375.

(5) From impressions prepared by me.

(6) Read Ariviyûrkkôṭṭai. Mr. Venkayya in his An. Rep. on Epigraphy for the year 1908 reads this name as Arividûrkkôṭṭai which is clearly wrong. This place is identified by Mr. T. Ragaviah with Ariyûr about 18 miles N. W. of Kaḻugumalai and 6 miles N. W. of S'ankaranâyanârkôyil. "It is possible that this village was the site of a fort. It lies on the way to the mountain fastness of S'ivagiri and Sêttûr, &c., on the Western ghats from Kaḻugumalai and Śankaranâyanârkôyil."

11. ṉâdî uḷ—[vî] ṭṭuk—kôyi-
12. r—chêvagar = iruvar [11*] avaga (7)
13. ḷil—oruvaṉ—Roṇḍai-
14. nâṭṭu Pûndaṇmali Vi-
15. ṉaiyan—toḷu—S'ûraṉ [l*] oruva-
16. ṉ Pêreyiṟkuyich(8) Chât-
17. ta = Nakkan ivv = iruvarai [yu] -
18. ñ = jârtti irubadin = kaḷa-
19. ñju poṉ perum pûmi a-
20. ṭṭik = kuḍu [t*] tâṉ Kummaṇa-
21. malaikallu Śavaiyâr [k*]ku
22. ..... [ka] ḷ paṭṭam
23. ê..... ṉâdi.

Translation

Ll. 1—2. The twenty-third year of (the reign of) the prosperous king Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (was current).

ll. 3—12. That year when the army marched against S'aḍaiyaṉ—Karana [nda] r of the Malainâḍu, and destroyed the fort of Ariviyûrkkôṭṭai, two servants of Eṭṭimaṇṇaṉ *alias* Maṅgala Êṇâdi (9) of Perunechchuṟam having done well (i.e., distinguished themselves) fell.

ll. 13—17. Of these, one (was) Viṇaiyaṉ-toḷu-S'ûraṉ of Pûndaṇmali in the Toṇḍainâḍu; the other, S'âttan Nakkaṉ of Pêreyiṟkuḍi.

ll. 17—23..... Eṇâdi..... gave to the assembly of Kummaṇamalai-kallu, a land worth twenty *kaḷañjus* of gold, for the merit of (10) these two (deceased) persons. In this inscription the Malainâḍu King is called S'aḍaiyaṉ Karanandaṉ; this double name indicates that Karunandan was the son of S'aḍaiyaṉ. His Pâṇḍya contemporary was Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. From the Huzur office plates we know that his son Karunandaḍakkaṉ ascended the throne in S' 777 (855-6 A.D.) therefore Karunandaṉ, his father, must have lived prior to 855 A.D. We know from other sources that Varaguṇa Mahârâja (or Pâṇḍya) ascended the throne in 862 A. D.; the predecessor of Varaguṇa, therefore, must be the Pâṇḍya contemporary of S'aḍaiyaṉ Karunandar: the Kaḷugumalai inscription calls the former a Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. The Kaḷugumalai inscription informs us that this Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ undertook an expedition in the 23rd year of his reign against the King of Malainâḍu and destroyed the Ariviyûrkkôṭṭai.

The compound Karunandaḍakkaṉ is made up of Karunandaṉ and Aḍakkaṉ and means Aḍakkaṉ, son of Karunandaṉ. He ascended the throne, as we have already seen, in the year 855 A.D. He was the builder of the Vishṇu temple at Pârthivas'êkharapuram. He must be the contemporary of the Pâṇḍya king Varaguṇa. The Sanskrit verse at the end of the Huzur Office plates informs us that S'rîvallabha who was born to Nanda of the Yâdava race, ennobled it, as the Lord of S'rî, that is, Krishṇa, did before. Karunandaḍakkaṉ therefore must have

(7) Read *avargalil*.

(8) Read Pêreyirkuḍi.

(9) *Ênâdi* corresponds to the European knighthood. The recipient of this honour must be the commander of an army and must have distinguished himself in the battlefield. The king adorns such a worthy soldier with a signet ring and confers upon him the title of Eṇâdi. See the commentary on the 8 Sûtra of Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, Poruḷadigâram, Tolkâppiyam. Of the 63 Saiva devotees one was a Êṇâdi and was known as Êṇâdinâyanâr.

(10) Literally, "for or in the name of", see foot-note 1, p. 135, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII.

borne the name S'rîvallabha. Two of his officers were S'âttaṉ Murugaṉ *alias* Teṅga-nâḍu-kiḻavaṉ and S'ingaṉ Kuṉṟappôḻaṉ *alias* Omâyânaḍukiḻavaṉ.

From the facts discussed above we might draw the following table of Synchronism between the Pâṇḍyas and the Âys :—

Âys.	*Pâṇḍyas.*
1. S'aḍaiyaṉ	
2. Karunandan	Mâṟaṉjaḍaiyaṉ
3. Aḍakkaṉ *alias* S'rîvallabha (855 A. D.)	Varaguṇa Pâṇḍya (862 A. D).

The inscription is interesting in several other ways. For instance, we see that when the king wanted some land for building a temple, he gradually acquired it by granting in exchange others ; in this matter (as perhaps in all others) he does not conduct himself like the proverbial eastern despot by taking away the land whether the party wills or not. Again the rules for the study of the vêdas in the boarding school established by the king are, some of them, curious. It is stated, among other things, that misbehaviour among S'aṭṭars is punishable by fine and loss of meals in the S'âlai ; they shall not injure each other with weapons, nor shallthey carry weapons within the places of congregation. Again, they shall not keep their concubines (or female servants) in their quarters. The document employs several words which are found in a few early Tamiḻ works alone, *e.g. tuḍavai*, (a garden), *tuḍavar* (the Todas) etc.

The following are the names of places that occur in the inscription :—Muḍâla-nâḍu, Pas'unguḻam, Miṉchiṟai. Poḻis'ûḻ-nâḍu, Kurâttûr, S'engaḻunâḍu, Kuṉṟattûr, Vaḻḻuvanâḍu, Tenganâḍu, Viḻappil, Iḻavêṇaṭṭunâllûr, Paṇaiyûr, Omâyanâḍu, S'irumaṇṇûr, Mînachchi S'iṟuguṇḍûr, Arumuṇai Âḍaṇûr, Mâttûr, Pâḍaippânâḍu, Pâkkôḍu and Pâppigaikkôḍu. Of these Muḍâlanâḍu takes its name from Miḍâlam ; Pas'unguḻam is the modern Paingulam, a mile south of Pârthivapuram. Miṉchiṟai is the modern Muñjire two miles north of Pârthivapuram. Poḻis'ûḻnâḍu seems to derive its name from the ancient form of the modern Poḻiyûr. One of the inscriptions at Tirunandikkarai mentions the Râjarâja-ten-Vaḻḻuvanâḍu ; this is perhaps the Vaḻḻuvanâḍu that is meant in our inscription. For, the inscription referred to above states that Muṭṭam (*mod*-Eraniel) which is not far from Pârthivapuram was in the Vaḻḻuvanâḍu. There is on the sea coast, very near Pârthivapuram a place, named Têṅgâpaṭṭaṇam. Perhaps this village gave the name Tenganâḍu to the country round it. Mînachchi is perhaps the modern Mînachchil. An inscription in the Vishṇu temple at Talaikkuḻam mentions Paḍaippânâḍu, which seems to be somewhere near Eraniel. Viḻappil seems to be like all the places identified above, situated in South Travancore. I am not able to identify the rest of the places.

Text (11).

First Plate : First Side.

1. ஷஷ்ஹி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கலியுகக்கோட்டுநாள் பதினன்கு நூறுயிரத்து நாற்பத்து ஒன்பதி-ஞ்யிரத்து எண்ப-
2. த்து ஏழு சென்றநாள் [॥ *] ஷஷ்ஹி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கோக்கரு நந்தடக்கனுக்கு யாண்டு ஒன்பது நாள் பதினைஞ்சு [। *] இ-
3. ந்நாளால் முடாலநாட்டுப் பசுங்குளத்துப்படுநிலத்தில் முன்சிறைச்சவையாருடைய உழக்குடி-

(11) From impressions prepared by the Superintendent of the Government Press, Trivandram.

4. [வி]ளை என்னுநிலம் இவகளுக்கு அடிக்கடி நிலங்குடுத்து மாறிக்கொண்டு இந்நி லம் பிடிசூ-

5. ழ்ந்து ஸ்ரீகோயில் எடுத்து விஷ்ணுலோகம் கரை வரதிஷ்டை செய்து வாத்ஸவ- ஸ்வாமிகளே எ-

6. ன்று பேர் இட்டு காந்தளூர் சயசூ[ர]ஹியால் தொண்ணூற்று ஐவர் சட்டர்க்குசா லையுஞ் செய்தா-

7. ன் ஸ்ரீ கோக்கரு நந்தடக்கன் [||*] அகநாழிகைச்சென்னடைக்கு அட்டினபூமி பொழிசூழ் நாட்டு குராத்-

First Plate: Second Side.

8. தூரில் இடைக்குராத்தூர் வயலுங்கரையும் உண்ணிலம் ஒழிவின்றி மேற்பாதி மீதா ட்சி உள்ளட-

9. ங்க அட்டிங் குடுத்தான் [||*] செங்கழுநாட்டு ஐம்மாக்கொல்லை மேற்கொல்லை வய லுள் வெஞ்சைக்குளத்தின்

10. கீழ் வெஞ்சைப்பொறை தடி ஒன்றும் [|*] சாயறைக்கலம்பாடு தடி மூன்றும் [|*] நெடுமம[ட்]குளத்தின் கீழ்-

11. ரியறை தடி ஒன்றும் [|*] கொற்றனறை தடி ஒன்றும் [|*] குளவறை தடி ஒன்று- ம் [|*] நீரறை தடி ஒன்-

12. று [|*] மாயிலறை தடி ஒன்றும் [|*] தலைவிலைச்செய் தடி இரண்டும் [|*] எருமை- யறையுந் துடவர் இரண்டே-

13. ற்றித்தடி மூன்றும் [|*] பகைதொங்கன் தடி ஒன்றும் [|*] ஏற்றித்தடி பதினைஞ்சு [|*] விதை மடைப்பள்ளி நா-

14. [ழி]யால் ஆயிரத்து இருநூற்று நாழியுங் காராண்மை மீதாட்சி உள்ளடங்க [உரு ?] அட்டிக்குடுத்தன [||*] வள்ளு. . . . . .

Second Plate: First Side.

1. பணி குத்துக்காற் படாது செய்விப்பது [||*] அகநாழிகைப் பணிசெய்வார் படா ரை ஆட்டப் பொழுதிற் பங்கிரு குடநீராக முப்ப-

2. [த்த] று குடநீர் குடுப்பது [||*] பூ இடுவான் குணந்த பூ இண்டையுமாலையுங் கட் டிக் குறைவறக் குடுப்பது [||*] நொந்தாவிளக்கினுக்காக மெ-

3. துகின் மேற்பாற் கீழூரில் நெடுமண்ணெண்ணுந்தோட்டம் தென்னூட்டுக் கோனுயின சடையந்தனிச் செய்கெ சந்ததி சந்த-

4. தியேய் கீழ்ப்பாதி அணுஹவிப்பதாகக் காரா [ண்ணை]மபாகவு மேற்பாதி நந்தாவிள க்கினுக்குமாக அட்டிக்குடுத்தான் [||*]

5. விழாப்புறமாக ஏழுநாடிருவிழாச்செய்து பங்குனி வியாகம: ஆறுடுவதாகவும் [||*] சட்டப்பெருமக்களும் பணிமக்க-

6. ளும் ஏழுநாளும் படி இரட்டி ஆணியம் பெறுவதாகவு [||*] மற்றும் விழாவினுக்- குவேண்டுவதுக்குமாக அட்டின பூ-

7. மி மெதுகின் மேற்பாதி கீழூர் பெருங்குளத்தின் கீழ் ஆதனறை இளவாதனறை தலைத்துடவை மஞ்சாடி யரைப-

8. னையறை செத்தறை தடி இரண்டேற்றித்தடி ஏழு [|*] விதை எண்ணூற்று நாற்- பதினுழி [||*] இவை தென்னூட்டுக்கோனுயின[ச]-

I.a.

I.b.

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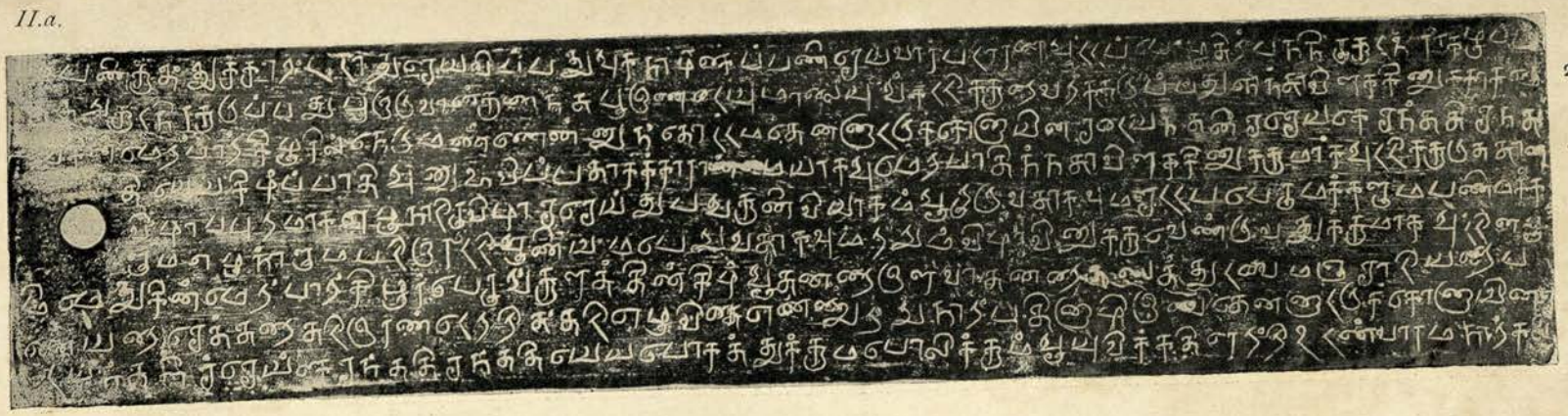
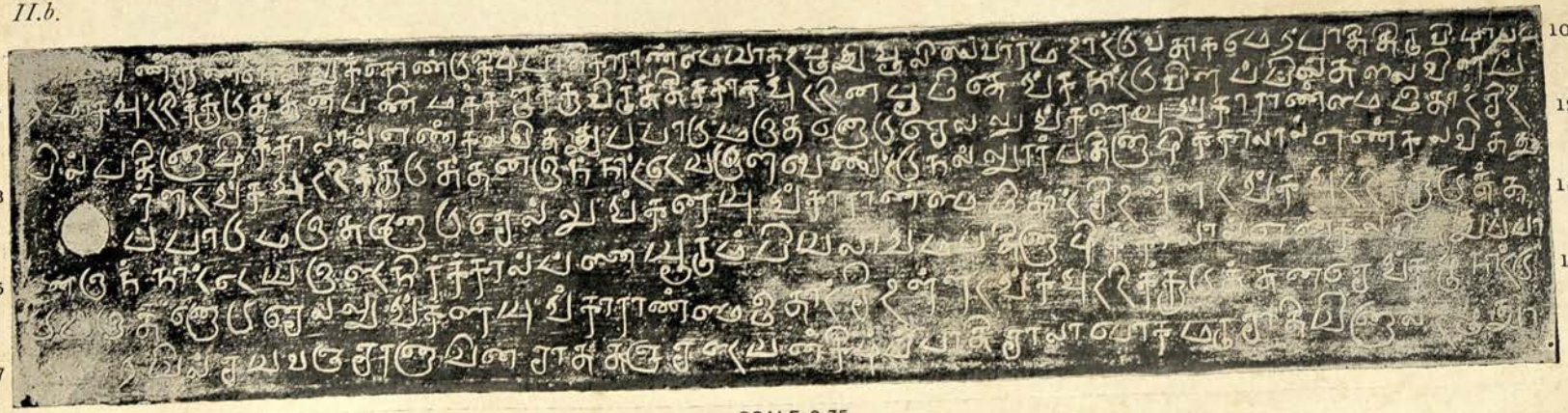
II.a.



II.b.



SCALE 0·75

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9. டையந்தனிச்செய்கை சந்ததி சந்ததியேய் போகத்துக்கும் பொலிக்கும் ஆயுவிக்கதி
ரேற்றி உடன்வாரம் நாற்கல-

Second Plate: Second Side.

10. னேய் எண்குறுணி நெல்லுக்கொண்டு கீழ்பாதி காராண்மையாக உழுது ஆலிலை-
வாரம் ஊட்டுவதாக மேற்பாதி திருவிழாப்பு-
11. றமாக அட்டிக்குடுத்தன [॥ *] பணி மக்களுக்கு விருத்திக்காக அட்டின பூமி தெங்-
க நாட்டு விளப்பில் தலைவிளப்-
12. பில் பதினுழிக்காலால் எண்கல வித்துப்பாடும் இதனோடு செல்லுங்கரையுங்காரா
ண்மை மீதாட்சி உ-
13. ள்ளடங்க அட்டிக்குடுத்தன [॥ *] இந்நாட்டேய் இளவேணாட்டுநல்லூர் பதினுழிக்
காலால் எண்கல வித்து-
14. ப்பாடும் இதனோடு செல்லுங் கரையுங் காராண்மை மீதாட்சி உள்ளடங்க அட்டி-
க் குடுத்த-
15. ன [॥ *] இந்நாட்டேய் இடைநீர்க்கால் பனையூரும் பியலாறும் பதினுழிக்காலால்
எண்கல வித்துப்பா-
16. டும் இதனோடு செல்லுங் கரையுங் காராண்மை மீதாட்சி உள்ளடங்க அட்டிக்குடுத்
தன [॥ *] செங்கழுநாட்டு-
17. ப்பாறயில் சயவஞ்சரனுயின சாத்தஞ்சடையன் கீழ்ப்பாதி சாலாபோகமருசாதியி
னுல் (12) உழுதூ-

Third Plate: First Side.

1. ல் காஞ்சிரங்குளத்தின் கீழ் கீழப்பொறை தடி ஒன்று விதைகலம் [॥ *] செங்கழு
னூட்டுக் குன்றத்தூருடைய குமாரசுவாமி-
2. பட்டன் முடாலநாட்டுக்கீழ்குளத்து வயலுள்தான் பிரமதேயம் பெற்றுடைய நிலத்
தில் அட்டினபூமி கடலங்குளத்தா-
3. லும் இலைஞ்சக்குளத்தாலும் நீர் பெறுவன எருவிச்செய் தடி ஏழு [। *] விதை பதி
னுழிக்காலால் இருகலம் [॥ *] ஓமாயனூட்-
4. டுச்சிறுமண்ணூர் இளையான் கண்டன் தாங்கள் கீழ்ப்பாதி உழுதூட்டுவதாக அட்
டின பூமி சிறும-
5. ண்ணூர் பொன்னறைக்கலம் பாட்டு வயலுள் பொன்னறை தடி ஒன்று [। *] விதை
கலனேய் தூணி ஏற்றிப்ப-
6. ணி மக்களுக்கு விருத்திக்காக அட்டி முதலாயின பூமி முப்பத்தெண்கலனேயிரு-
கு [று *] ணி [॥ *] இதனுள் சாந்தி செய்வானு-
7. க்கு விருத்திக்காக அடுத்த பூமி மீனச்சிச்சிறு குண்டோரா (13)குளத்தின் கீழ் குரு-
ந்தறை பரனியறை பலாவனறைக்கலம்பா-

Third Plate: Second Side.

8. டு [புளி] யறைக்கலம்பாடு.....யறைக்கலம்பாடு ஊற்றுத்தடி ஆயினியறை ஏற்
றிதடி பத்து [। *] விதை....[முப்பத்] .....

(12) A corrupt form of *maryádá* or *mariyádai*, see Pl. IV, *l.* 1, where the word occurs once again.

(13) Is it குண்ரோர் ?

9. [ட்டு]க்க· சிா···ப[ன்னிரு] கு[று*]ணியும் சிறுகொல் கீழ்ப்பொறை விதை கலமும் ஏற்றி ஐங் [கலனே] ய் பந்நிருகு-

10. [று*] ணிப்பாடும் [குடு] த்தன [||*] அகநாழிப்பணி நாலுக்குமாக ஈயானஞ்சுவா னுக்குங்குமரங்கண்டனுக்கும் [உருத்திர].....

11. .....எண்கல விதைப்பாடும் இதனே[னு]டு செல்லுங்கரையும் அட்டிக்குடுத்தது [||*] வஞ்சகாவ்ய- (14.)

12. [ந்] தெளிப்பானுக்கு. தெதிகீழ்குளத்து எருவிச்செய் தடி ஏழு [|*] விதை இருகல மும் அடுத்தன [||*] பூ இடுவான் ஒரு-

13. வனுக்கு விருத்தி [|*] [அரு]முனை ஆதனூர் வயலுள்படைப்பறைம [ருண]றை மாத்தூ[ர்] வயலுள் பராயறையிற் கிழக்கி-

14. ன் [கூ]றும் ஏற்றி விதை இருகலமும் அடுத்தன [||*] தட்டழி மத்தளி கரடிகை தாளங் காகளம் ஏற்றி எட்டுப்பணி-

Fourth Plate: First Side.

1. மாயநாட்டாரும் செங்கழுநாட்டாரு முடாலநாட்டாரும் படைப்பாநாட்டாரும் வ- ள்ளுவநாட்டாரும் அறமருசாதிகாக்கும்(15.) பரிசினு-

2. ற்காப்பது [||*] இச்சாலைக்குப் பெய்தகலத்தில் பவிழிய சரணத்தார் உடைய கலம் நாற்பத்-

3. தைந்து [||*] தயித்திரியச் சரணத்தார் உடைய கலமுப்பத்தாறு [||*] தலவகார சரணத்தார் உடைய

4. கலம் பதினாலு [||*] இனிவருங்கலமூன்று சரணத்தார்க்கும் ஒப்பது [||*] ப்ரவெ ஶகஞ் செய்யு-

5. ம் பரிசு வையாகரண மீமாயப்புரோஹிதப்புன்பாய் புவிஸூம் இலன் த்ரைராஜ்ய வ்யவஹா-

6. ரத்துக்கு வேண்டும் ஒத்துடையன் இது ஸத்யம் என்று ஐவர் சட்டரைக்கொண்டு பஞ்சக்க-

7. ஞ்செய்தான் புகவுபெறுவான் [||*] வாரம் ஒதும் பரிசு சூத்திரத்திலுஞ் சூத்திரார ணத்தி-

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

8. லுந்துருச்சொல்லி ஒன்பது புகவினில் இரண்டு கிரமவாரம் அடுத்தோதுவது (15a) [||*] சாகையிலுங்-

9. கற்பத்திலுங் கணத்திலுந்துருச் சொல்லி ஒன்பது புகவினில் இரண்டு வாரம் அடுத் தோதுவது [||*] நா-

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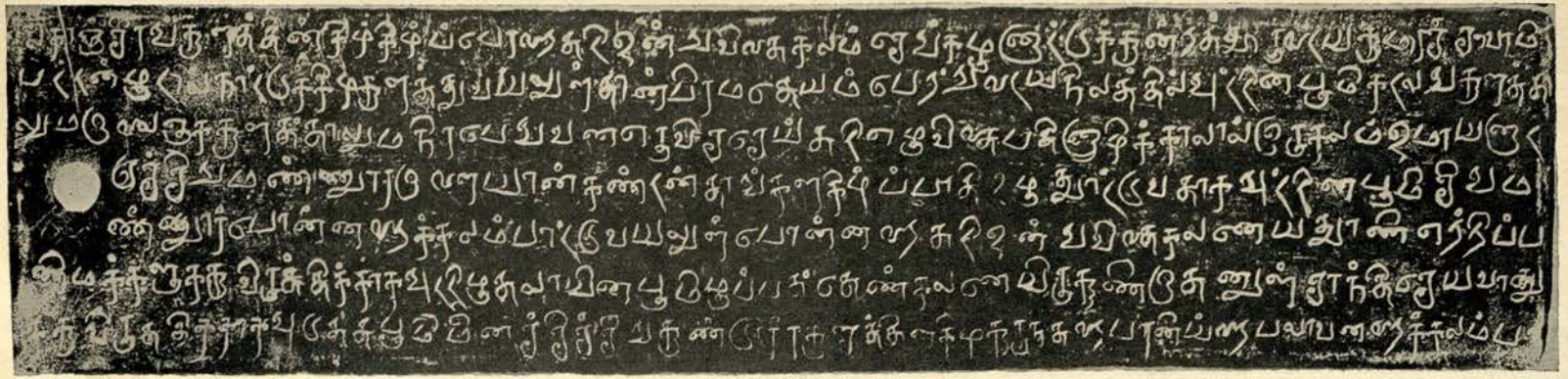
(14) Read *pañchagavyam.*

(15) Cf. *l.* 17, Pl. II, b.

(15 a) A passage similar to this occurs in an inscription in the Srîmûlanâthasvâmin temple at Mêlappâḷayam, a suburb of Ambâsamudram: it runs thus:— ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ சோழன்றலை கொண்ட கோவீர பாண்டியற்கு யாண்டு நாலு இதனெதிர் நாலு இவ்வாண்டு முள்ளிநாட்டு ப்பிரம்மதேயம் இளங் கோய்க் குடித்திருச்சாலைத் துறைநின்றருளின எம்பெருமானுக்கு ஸ்ரீ கரணத் திருச்சித்திரகூடத்திலிரு ந்து முப்பத்திரண்டு அச்சைஉம் ஐஞ்சு வாரமுமோதி தானம் புக்கார் தன்[நோ ?] சோதிநாள்மை காட்டுண்பதாக .....

III. a.



III. b.

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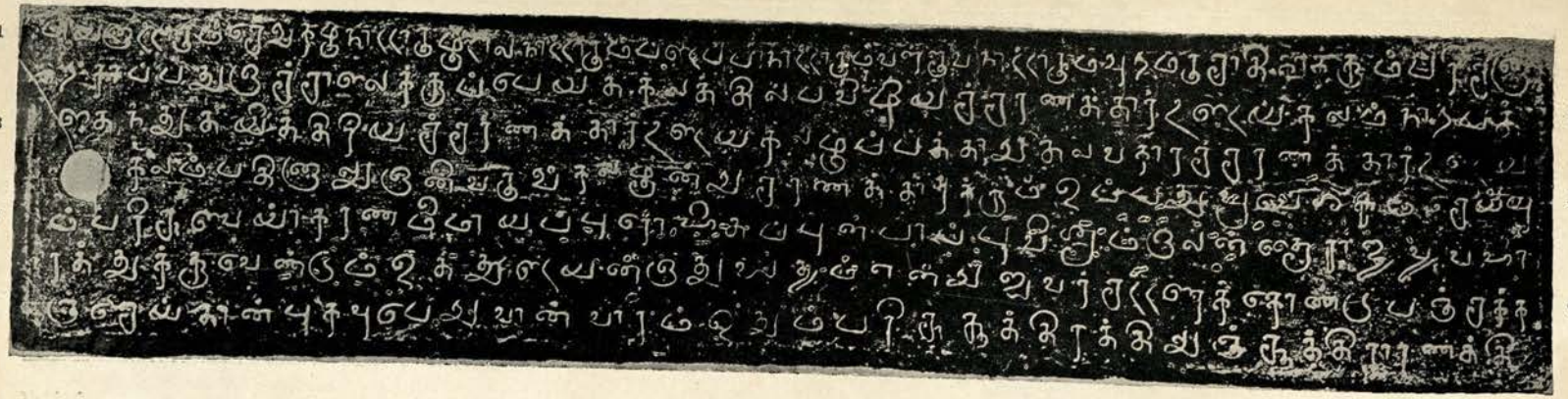
IV.a.



IV.b.

SCALE 0·75

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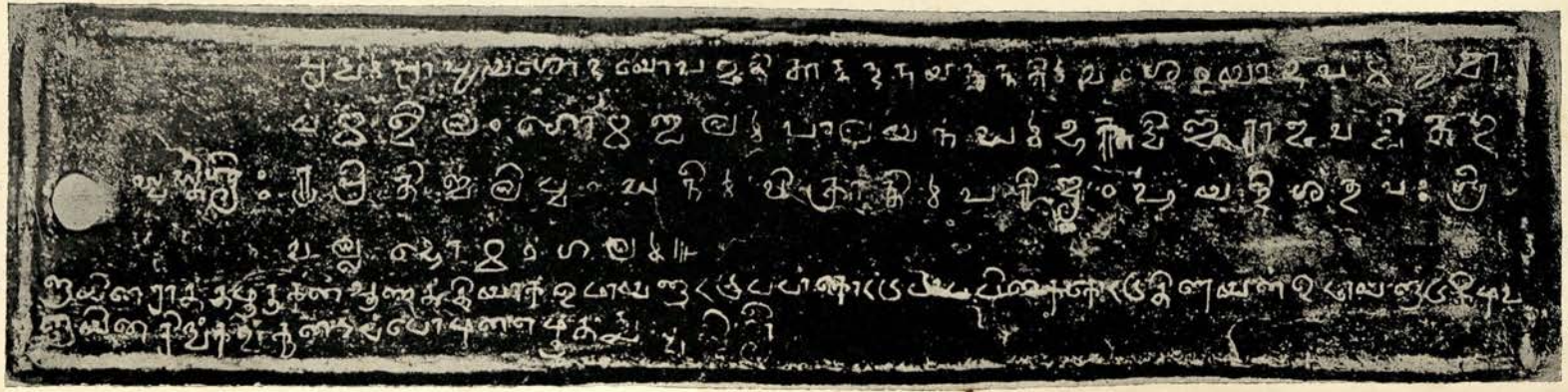
V.a.

V.b.



SCALE 0.75

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10. ஜபாதத்திலுந் துருச்சொல்லி ஒன்பது புகவினில் அகத்தூஹத்தில் இரண்டு வாரம் அடித்தோதாது-
11. வது [||*] முக்கால் வட்டத்துவைத்து ஒரு சட்டனை ஒரு சட்டன் பிழைக்கப் பேசு-வானையில் பெருமக்க-
12. ளுக்கு அஞ்சுகாணம் பொன்றண்டம் இட்டுச்சாலை உண்பது [||*] குட்டுவானையில் ஒரு காசு தண்டம் இட்டு சாலை-
13. உண்பது [||*] குட்டுண்டானும் அஞ்சு காணம் பொன்றண்டம் இட்டு சாலை உண்பது [||*] படைக்கலத்தால் புண்செ-
14. ய்தான் அறத்துக்குப் புறத்தனுவது [||*] சட்டர் படைக்கலம் பிடித்துக் குட்டத்துக்கு செல்லப் பெறார் [||*] சட்ட-

Fifth Plate: First Side.

1. . . யிலகப்பட்ட எச்சூது முக்கால்வட்டத்திருந்து பொரப்பெறார் [||*] பொருவார் அற்றைக்கலம் இழப்பது [||*] சட்டர் வெ[ள்]-
2. ளாட்டிகளை மடத்தில் வைத்துக்கொள்ளப்பெறார் [||*] சாலாபோகமுந் தேவதான மும் சத்திமுகம் இன்றி விலக்கப் பெறார் [||*] வில-
3. க்குவார் மெய்வேற்றுவகை [16] ஐங்கழைந்து[17] பொன் தண்டம் இட்டன்றிச் சாலை உண்ணப்பெறார் [||*] சாலாபோகத்திலுந் தேவ-
4. தானத்தில[ங்]குடியை வலியக்கொண்ட முதல் ஒன்றுக்குப்பத்தாகக் குடுப்பது [||*] சவைக்கடமை கடவார் பக்க-
5. ல் மூன்று சரணத்திலு மூவர் சென்று புக்கது பாடாவது [||*] பாடி[ப்]போகில் ஐம் பத்துநாலு காணம் பொன்த-
6. ண்டமும் பட்டு கடமையுங் குடுப்பது [||*] தேவர் சென்னடையும் பதினழிச்சாலை யும் எவ்வழக்கு சொல்லியும் வி-
7. லக்கப்பெறார் [||*] விலக்குவார் நி[ய]தி கழஞ்சு பொன்தண்டம் இட்டன்றிச்சாலை உண்ணப்பெறார் [||*] பணிமக்கள் சட்டரை-
8. ப்பிழைக்கப் பேசுவார் ஒருகாசு தண்டப்படுவது [||*] இப்பரிசு தெங்நாட்டு வெண்ணீர் வெள்ளாளன் தெங்நாடுகிழவ-

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

9. स्वस्ति श्रीः । [॥*] वृद्धिम् प्राप्य यशोदयोपज[नि]तानन्दन्नुन्नतिम् वंशं यादव मप्यबा-
10. धमखिलं गोमण्डलम् पालयन् [।*] संभ[क्ति]द्विजराजवर्द्धितगु-
11. रुप्रीतिर्बलिध्वंसनोम् विक्रान्तिम् परिबृंहयन्दिशतु वः श्री-
12. वल्लभो मंगलम् ॥—
13. ஞுயின சாத்தமுருகன் ஆணத்தியாக ஓமாயனூட்டுப்பா கோட்டுபாப்பிகைகோட்டு திரையன் ஓமாயனூடு கிழவ-
14. ஞுயின சிங்கங்குன்றப்போழன் எடுத்து [||*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*]

(16) Read வெவ்வேற்று வகை.

(17) *Kalaindu* is perhaps another form of the Tamil word *Kalañju*.

Translation

Hail Prosperity! The fourteen hundred-thousand,(18) forty nine thousand and eighty-seventh day having expired after the beginning of the Kali Yuga. Hail Prosperity! The fifteenth day of the ninth year of (the reign of) the king Karunandaḍakkaṉ (being current): on this day, having acquired gradually from the Sabha of Miṉchiṟai, by granting other lands in exchange for the (plot of) land known as Uḷakkuḍiviḷai which belonged to them; letting (loose) an elephant round the land (for marking its boundary) (20); raising on it a beautiful temple; setting in the temple (the image of) Vishṇubhaṭṭâraka and calling (the village) Pârthivas'êkharapuram, the King S'rî Karunandaḍakkaṉ made (established), in conformity with the rules (21) of Kândaḷûr, a *s'âlai* (22) for ninty-five *s'aṭṭars*.

The lands that are granted for the expenses of the temple (23) are:—(the village of) Iḍaikkurâttûr in the Kurâttûr-nâḍu belonging to the Poḷisûḷ-nâḍu, without any exclusion of the lands comprised in it, together with the taxes including the *mêṟpâḍi* (24) and *mîdâṭchi*; (25) Veñjaippoṟai (of the extent of) one *taḍi*, situated in the Mêrkollaivayal under the Veñjaikkuḷam, in the Aimmâkkollai belonging to the S'engaḷunâḍu, (26) S'âyaṟai (having the capacity to grow) three *kalams* (of seed) (27) and of (the extent of a *taḍi*; Nariyaṟai (of) one *taḍi*, under the Neḍunguḷam (tank); Koṟṟaṉaṟai, (of) one *taḍi*; Kuḷavaṟai (of) one *taḍi*; Nîraṟai (of) one *taḍi*; Mâyilaṟai (of) one *taḍi*; Taḷaivilaichchey (of) two *taḍis*; Erumaiyaṟai, together with the two

(18) The Tamiḷ expression for a lakh.

(19) *Kôḍu* generally means a long bent article, such as a horn, a branch of a tree, a curved trumpet, etc., and the summit of a mountain. It is also employed to mean a limit, boundary, etc. It is in this last sense that the word seems to have been used here; it has been rendered here as the beginning (or the limit) of the Kali Yuga.

(20) This is an ancient custom, in which a she-elephant is let loose; as it wanders about and finally returns home, the route traced by it is marked and the area included in it is granted for some charitable purpose. Compare, "*Karîṇîparikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sîmâ-chatushṭayam*" in *l.* 85 and "*piḍi śâḷindu piḍâgai naḍandu ellai terittu*" in *ll.* 175 and 339 of the large Leiden grant, "*piḍinaḍatta-ppiḍi naḍandapaḍikku aṟavôlai seyḍu*" in *l.* 1, V b, and, *muṉbu tuḍanginav=iḍattilpiḍi niṉṟadu*" in *l.*12, XI. b, of the Tiruppûvaṇam grant.

(21) The term *maryâda* means *limit, boundary, custom* or *a rule of society*. The phrase *Kândaḷûr-maryâdai* is employed in some other inscriptions also.

(22) *Śâlai* means a public institution of a charitable nature; *e. g.*, *aṟachchâlai*, a feeding house, *âṭular sâlai*, an asylum for indigent persons, etc. compare, "திருவழுந்தூர் காட்டுத் தேவூர் தேவருடையாக் வெளாந்து உஞ்தி[ஒ] திநியாகாக வீராடராசக் செய்வித்த ஆதுலசாலைக்கு" (Tiruppugalûr) "தெற்குன்றத்து தெற்குன்றங்கீழார் அரயங் கருவுணுடகராண ளைப்பாளராஜர் செய்வித்த சாலைக்கு.....இச்சாலை உண்கைக்கு ஆவநூதாரம் ஐராஹ்மணர் பங்கிருவர் உண்கைக்கு இறைலிசெய்து குடுத்து..... (Ibid). It is the *tadbhava* of Sans. *Śâlâ*.

(23) *Aganâḷigai* is the same as *Uṇṇâḷigai* of the East Coast. It appears to mean the central shrine; for, compare "இத்தேவர் திருவண்ணுழிகையில் மெலுபுர ஹத்தில் நின்று ..... வஞ்ராஜிவ[வ]ல் இரவும் பகலும் நியதம் உரிய்செய்யால் முட்டாமே எரிவதாக வைச்ச திருகொந்தா விளக்கு ஒன்று" (Suchîndram). *Tiruvuṇṇâḷigai—pradakshaṇam* means the innermost circuit in the temple.

(24) The produce of land seems to have been divided into two halves, the *mêṟpâḍi* and the *Kîḻpâḍi*, perhaps divided between the landlord and the tenant. In the Tanjore and Trichinopoly district there occur the terms *mêlvâram*; *kuḍivâram*, &c.

(25) *Mîdâṭchi* is a variant of *Miyâṭchi* and means literally *ruling over*: perhaps it means the *overlordship* of the land.

(26) In a fragmentary inscription at Muttaḷakkurichchi there occurs a mention of this *nâḍu*.

(27) This is a method of expressing the extent of land commonly occurring in the Tinnevelly District and the Travancore State. The quantity of seed that could be sown gives the measure, but it must vary with the fertility of the soil. Hence in all the instances mentioned in our record, the extent as expressed in terms of the *taḍi* (the actual linear and square measure) differs from that of the seed-growing standard in several instances.

(*taḍis*) of Tuḍavar, (28) three *taḍis*; Pagaitoṅgaṉ, one *taḍi*; altogether, (29) *taḍis* fifteen, (30) and (of capacity to grow) one thousand and two hundred of the *nâḻis* used in the temple kitchen; (this extent of land) was granted inclusive of the *kârâṇmai* (31) and *mîdâṭchi*. In Vâḻḻuvanâḍu.....

The business shall be done without obstruction. Those that serve in the *adytum* (*aganâḻigai*) shall bring for bathing the Bhaṭârar thirty-six pots of water, at the rate of twelve each time (of the day).

The supplier of flowers shall do up the flowers he brings, into *iṇḍai* and *mâlai*, (32) and shall supply them without any deficiency. S'aḍaiyaṉ Tanichchege *alias* Teṉṉâttukkôṉ, who has (taken up) the enjoyment of the *kârâṇmai*, and kîḻpâdi for generation after generation, (that is, perpetually) of the garden named Neḍumaṉ in Kiḻûr situated on the west of Medugu, granted its *Kârâṇmai*, and *mêṟpâdi* for burning the perpetual lamps.

In the matter of the festival, having celebrated the same for seven days, (the god) shall be bathed on the *Viyâgam* (33) of (the month of) Paṉguṇi. The elders (or the chief men) among the *S'aṭṭars* and the servants shall, during these seven days, receive double remuneration. (34) Again, the lands of (the extent of) seven *taḍis* and of (the growing capacity of) eight hundred and forty *nâḻis* of seed, assigned for the expenses of the festival are, Âḍaṉarai, Iḷavâḍaṉarai, Talaittuḍavai, (35) Mañjâḍiyaṟai, Paṉaiyaṟai together with the two *taḍis* of S'ettaṟai, (36)

(28) *Tuḍavar* is the name of a race of people supposed to be the same as the *Todas* of the Nilgiris. This name occurs in the Tiruvaiyyâru Purâṇam, &c.

(29). The word *èṟṟi* means, *increased* by, hence rendered as meaning the total, or the aggregate of all lands.

(30) The total is arrived thus :—

No.	*Land.*	*Taḍi.*
1.	வெஞ்சைப்பொறை.	1.
2.	சாயறை.	3.
3.	கரியறை.	1.
4.	கொற்றனறை.	1.
5.	குளவறை.	1.
6.	நீரறை.	1.
7.	மாயிலறை.	1
8.	தலைவிலைச்செய்.	2.
9.	எருமையறை.	3.
10.	பகைதொங்கன்.	1.
	Total taḍis	15.

(31) *Kârâḷar* = tenants who hold the land for a long series of years; so, possessors of freehold lands. *Kârâṇmai* = the office of *kârâḷan*. (Gundert).

(32) *Iṇḍai* is a short circular garland worn round on the head; *mâlai* is the garland that is hung round the neck.

(33) This is the Tamiḻ form of *Viśâkham*.

(34) The meaning of the word *âṇiyam* is not known. It seems to mean pay or remuneration.

(35) *Tuḍavai* = a garden: cf. v. 13, Tirunâḷaippôvâr Purâṇam, in the Periyapurâṇam, wherein the phrase *paṟaittuḍavai* meaning the land granted to the persons who sound *paṟai* (a drum) is used.

(36) *Śettaṟai* = the *aṟai* of the *Śe* tree. It is curious to note that the names Mañjâḍiyarai, Paṉaiyarai and Śettarai are named after the Mañjâḍi, the Paṉai and the Śe trees.

all situated under the big tank in Kiḻûr, belonging to the west half of Medugu. These (plots of land) were granted for the expenses of the festival by S'aḍaiyaṉ Taṇichcheygai, *alias* Teṉṉâṭṭukkôṉ, who had assumed their management hereditarily; he was to have for *bhôgam* and interest the *uḍaṉvâram* of four *kalams* and eight *kuṟuṇi* of paddy from any crop that is raised on them (37) the *kîḻpâdi* being taken as *kârâṇmai* and the *mêṟpâdi* as *âlilaivâram*(38).

The lands granted for the pay of the servants :—(The plot of land called) Talaiviḻappil in (the village of) Viḻappil belonging to the Teṇgânâḍu, which grows eight *kalams* of seed, together with the land tax, *kârâṇmai* and *mîdâṭchi* which go with these (lands)—all included, was granted. In the same *nâḍu*, Iḷavêṇâṭṭunallûr, growing seeds measuring eight kalams composed of sixteen *nâḻis* each, the land tax, (39), *Kârâṇmai*, *mîdâṭchi* which go with these (lands),—all included was granted. In the same *nâḍu*, Iḍainîrkkâl, Paṉaiyûr and Piyalâṟu growing seeds measuring eight kalams of sixteen *nâḻis* each, the land tax, *kârânmai*, and *mîdâṭchi* which go with these (lands),—all these included was granted. Jayavañjaraṉ *alias* S'âttaṉ S'aḍaiyaṉ of Pâṟayil in the S'engaḻu nâḍu, who. . . . cultivating the land for *kîḻpâdi*, according to the rules of *S'âlâbhôgam*. . . . .

. . . Kiḻapporai under the Kâñjirankuḻam tank, one *taḍi* and one *kalam*. Among the lands, which Kumârasvâmibhaṭṭaṉ of Kuṉṟattûr in S'engaḻunâḍu had received as brahmadêyam, the (following) pieces were granted :—

Eruvichchêy of seven *taḍis* and two *kalams* of sixteen *nâḻis* each, which is watered by the Kaḍalanguḻam and the Ilañjakkuḻam tanks. The land, which Iḷayâṉ Kaṇḍan of Siṟumaṇṇûr in the Ômâyanâḍu, granted under the condition that they (himself and his descendants) would cultivate the lands for *kîḻpâdi*, was Poṉṉaṟai of one *taḍi* and of a *kalam* and *tûṇi* seed, belonging to the Poṉṉaṟai field situated in the Siṟumaṇṇûru; thus making a total of thirty-eight *kalams* and two *kuṟuṇis* of land; and these were given for the pay of the servants.

In this (land), for the pay of the officiating priest were given the (pieces of) land called Kurundaṟai, Paraṇiyaṟai, Palâvaṇaṟai of one *kalam* seed, situated under the tank belonging to the people of S'iṟuguṇḍûr near Mîṇachchi: Puḷiyaṟai of one *kalam* seed.....; Âyiṇiyaṟai total, *taḍis* ten and seeds.....

For the performance of the four (kinds of) services in the *adytum*, to Iyâṉ = Añjuvâṉ, Kumaraṉ Kaṇḍaṉ, Uruttiran.....eight *kalams* seed, including the land tax, was granted. To him who sprinkles the pañchagavya..... (40) .....Eruvichchêy of *taḍis* seven and seeds two *kalams* was granted.

For the pay of the person supplying flowers, in the Arumuṇai Âdaṉûr field..... in the Mâttûr field, the eastern portion of Parâyaṟai ; total, seeds two *kalams* (of...land) were granted.

To those that perform the eight services, including the (sounding of) *taṭṭaḷi*, *maddaḷi*, *karaḍikai*, *tâḷam* and *Kâkaḷam*.....

The people of [Ô]mâyanâḍu, the Śingaḻunâḍu, the Muḍâlanâḍu, the Paḍaippânâḍu and of the Vaḷḷuvanâḍu shall protect (these lands) according to the rules of (or governing) charitable institutions.

(37) The meaning of *âyuvikkadirêṟṟi* is not clear and the translation therefore is tentative only.

(38) *Âlilâivaram* is another word whose meaning is not also clear.

(39) *Karai* means the tax on land ; *karaiyâlaṉ*, the man collecting the taxes.

(40) *Pañchagavya*, the five products of the cow : *viz.*, milk, butter, curds, urine and dung.

Of the seats established in this Śâlai, the members of the Paviliya charaṇa have forty-five; the members of the Tayittiriya charaṇa have thirty-six; those of the Talavakâra charaṇa have fourteen. The remaining seats are common to the three *charaṇas*.(41)

The conditions for entrance (into the School): having a knowledge of Vyâkaraṇa, Mîmâmsa and Paurôhitya, being free of *puviśram* (?), possessing the learning necessary for the affairs of the three kingdoms (?), and is able to get five *śaṭṭars* to certify that it is true (that he possesses all these qualifications), one will get admission.(42)

If a *Saṭṭaṇ* uses abusive language to another *śaṭṭaṇ* within the temple, the former shall, only after paying a fine of five *kâṇams* of gold to the elders (or chief men among the *Saṭṭars*), eat in the *śâlai*. If one *śaṭṭaṇ* strikes another, a fine of a *kâśu* should be paid before he takes his meals in the *śâlai*. The one that is struck shall also pay a fine of five *kâṇams* of gold before he takes his meals. He that causes injury to another with any weapon shall be thrown out of the *śâlai*. The *śaṭṭars* shall not go to places of meeting (44) with any offensive weapons about them.

The conditions (or mode) of studying *vâram*. In the *Sûtras* and *Sûtrâraṇas*, repeating in nine *pugavus*, the two *kramavârams* have to be studied alternately. In the *Sâkha*, the *karpa* and the *gaṇa*, repeating in nine *pugavus*, two *vârams* have to be studied alternately. Repeating all the four *pâdas* in nine *pugavus*, two *vârams* in *agattûham* (?) (43) have to be studied alternately.

...no kind of deceit shall be practised in the precincts of the temple. Those that quarrel shall lose that day's meals. Saṭṭars shall not be permitted to keep their concubines in their houses. No one shall estrange the *śâlâbhôgam* and the *dêvadânam* (property) without the royal order.(45) Those that do so, shall be subject to a fine individually of five *kaḷañjus* of gold before paying which they are not eligible to mess in the Śâlai. The amount collected by coercion from the tenants of the *Śâlâbhôgam* and *dêvadânam* should be restored tenfold. In the case of those that owe the taxes to the *Sabha*, shall be bound down by the decision arrived at by three *śaṭṭars* representing the three *charaṇas*. If not, the tax shall have to be paid with a fine of fifty-four *kâṇams* of gold. No one shall on any account stop the (daily routine of the) central shrine and the *śâlai* of fourteen *naḷis* (?). Those that stop them shall eat in the *śâlai* only after paying a fine daily of a *kaḷañju*. The servants who speak insultingly to the *śaṭṭars* shall become subject to a fine of one *kâśu*.

These arrangements were made by the *âjñapti* of Sâttaṇ Murugaṇ *alias* Tenganâḍu-kiḻavaṇ, a *veṇṇîr* Veḷḷâḷa, by Singaṇ Kuṉṟappôḻaṇ *alias* Tiraiyaṇ Ômâyanâḍu-kiḻavaṇ of Pâppigaikkôḍu in Pâkkôḍu situated in the Ômâyanâḍu; (this is) the writing (of the latter).

(41) These are the names of the important sections of the Vêdas and are applied to the whole of them. Nachchinârkkiniyâr, the great Tamil commentator thinks that they are the names which were applied before Vêdavyâsa rearranged the Vêdas and called them by the present name. He writes, "*நான்கு கூறுமாய் மறைந்த பொருளுமுடைமையால் நான்மறை என்றார். அவை தைத்திரியமும், பௌடிகமும், தலவகாரமும், சாமவேதமுமாம். இனி, இருக்கும், எசுவும், சாமமும், அதர்வணமும் என்பாருமுளர். அதுபொருந்தாது. இவை இந்நூல் செய்த பின்னர் வேதவியாதர் இன்னுட் பல்பிணி சிற்றறிவினோர் உணர்வதற்கு நான்கு கூறுய் இவற்றைச்செய்தாராதலின் பொருந்தாது.*" *தொல்காப்பியம், சிறப்புப்பாயிரம், நச்சினர்க் கினியார். ப.* 10.

(42) *Pañchakkam* literally means consisting of five. Compare *pañchâyat*.

(44) *Kuṭṭam* is a place of meeting; *avaikkuṭṭam* occurs in *Nâṇmaṇikkaḍigai*.

(43) The meaning of the whole of this passage is not clear and hence the translation is only tentative. *Âham* is a technical term belonging to Sâma-vêda.

(45) *Śattimukam* is composed perhaps of *Śastam* (praised) and *mukham* (a letter) of *Śrîmukham*.

Hail Prosperity! Having obtained success (or advancement) generated by his glory and compassion and having exalted Nanda and the Yâdava family, ruling the globe unobstructed (or free from trouble) and increasing his renown which crushes his powerful (foes), may Śrîvallabha, whose reverence towards his *gurus* (Brâhmans) is augmented by the princes among Brahmans, who were devoted to him, grant us prosperity.(†)

Hail Prosperity! Born and nurtured by Yaśôda, having exalted Nanda and the Yâdava race, protecting the whole multitude of cows from troubles, increasing the love of the king among birds (Garuḍa) who was attached to his master (*i.e.* Krishṇa) and augmenting his glory which destroyed Bali, may that Śrî-Vallabha (Lord of Srî) grant us prosperity.

No. 2. TIRUVIDAIKKODU INSCRIPTION OF KOKKARUNANDADAKKAR.

The following inscription is engraved on a small rock in South prâkâra of the Siva temple at Tiruviḍaikkôḍu. Though the record is not well preserved, a large portion of it could be easily deciphered. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the archæic type and the language is Tamiḻ. The orthography demands no special attention.

The inscription is dated the twelfth year opposite the second of the reign of the king Karunandaḍakkar and records the gift of twenty-five cows by a private person for maintaining a perpetual lamp.

Text (1)

1. ஷஷ்ஷி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோக்கருங்கநந்தடக்க[ற்]கு
2. ச்செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டு இத-
3. னெதிர் பன்னிரண்டு இவ்வாண்டு திருவிடைக்கோ-
4. ட்டு மாதேவர்க்கு [தி]ருநொந்தாவிளக்கு
5. நியதிப்படி எரிவதாக செழிய-
6. ந்த .....உழக்கு நெய் அட்டுவதாக ஊ-
7. ரும் இண்.....க [ரு]ம் உள்ளிருக்க சடை...
8. இவன் பணிக்கைப்பில் விட்டபசு
9. சாகாமூவாப்பே [ரு*] ருவாக அட்டின பசு
10. இருப்பத்தஞ்சு [॥*] முகுளத்து யா.....
11. ன் புல்லமுருகனும்

Translation

Ll. 1—3. Hail Prosperity! The year twelve, opposite to the second year of the reign of Kôkkarunandaḍakkar was current.

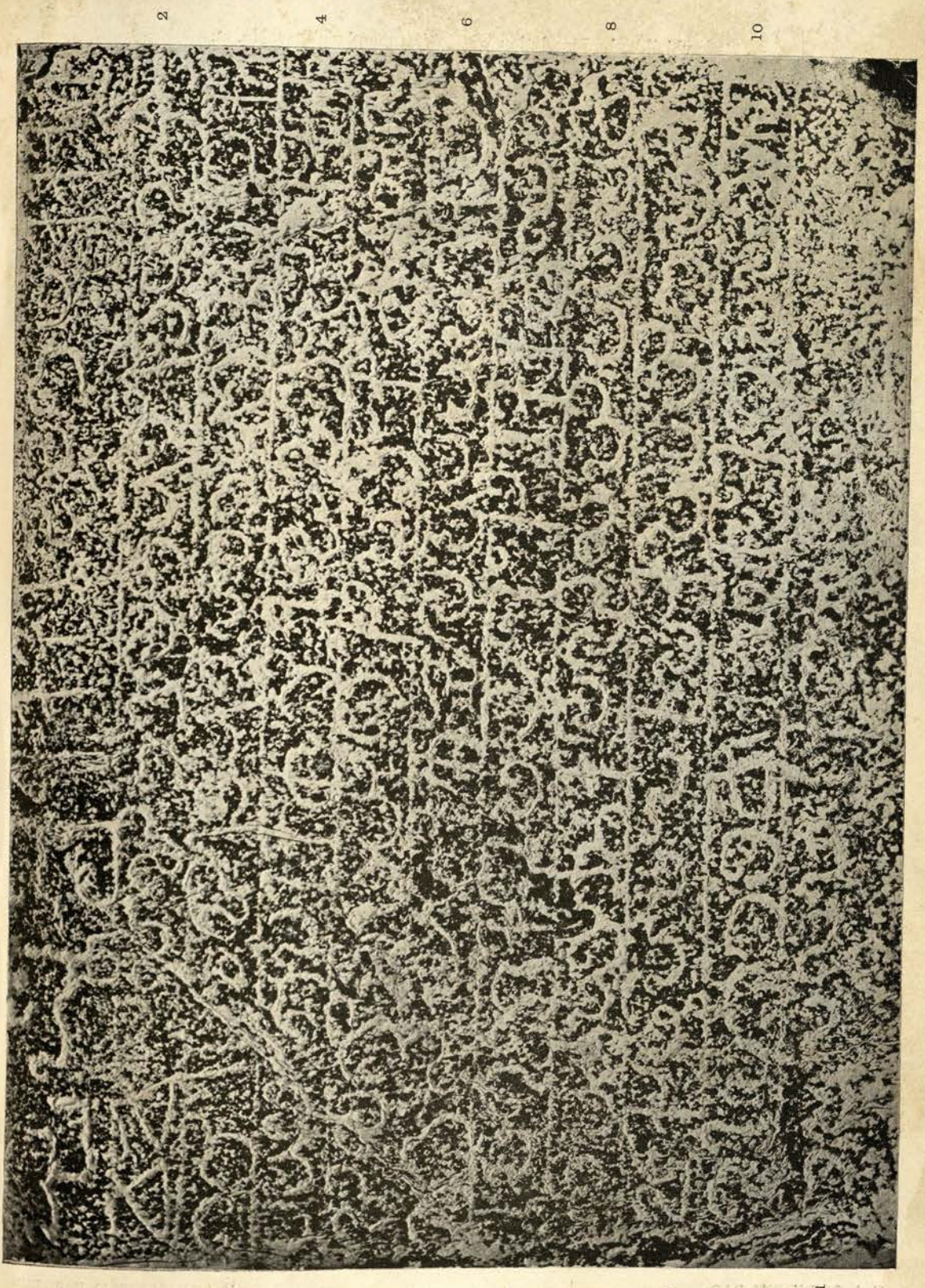
Ll. 3—11. This year, when the townsmen and...were assembled, by the order of Saḍai [yaṉ] twenty-five big sized cows, which neither die nor become old, (2) were given by Seḻiyanda...for the purpose of burning at the rate of a *uḻakku* of ghee per day, a perpetual lamp, before the Mâdêva of Tiruviḍaikkôḍu. Mukuḻattu Yâ.....and Pulla-Muruganṉ.....

† This is as applied to the king Śrîvallabha. (*) This is as applied to Krishṇa. the lord of Śrî.

(1) From impressions prepared by my copyists.

(2) The cows do not die because they multiply and therefore the number shall remain not less than 25, and they do not become old, also for the same reason. Though the identical ones may die, the number and quality remain the same.

Tiruvidaikkodu Inscription of Kokkarundadakkar No. 1.



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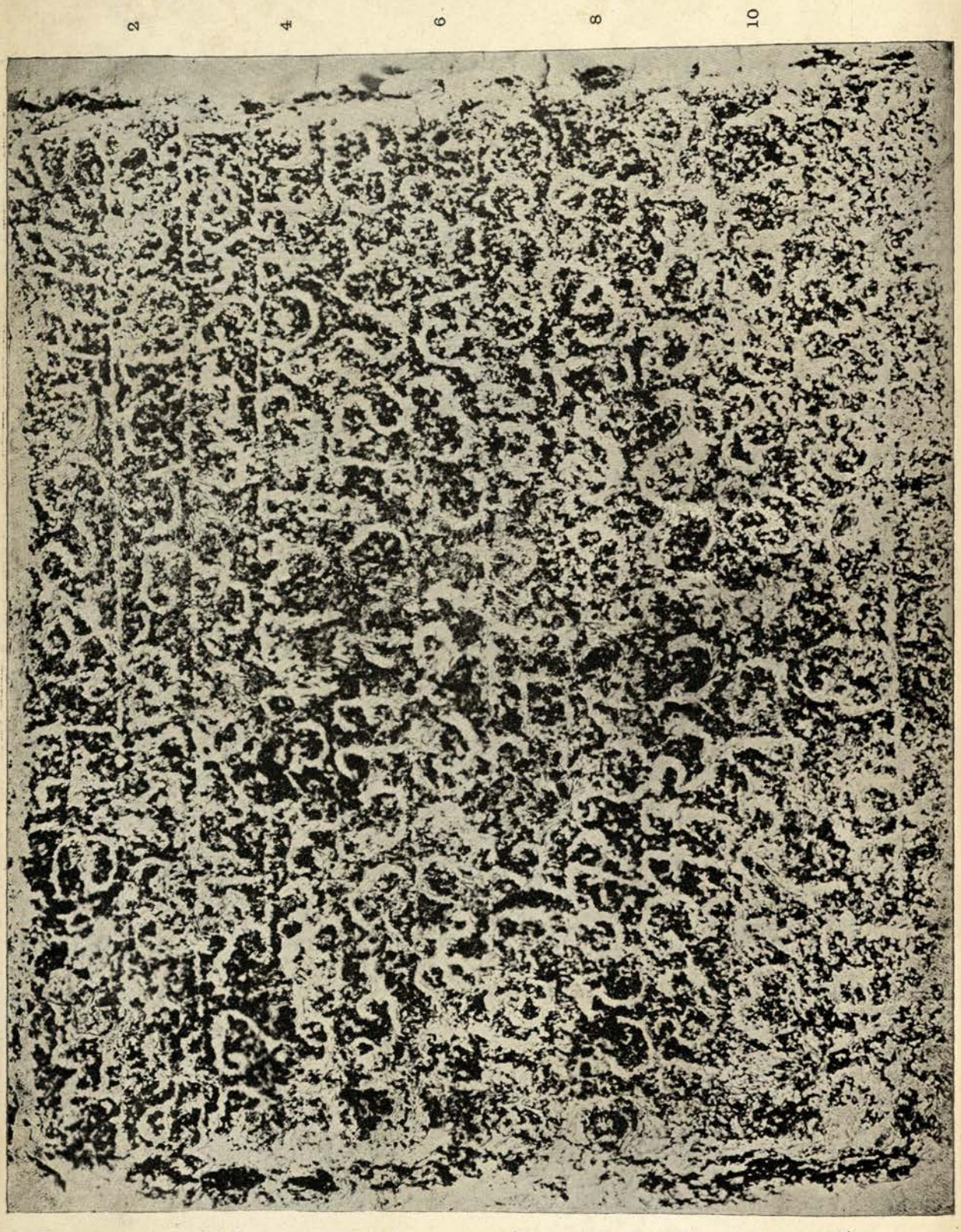
Tiruvidaikkodu Inscription of Kokkarunandadakkar No. 2.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

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No. 3. A SECOND INSCRIPTION AT TIRUVIDAIKKÔDU OF KÔKKARUNANDADAKKAR.

This epigraph is also found on the same rock as the first and is written in the same kind of Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet as the other. The language of the record is also Tamiḻ. The preservation of the inscription is very bad. The portions giving the name and the regal year of the king are not worn out. The inscription is dated the twentieth year opposite the second of Kôkkarunandaḍakkar and records the gift of a perpetual lamp to the Mahâdêva of the temple.

Text (1)

1. வ்யஹி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோக்கரு நந்தடக்கர்க்கு செ-
2. ல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டு இ-
3. தனெதிர் [இ]ருபது இவ்வாண்டு பிர-
4. ட்டாசி திங்கள் திருவிடைக்கோட்-
5. [டு] மாதேவற்கு திருநந்தாவி-
6. ளக்கு நியதிப்படி யுழக்கு-
7. நெயெரி.....

Translation

Hail Prosperity! The twentieth year opposite to the second of the reign of Kôkkarunandaḍakkar. This year, in the month of Piraṭṭâsi for burning a perpetual lamp, at the rate of a *uḻakku* a day, before the Mâhadêva of Tiruviḍaikkôḍu.

(1) From impressions prepared by my copyists.

The Huzur Office Plate of Vikramaditya Varaguna

The copper-plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved was found in Huzur Cutchery of Trivandram along with a few others. No one knows when it came there.

The plate is 14·5″ long and slightly less than 2·75″ broad, its ends are shaped thicker and it is engraved on both sides. The letters are cut deeply and beautifully and the record on the whole is very well preserved; but the plate is broken slightly at the right end of it; therefore, four or five letters of each line of the first side are lost; but it is in some cases easy to make them out from the context. The plate has a hole on the left side but it does not seem to have possessed a ring. The language of the inscription is Tamiḻ and is written in Tamiḻ characters; the Sanskrit words *Svasti*, *Śrî*, *Vikrâmaditya Varaguṇa*, *Pârthivaśêkharapuram* and *râkshâbhôgam* are written in the Grantha alphabet. The *puḷḷi* or the symbol of *virâma* is marked in nearly half the number of cases in which it is required and in the rest of the cases it is omitted. There are a few orthographical peculiarities to be noted: the vowel *ai* resembles the Grantha consonant *ba*; *e.g.*, *aingala* in *ll.* 4 and 5; as in other old inscriptions, distinction is made between the secondary *â* and *r* by making the latter of double the length of the former. The secondary *ai* is, in all cases, represented by two secondary *e* symbols; *e.g.*, *karai* in *ll.* 1 and 6, *Śêndiyai* in *l.* 2; *vidai* in *ll.* 3 and 4, 5 and 8, *padiṇai* in *l.* 3; *idai* in *l.* 5; °*ṟalai* in *l.* 6; *pulai* in *l.* 6. The letter *ṇâ* is formed, unlike in the usual manner, by the addition of a secondary *â* symbol; *e.g.*, *Śeṇgaṇâvaṇ*, in *l.* 3. The consonant *pu* is also written slightly differently, the secondary *u* being a curved line beginning from the middle of the bottom stroke of the consonant *p*, somewhat resembling the *Nâgari* secondary *u* symbol; *e.g.*, *pullêl* in *l.* 4 and *pulai* in *l.* 6.

The record belongs to the **eighth** year of the reign of the king named **Vikrâmâditya Varaguna** and dated in the month of Paṅguṇi, when the king was sojourning at Tiruṇandikkarai. It mentions the name of one **Murugan Śendi** the daughter of the **Teṅganaḍu-Kilavaṇ**. She was given in marriage to the king and she seems to have gone by the name **Aykula Mahâdevi**. The inscription records that the king granted some lands for her enjoyment.

The Huzur Office plates of Kô-kkaruṇandaḍakkar informs us that on the 14,49,087th day of the Kali era, which corresponds to 864 A. D., the village round the Vishṇu temple erected by the king was named Pârthivaśêkharapuram and that one of the king's officers was Śâttaṇ Muruganṉ *alias* Teṅganâḍu-kiḻavaṇ. The present record of the reign of Vikramâditya Varaguṇa, as it mentions Pârthivaśêkharapuram, must obviously be later than 864 A. D. Again, since Śâttaṇ Muruganṉ, the *âjñapti* of the other document, is seen offering his daughter in marriage to Vikramâditya Varaguṇa, we can rightly infer that the time of this prince was not much later than that of Kô-kkaruṇandaḍakkar. If it be, Śâttaṇ Muruganṉ, *alias* Teṅganâḍu-kiḻavaṇ could not have figured in both the reigns. Thirdly, the palæography of the inscription under consideration points also to the same conclusion. A second copper-plate that will be edited shortly asserts distinctly, that Vikramâditya Varaguṇa belongs to the *Yâdava* race; we might therefore conclude that he succeeded Kôk-karuṇandaḍakkar on the throne of Malai-râjyam.

Text

Front side

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] விக்ரமாதித்யவரகுணர்க்கு யாண்டு எட்டு [।*] பங்குனித் திங்கள் திருநந்திக்கரை இருந்து அடிகள் . . . . (1)

2 ங்கநாடு கிழவன் மகள் ஆய்குலமாதேவியாயின முருகஞ் சேந்தியைத் திருவ - டிச் சார்த்த இவளுக்குக் குடியாக அட்டிக்குடுத்த பூ . . . . (2)

3 ள்ளுவ நாட்டு மேற்கோட்டுப் பழங்கோப்பற்று செங்கணாவந்தடி பலவிதை பதினைங்கலவித்துப்பாடும் சாண்டன் தடி பல விதை . . . . (3)

4 ற்கலவித்துப்பாடும் குதாளங்கோடு தடி பல விதை ஐங்கலவித்துப்பாடும் இத கொடு செல்வன புல்லேல்படுவன தடிபல . . . . (4)

5 முக்கலவித்துப்பாடும் பெருமண்ணும் இடைமண்ணுந் தடி பல விதை ஐங்கல வித்துப் பாடும் ஏற்றித்தடி பல விதை ப . . . . (5)

6 ஞழிக் காலால் முப்பத்திருகலவித்துப்பாடும் இவற்றின்றலைக்கரையும் புலை - யுங் காராண்மை மீதாட்சி உள்ளடங்க இவை . . . (6)

7 லி கோ நீக்கி செம்மருதர் குடியாக வாழ்ந்துவரவரவரத்து பெருமக்கள் காத் தூட்டுவதாக அட்டிக்குடுத்தது [॥*] இத[னு]க்கு ரக்ஷாலே . . . (7)

8 மாக இவையிற்றுளேய் பெருமக்களுக்கு அட்டிக் குடுத்த பூமி குதாளங் கோட் - டில் விதை நாற்கலம் ॥—

(1) Read [ர்க்கு தெ]-
(2) Read பூமி வ-
(3) Read கா-
(4) Read விதை
(5) Read பதி
(6) Read இறையி-
(7) Read ரக்ஷாலோம -

Translation

Hail Prosperity! The eighth year (of the reign of) the king Vikramâditya Varaguṇa (was current). When (the king) was (sojourning) at Tirunandikkarai, and when Muruganṉ Śêndi *alias* Ây-kula-mâdêvi, the daughter of Tengaṇâḍu-kiḻavaṉ was joined (in wedlock) with His Highness, (1) the lands that were granted to her for her enjoyment (2) were, Śeṇgaṇâvaṉ-taḍi of (the growing capacity of) fifteen *kalams* of several seeds, Mâṇḍaṉ-taḍi of (the growing capacity of) four *kalams*, Kuḍâḻangôḍu (of the extent) of (one) *taḍi* (and) of (the growing capacity of) five *kalams*,—all situated in the Paḻaṇgôppaḻḻu of Mêṟkôḍu (a sub-division) of Vaḻḻuvanâḍu,—together with the land attached to these and which bear (only) grass on it (3) and is of the extent of (one) *taḍi* and of (the growing capacity of) three *kalams* of various seeds; Peruman and Iḍaiman (of the extent of one) *taḍi* and of (the growing capacity of) five *kalams* of various seeds; total extent (4) (of the land thus granted is equal to that capable of growing) seeds of various kinds (to the extent of) thirty-two *kalams* measured by the *kâl* of

(1) *Tiruvaḍi-sârtta* means literally to apply to the feet of or join to the feet of *tiruvaḍi* might be here rendered as 'His Highness' and *sârtta*, to be joined in wedlock.

(2) *Kuḍiyâga*=as tenants; *i.e.*, the tenants were placed under her.

(3) The phrase *puḻḻêl-paḍuvaṇa* is not clear and hence the translation is only tentative.

(4) *Ĕṟṟi* literally 'having added together *i.e.*, in total; *Ĕṟṟi-taḍi* has therefore been rendered as 'the total extent.'

First Side.

Second Side.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.6 HALF-TONE BY WIELE AND KLEIN.

The Huzur Office Plate of Vikramaditya Varaguna.

ten (?) *nâḷis*. These, including the first (instalment of the) tax on them, (5) the *pulaiyas* (attached to them), their *kârâṇmaî*, *mîdâṭchi*, were granted free of taxes on condition that the tenants shall be (exclusively) of the good cultivator class (6) and that the chief men of Pârthivaśêkharapuram shall protect and make over the proceeds of them.

The land that was set apart as *rakshâbhôgam* (7) for the chief men (of Pârthivaśêkharapuram) was situated in Kudâḷangôḍu itself and was of (the growing capacity of) four *kalams* of seeds ||—

(5) *Karai*=land tax; *talai-karai* has been rendered as the first instalment of the land tax.

(6) *Marudar*, those living in the *marudam* land, *i.e.*, arable land, cultivators; *semmarudar*=good farmers or cultivators.

(7) *Rakshâbhôgam*, the fees levied for protecting anything, such as land.

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. III

An Inscription of the ninth year of the reign of
Parantaka Pandya at Kanya Kumari

INSCRIPTION OF THE NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF PARANTAKA PANDYA

The following inscription is engraved on the east wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Kanyâkumâri temple at Cape Comorin. Besides this, there is one more record of the 9th year of king Parântaka in the same temple, but unfortunately it is built in. The epigraph under consideration is somewhat damaged; but it is not very difficult to read it. The alphabet employed is Tamiḻ of the 12th or 13th century A. D. and resembles that of the inscriptions of the times of Kulôttunga I., Vikramachôḷa and others (1).

The record refers itself to the 9th year of the reign of Parântaka Pâṇḍya. In the historical introduction at its beginning, the inscription recounts the acts of valour shown by this king; for example, the checking of the inroads of the sea, the engraving of the family crest,—a pair of carps,—on the Malaya mountains and sitting on the same throne with Dêvêndra, etc.,—acts which the Tamiḻ literature attributes to the early ancestors of the Pâṇḍyas, are claimed to have been performed by Parântaka Pâṇḍya (2). He is said to have defeated the Chêra and levied tribute from him. The King of the Kûpakas offered his daughter in marriage to Parântaka Pâṇḍya and he married her. The king then fought a battle at Viḻiñam and took it (3). Next, the vessels (?) in the harbour of Kândaḷûr were destroyed (4). Apparently the systems of weights and measures were in an unsatisfactory condition and consequently the king is described as turning his attention at standardising them, and in token whereof, they were or-

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(1) Compare this with the facsimile of the inscription of Kulôttunga I. given in Vol. III., Part III of South Indian Inscriptions.

(2) Ugra Pâṇḍya hurled his spear and curbed the fury of the sea, which rose boisterously todevour Madura, the capital of the Pâṇḍyas. It then advanced calmly as far as the feet of the king and respectfully laved them. This forms the subject-matter of the 52nd of the 64 *Tiruviḷaiyâḍals* (divine sports) of Śiva.

The two Śinnamanûr plates and the Vêḷvîkuḍi grant also mention all these acts, attributing them to the early Pâṇḍya kings whom however they do not mention by name. "Among these might be mentioned the engraving of the fish—the Pâṇḍya crest—on the Northern mountain, *i.e.*, Mount Meru; wearing the garland of Indra and securing one-half of his throne; casting the spear for the return of the sea; and performing one-thousand sacrifices." Tamiḻ literature is one with the Śinnamanûr and other grants in stating that the early Pâṇḍyas engraved the carps on the Mount Mêru, implying that they extended their conquests as far north as the Mêru. But according to our inscription, Parântaka engraved the fish only on the Malaya mountain, a comparatively easy piece of work, quite consistent with his limited means and power.

(3) The port of Viḻiñam was always the cynosure of all foreign kings. For instance, the early Pâṇḍya king, Mâraṉjaḍaiyaṉ or Jaṭilavarman Parântaka says in his Madras Museum plates and the Trevandram Museum stone, that he fought at and took Viḻiñam; Kulôttungachôḷadêva I., captured it and named it Kulôttungasôḷappaṭṭiṇam in the 13th century, we see in our inscription Parântaka Pâṇḍya capturing it. It appears to have been a thriving sea-port, which by its riches might have offered great temptation to these foreign sovereigns.

(4) Kândaḷûr has not yet been identified. Taking it to be a sea coast town, the phrase "*Kândaḷûr Śâlai kalamaṟuttu*" has been rendered by the previous translators as "having destroyed the ships that stood in the roads at Kândaḷûr." Though at present I am unable to explain it properly, it appears almost certain that *kalam* and *Śâlai* do not mean what they have been taken to be. I have, however, assumed their translation for the sake of uniformity.

dered to be stamped with the royal totem, the carp. He set up ten golden lamps to the God of the temple at Anantaśayanam (Trivandram) and granted the village of Tâyanallûr for their upkeep. The king dedicated the Puṟattâyanâḍu to the goddess Kanni of Kumari, for the purpose of feeding all those that attended her grand festival held annually on the Pushya-*nakshatra* in the month of Tai. The introduction then goes on to say that Parântaka defeated Telinga Vîman and took from him Kuḷam and that he also subjugated the southern Kalinga country. The other inscription calls him Jaṭâvarman.

The name Parântaka Pâṇḍya in or about the 12th or 13th century A. D. is a new one to South Indian Epigraphy. It is well known that there were at least two kings who bore this name, but the first of them lived in the latter part of the 8th century and the second, who happens to be the fifth in descent from him, seems to have been perhaps an elder contemporary of Parântakachôḷa I. (5). From the fact that the Parântaka of our inscription claims to have conquered the South Kalinga country and taken Kuḷam from Telinga Vîman, the two conquests that are well known to every student of the history of the Chôḷas as gained by Vikramachôḷa, who reigned from 1118—1136 A D., he (Parântaka Pâṇḍya) must have been a contemporary of the Chôḷa king, Vikramachôḷadêva. Since the palaeographical evidence also points to the fact that the inscription under notice belongs to about this period, it would be natural and reasonable to infer that Parântaka Pâṇḍya accompanied Vikramachôḷa in his expedition to the Kalinga country; as we know that the Pâṇḍyas had no independent existence till about the reign of Kulôttuṅgachôḷa III, we have to presume that Parântaka Pâṇḍya marched with the army of Vikramachôḷa as his vassal. If the surmises made above are correct the age of Parântaka Pâṇḍya would become the first half of the 12th century A.D.

I have shown elsewhere (7) that the Pâṇḍyas appear to have borne the surnames Jaṭila (or Jaṭâ) varman and Mâravarman alternately in the same way as the Chôḷas assumed the surnames Parakêsari and Râjakêsari alternately. Assuming this to be true and giving each generation the usual 30 years, we see that the king Parântaka Pâṇḍya of our inscription must be a

(5) The genealogy of the early Pâṇḍyas is as follows :

1. Jayantavarman
2. Mâravarman Arikêsari Parânkuśa
3. Jaṭila, Parântaka I (770 A. D.)
4. Râjasimha I.
5. Varaguṇa Mahârâja (862 A. D.).
6. Śrîmâra, Srîvallabha *alias* Êkavîra.

Varaguṇavarman. 7. Parântaka *alias* Vîra-Nârâyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ. Râjasimha II.

An. Rep. of the Asst. Superintendent of Arch. for 1907, para 19.

(6) The introduction to the inscriptions of Vikramachôḷa has, "குளத்திடைத்தெலிங்கவீமன் விலங்கன் மிசை யேறவுங் கலிங்கபூமியைக் கனலெரி பருகவும்" and the Kalingattupparaṇi says of Vikrama "கலிங் கங்களேழினையும் போய்க் கொண்டதனைத் தியாக சமுத்திரமே." See also S. I. I. Vol. III. pp. 179-80.

(7) In my paper on the Trivandram Museum stone inscription of Mâraṉjadaiyaṉ to be published shortly.

Jatâvarman, a deduction which is borne out by the inscription already referred to above. The synchronism would then be as follows :—

Chôḷas.	*Pâṇḍyas.*
1. Âditya.	1. Varaguṇa Mahârâja.
2. Parântakachôḷa I. (A. D. 908).	2. Śrîvallabha, Ekavîra Mâravarman.
3. Arimjaya.	3. Parântaka, Vîranârâyaṇa, Śaḍaiyaṇ.
4. Parântaka II.	4. Râjasimha, Abhimânamêru, Mâravarman.
5. Râjarâja. I. (985. A.D.)	5. [A Parântaka, Śaḍaiyaṇ].
6. Râjêndrachôḷadêva.	6. [Son, Mâravarman].
7. Kulôttungachôḷa I.	7. [Another Parântaka, Śaḍaiyaṇ or Jaṭâvarman.
	[862 + (7 × 30) = 1072 AD.]
8. Vikramachôḷadêva	

The conquest of Kalinga claimed for himself by Vikramachôḷa is believed to have been undertaken at the instance of his father, Kulôttungachôḷa I, and therefore to have taken place in the reign of the latter (8). If the taking by Vikramachôḷa of Kuḷam of Vîman and the South Kalinga occurred during the reign of his father, no wonder we see that the approximate date arrived at for Jaṭâvarman Parântaka Pâṇḍya of our inscription at the end of the table of synchronisms, coincides with the reign of Kulôttungachôḷa I. Hence combining this consideration with the others already examined, we might definitely conclude that Parântaka Pâṇḍya lived about the latter part of the 11th and the first part of the 12th Century A. D. It is incidentally mentioned that Parântaka Pâṇḍya was born in the Pushya *nakshatra* in the month of Tai (9). The immediate object of the inscription under consideration is the fixing of the exact boundary of the land belonging to (the *dêvadânam* of) the goddess Kanyâkumâri. In defining these the following names of places &c., occur in the inscription :—Puṟattâya nâḍu, situated in the Uttamaśôḷavaḷanâḍu belonging to the Râjarâja-Pâṇḍinâḍu ; Tâyanallûr ; Adiyanûr ; Paṇaikuḍi ; Perunguḍamalai ; Nâñjinâḍu ; Aṉaimalai ; Vâḷaiyâṟu ; Nâvây ; Kôḍikkaḷâ ; Karunguḷam ; Aḷḷiyûr ; Pûśanguḍi ; Kirâttikuḷam ; Karimbâḍu ; Viśâpuri ; Kêraḷaṉkuṟichchi ; Maṇaṟkuḍi ; Suchîndiram and Tôvâḷai. Of these, Karunguḷam, Pûyanguḍi, Kurâttikkuḷam, Karimbâḍu, Vaḷḷiyûr, Viśâpuri, Kêraḷaṉkuṟichchi, Maṇaṟkuḍi, Suchîndram and Tôvâḷai are in South Travancore and most of them near the Cape Comorin. Vaḷḷiyûr and Viśâpuri are in South Tinnevelly.

(8). S. I. I. Vol. III. p. 180.

(9). Dr. Hultzsch has made a casual reference to this inscription in *para.* 18 of his Annual Report for 1896 and in the list of inscriptions copied during that year appended at the end, he remarks that this record "Specifies the boundaries of the temple land".

1 ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ திருவளரச் செயம் [வ*]ளரத் தென்னவர்தம் குலம் [வ*]ளர வருமறை
நான்கவைவளரவனைத்துலகுந்துயர் நீக்கத்,[2.] தென் மதுராபுரி தோன்றி (த்தே)-

2 ஷெவெஹ ணெடினிதிருந்த[3.] மன்னர்பிரான் வ[ழு]தியர்கோன் [வடிம்]பலம்ப நின்
றருளி மால்கடலை[4.] எறிந்தருளி மலையத்துக்கயல் பொரித்துச்[5.] சேரலனை-

3 ச்செருவில் வென்று [தி]றைகொண்டு வாகை சூடிக் கூபகர்கோன் மகட்குடுப்பக்[6.]
குலவிழிஞங்கைக்கொண்டு கன்னி[ப்]போர் செய்தருளிக் காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமு
றுத்-

4 [து]மன்னுபுகழ் மறையவர்தம் மணியம்பலத்துளினிதிருந்து ஆயிரத்தெண்மர் அவி
சோதம் பணிப்பணியால்[7.] ம[றை பேர்]த்துக்கல் நாட்டிப் பண்டுள்ள பேர்தவி-

5 [ர்த்*] து நிறுப்பனவு மளப்பனவும்[8.] கயலேழுதி அனந்தபுரத் தெம்மாற்கு நில
விய பொன் மணிவிளக்கு நின்றெரியப் பத்தமை[த்து] ஆ[ங்கமைத்த][9.] தாயநல்
லூர் அடதென்-

6 ஞட்டரையனென அறிவாகையால் யறிந்துணர்த்து[10.] தென்னவர் தங்குலதெய்வம்
தென் குமரிகன் . . . .[11.] திருநாள் விளாவதனிற் பை-

7 தப்பூசப் பிற்றை நான்று வந்திருந்தாரெல்லாற்கும்[12.] மாற்றூதே தியாகம் இட
அறத்தா[ல் விளங்கிய ஆய்ந்த கேள்விப் புறத்த][13.]

8 ாயநாடு பூமகட்களி[த்து*]த் தெலிங்கவி(ய்)மங்குளங்கொண்டு தென்கலிங்க மடிப
படுத்து திசை அனைத்து முடனுண்ட ஸ்ரீ-

9 பராந்தகதேவற்கு யாண்டு[14.] சுதாவது [||*] ராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோ
ழவளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டுக் குமரிக்கன்னிய-

10 ாபகவதியார் தேவதானத்துக்குப் பெருநான்கெல்லை [||*] வடவெல்லை நாஞ்சிநாட்டு
அதியனூரு (ம்) மின்னுட்டுப் -

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(1) From impressions prepared by my copyists.

(2) நீங்க would be better.

(3) The other inscription reads னிதிருந்து.

(4) வார்கடலை would suit the rhyme better.

(5) Read பொறித்து.

(6) Read கொடுப்ப.

(7) The other inscription has. . . . ம் வ[னர்ப்] ப அமைத்த பேராயிரத்தெண்மரவிரோதப்பணிப்-பணியால்

(8) The letter ன is engraved below the line. The other inscription reads அளப்பனவும் முகப்பனவும் நிறுப்பனவும். For metre and rhyme it would be better if the reading is முகப்பனவு நிறுப்பனவு மளப்பனவும்.

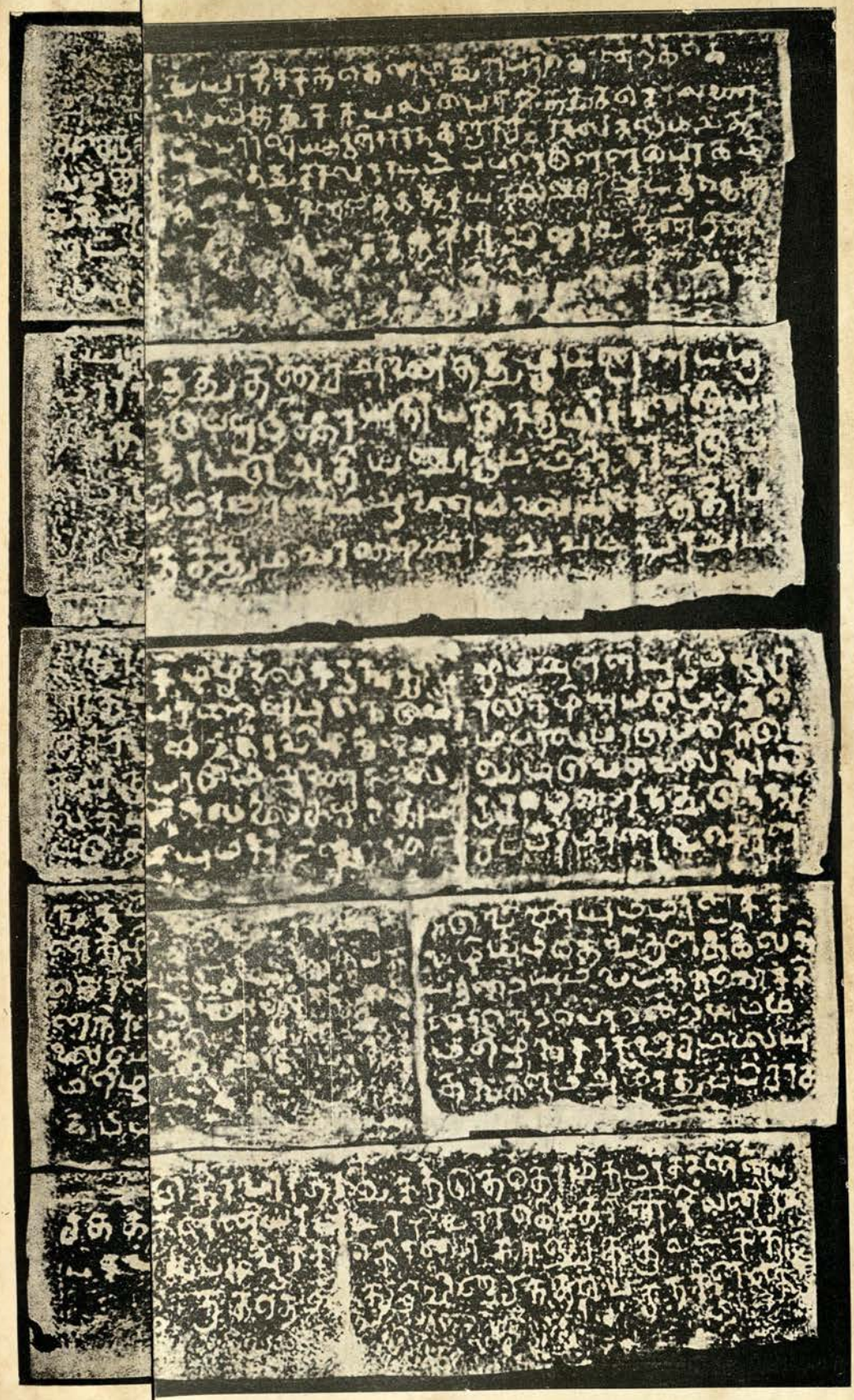
(9) The second inscription reads ஆங்கமைத்த.

(10) Read வகையால் அறிந்து. The other inscription reads அறிந்துணர்த்த (11) The letters lost here must be னியார் தம்

(12) The other inscription reads வந்திரந்தோரெல்லாற்கும் which appears more correct. It means "to all these that came and asked for alms."

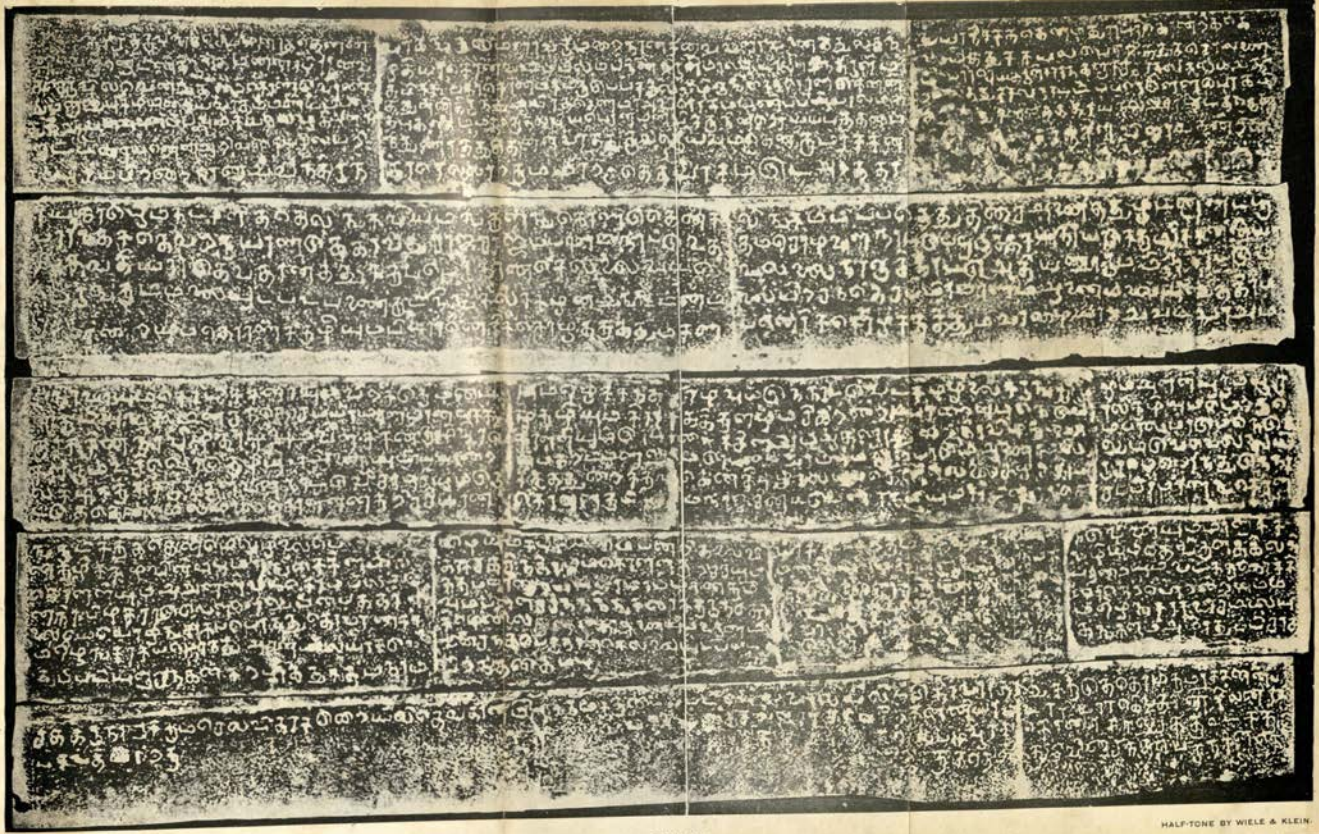
(13) The other inscription reads here அறத்தால் வினங்கிய ஆய்ந்த கேள்விப் புறத்தாயநாடு.

(14) The second inscription has here ஸ்ரீகோற்சடைய பன்மரான திரிபுவன சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீபரா ராந்தகதேவற்கு.



T. A. GOPINATH

HALF-TONE BY WIELE & KLEIN.



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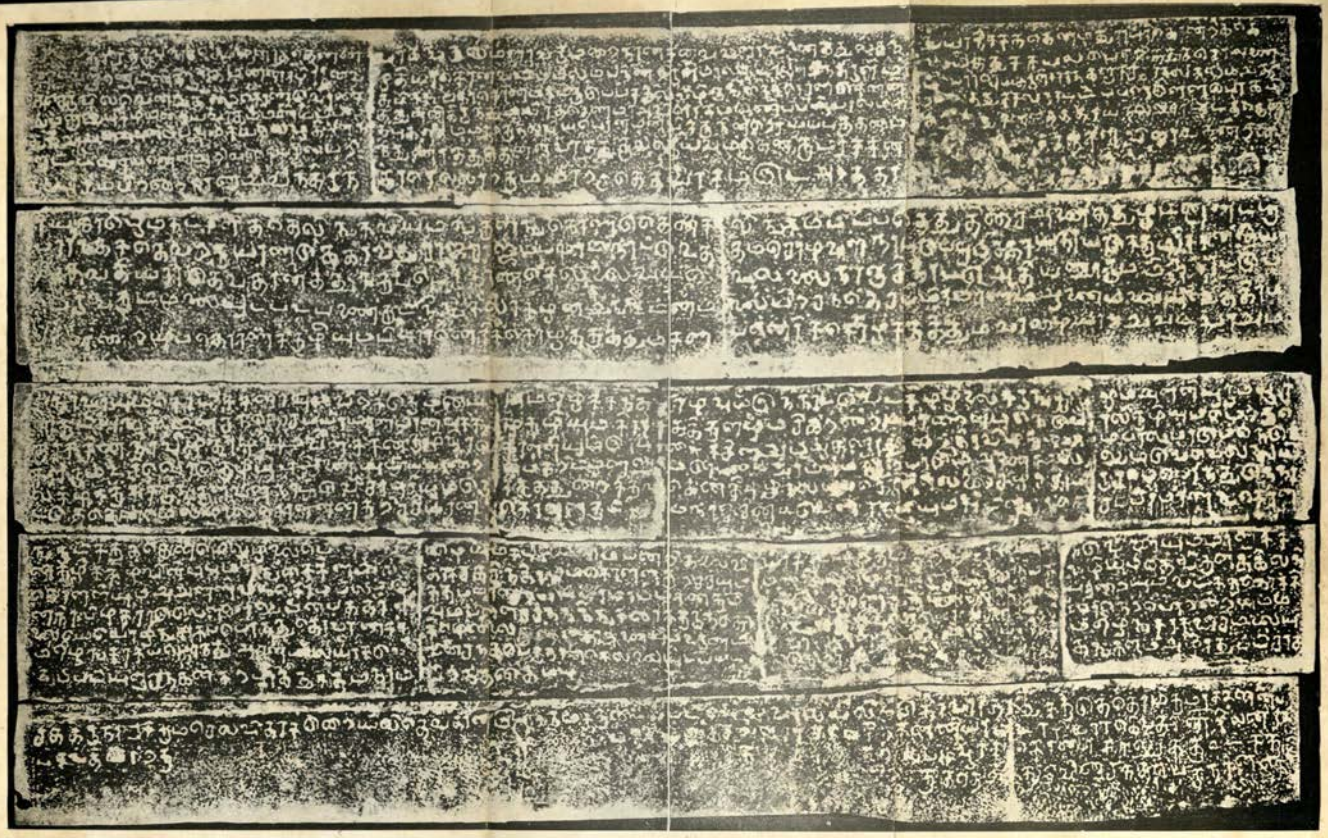
HALF-TONE BY WIELE & KLEIN.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE 0.15

HALF-TONE BY WIELE & KLEIN.

11 பெருங்குடி மலையுட்பட பணைகுடி நீங்கலாக மூன்றுங் கூடின மலையிற் சுந்தேச
தேசப்பிரமாணம் [ஆ]னமலையு[ம்] மனுத்திரப்-

12 (பா) பாறையும் தோரணகுழியும் பிடாரனேரிக்கொழுக்குத்தும் கண்டனேரிக் கொ
ழுக்குத்தும் வ்ாழையாற்று வடவாறும்

13 நாவாயும் கோடிக்களாவும் விறகடுகுப்பை[யு]ம் ஒழுக்கந்தாழ்வும் இன்னுட்டு வடகீழ்
மூலை கருங்குளமும் அள்ளியூரும் பூச-

14 ன் குடியும் கூடின பிரமாணமான [பு]க்கூழ்குழியும் கிரா (ர) த்திக்குளமும் சிதற்
றைப்பாறையும் நெடுவாலிகுழியும் மேற்குமே-

15 நாக்கின நீர்வீழ்தாழ்வும் விளக்கன்குழி நீர்கொள்ளியும் இரட்டைக்கிணறும் ஆத
னூர்[து]றை நீர்வீழ் [தாழ்வு]ம் பால்பாடும் நெடுங்-

16 களரும் உசிலோடுகுழியும் ஆனைஅடிப்பாறையும் [க] றடிமணலும் இரட்டை நூரம்
பும் கறிம்பாடும் ஆனைக்கல்லும் [।*] இவ்வெல்லையி-

17 ல் கிழக்குக் கருங்குளவளநாட்டு விசாபுரியும் இருக்கந்துறைக்குந் தென்கீழ் மூலை-
[யும்] [।*] தென் எல்லை கிழ[க்குப்ப] ாருசமே போந்து இங்நா-

18 ட்டுத்தென் மேல்மலை கேரளன்குறிச்சியான கேரளன்குடி[யு]ம் நாஞ்சினாட்டு ம
[ணற்குடி]யும் [கூ]டி[ன சந்] தேசப்பிரமாணம் கேளர-

19 ங்குடிக்குத் தென்மேல் மூலை பெ . . . . . ழையும் கட . . . . . மபன்றிதலை விளை-
. . . . ற்கும் . . . . நடுவிளையும் மாணக்க-

20 ன் குழிக்கீழ்விளிம்பும் [ந]ங்கை கிணறு . . . . தாகச் சுசீந்திரமும் கேரளன்குறிச்சி
யும் . . . . . [வ] ழியும் தேவிகுளத்தில் நீ-

21 [ர்]கொள்ளியும் [ஆ]றுண்ணி வட கொம்பில் . . . . . க்குப்பாறை [றயும்] . . . . .
[பாப்]பான்குழியும் . . . . . பாறையும் வடக்குநோக்கி-

22 ன நீர்வீழ்க்காரடி வெள்ளெலுப்பைத்தாழ்வும் பள்[ளி]ச்சந்த நீங்கலாக குருந்தோ
. . . . . ளற்பொற்றையும் ம-

23 லையே யொழுங்காகப் போந்து தோவாளைக்குக் கிழெல்லைக . . . . . னையும்
உருண்[ட]ப்பி[பா]ற[ற்றையும்] ஒழுங்காக ஊசிமலையு-

24 ம் ஒழுங்காகப் போந்து ஆனமலையாக இவ்விசைந்த பெருநான்கெல்லை யுட்பட்ட
. . . . . தங்களும் அமிர்துபடி சாந்து-

25 ப்படியுஞ் சந்தனங்கற்பூரத்து[க்]கும் நாம் பிறந்த தைப்[பூ]-

26 சதிருநாளுக்கும் செல்விதாக இறையிலிதேவதானமாக நமக்கு [டையபடி] . . .
நீர்வார்த்துக் குடுத்தோம் குமரிக்கன்னிப்-

27 பகவதியாற்கு [॥*]-

Translation

(*ll.* 1—9) Hail Prosperity! In the 9th year of (the reign of) Parântakadêva;—the lord of the kings, who was born in the Southern Madurâpuri for expelling distress from all the three worlds, so that prosperity might grow, victory increase, the family of the Tennavar (the Pâṇḍyas) endure, and the four superior *vêdas* might flourish; who sat upon the same throne as Dêvêndra; the king of Pândya race, who stood (on the sea shore) so that it might lave his feet; who conquered the great sea; who engraved the carps on the Malaya (mountain); who vanquished the Chêra in battle and received tribute from him; who wore the (garland of)

vâgai (flowers); (15) who was offered by the king of the Kûpakas (16) his daughter (in marriage); who took the ancient Viliñam, where he fought his first battle (*kaṇṇippor*); who destroyed the ships (?) at the port (*śâlai* ?) of Kândaḷûr; who being advised by the one thousand and eight (persons) who were appointed to give counsel, administered justice and set up pillars (?); who having removed their old names, and got the carp engraved on the (newly adopted) measures of weight and capacity; who set up ten beautiful golden lamps of rare workmanship for the god at Anantapuram; who, for that purpose granted Tâyanallûr who presented the Pâṛattâyanâḍu, which is resplendent with charity coupled with deep learning to the family deity of the Teṇṇavar, the goddess Kaṇṇi (of Kumari), who knowing by the proper way, proclaims to the world that the king is the powerful sovereign of the Teṇṇaḍu the (Pâṇḍya country); for the pupose of giving munificently (alms) to all those that are present on the day after the festival of *Taippûsam*, who took Kuḷam of Telinga Vîmaṇ, and subjugated the South Kalinga (country) and who ruled over all the quarters (of the globe):

(*ll.* 10—17). These are the four great boundaries of the Puṛâttâyanâḍu, the *dêvadânam* (land) of Kanyâbhagavatiyâr of Kumari:—The northern boundary of the *dêvadânam* (lands) belonging to the Kanyâbhagavatiyâr of Kumari, situated in the Puṛâttâyanâḍu, (a subdivision) of the Uttamaśôḻavaḷânâḍu, (a division) of the Râja-râja-Pâṇḍinâḍu, are:—With the exception of the three (places?), Adiyaṇûr and Paṇaikuḍi together with the Perunguḍamalai in the Nâñjiṇâḍu, the mountain tract (included) according to the royal order, (18) in the Âṇaimalai, the Maṇuttirappâṛai, the Tôraṇakuḻi, the Piḍâraṇêri-koḻukkuttu, the Kaṇḍanêri-koḻu-kuttu, (19) the northern branch of the Vâḻaiyâṛu; Nâvây, Kôḍikkaḷâ, Viṛagaḍukuppai, Oḻukkandâḻvu; on the north-east corner of this *nâḍu* are, according to this settlement, Karuṇguḻam, Aḻḻiyûr, Pûśaṇguḍi together with Pukkûḻkuḻi Kirâttikkuḻam, Śidaṛṛaippârai, Nêḍuvêḻikuḻi, the low ground in which the water drains on the west-side; the Viḻakkaṇkuḻi Canal, the Iraṭṭaikiṇaru, the low land of Âḍaṇârturai in which the water drains, the Pâlpâḍu, the Neḍungaḷar, the Uśiloḍukuḻi, the Aṇaiyaḍippâṛai, the Karaḍimaṇal, the Iraṭṭainurambu, Karimbâḍu, and Âṇaikkallu.

(ll. 16—17). The eastern of these (four great) boundaries (are), Viśâpuri in the Karuṇguḻavaḷanâḍu, and the south-east corner of Irukkanturai.

(ll. 17—24). The southern boundaries (are):—going directly to the east as far as the south-west limit of this *nâḍu* which is Kêraḷanguḍi *alias* Kêraḷaṇkuṛuchchi, and Maṇarkuḍi of the Nâñjinâḍu, which together, according to the royal order, form the south-west corner..... .....to the west of Paṇṛitalaiviḷai.....Naḍuviḷai, the east border of Mâṇâkkaṇkuḻi, Nangaikiṇaru.....Suchîndiram, Kêraḷaṇkuṛuchchi.....the canal from the Dêvikuḻam, from the northern branch of Aṛuṇṇi.....[Pâp]pâṇkuḻi,.....paṛâi,

(15) A garland of this flower indicates that the wearer is the victor. Compare "வாகை சூடிய சிலையி ராமன்" (Kambar). See Tolkâppiyam, Poruḷadigâram, Purattiṇaiyiyal, Sûtram 18; and Purapporuḷvenbâmâlai, p. 70.

(16) One of the dynasties of kings who ruled in S. Travancore. They seem to be related in some way to the present or Tiruppâppûr dynasty of the Travancore Sovereigns.

(17) *Kaṇṇippôr* means literally a maiden attempt at warfare; cf. கன்னி மாங்காய், கன்னிக்குட்டி, கன்னிக்கோழி, கன்னித்தேங்காய் etc. The term Kaṇṇippôr occurs in the commentary on the Puranaṇuru thus "போர் மடந்தையை புணரவருகிற கன்னிப்போராதலாற் பனிக்கய மண்ணியென்றார்" v. 79. in praise of தலையாலங்கானத்துச் செருவென்ற நெடுஞ்செழியன் by இடைக்குன்றூர் கிழார்.

(18) *Sandêśam* means information, direction or order.

(19) *Koḻukkuttu*, a pile driven into the earth, a post marking the boundary, etc.

the boulder from which the water dribbles and which is situated on the north, the valley of Veḷḷeluppaittâḷvu, excluding the *puḷḷichchandam* (the lands belonging to the Jaina or Buddha temples); Kurunto.....porṟai; (20) going directly along the mountain to the eastern boundary of Tôvâḷai.....the Uruṇḍaipporṟai, straight to Uśimalai, (from there) straight to Aṇaimalai.

(ll. 24—27). The (lands);.....included within these four great boundaries thus fixed, belonging to us were granted as tax free *dèvadânam* (land) to (the goddess) Kanyâbhagavatiyâr of Kumari, for meeting the expenses of the offerings, prepared sandal paste, sandal, camphor, and for the festival celebrated during our birthday, the Taippûsam.

(20) *Porṟai*, a large, bare boulder.

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Travancore Archaeological Series

Published under the Orders of the Government of Travancore

BY

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Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. IV

The Paliyam Plates of the 322nd. year of the Pudu-Vaippu Era

No. V

Three Sanskrit Inscriptions at Trevandram

T. A. - 14

PALIYAM PLATES OF THE 322ND. YEAR OF THE PUDU-VAIPPU ERA.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A., SUPERINTENDENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY, TRAVANCORE STATE.

The subjoined inscription is neatly and beautifully engraved on a set of five copper plates belonging to the Pâliyattu Achchan of Chêndamaṅgalam in the Cochin State; the members of this family were the hereditary prime-ministers of the Râjas of Cochin, but lost their position after the transportation to Madras of one of the Valiya Achchans who joined the insurgents headed by Vêlu Tambi Daḷavây of Travancore who, as every one knows, marched against Cochin to kill the British Resident Macaulay.(*a*) At present, theirs is the richest family in the whole of the Cochin State and the head enjoys several social distinctions. The set of plates were kindly lent to me for examination by the present Valiya Achchan and from impressions taken under my supervision I now edit the inscription.

The record is engraved on both sides of the plates which are numbered in the Tamiḻ-Malayâḷam numerals engraved in the middle of the left margin of the first side of each. At the bottom of the left margin of the second side of each, the sign manual of the Râja of Cochin, a mere symbol, is engraved. All the plates have a hole in the middle of their left side, through which a copper ring passes and keeps the plates bound together. The ring was cut when it was presented to me for examination and it bore no seal.

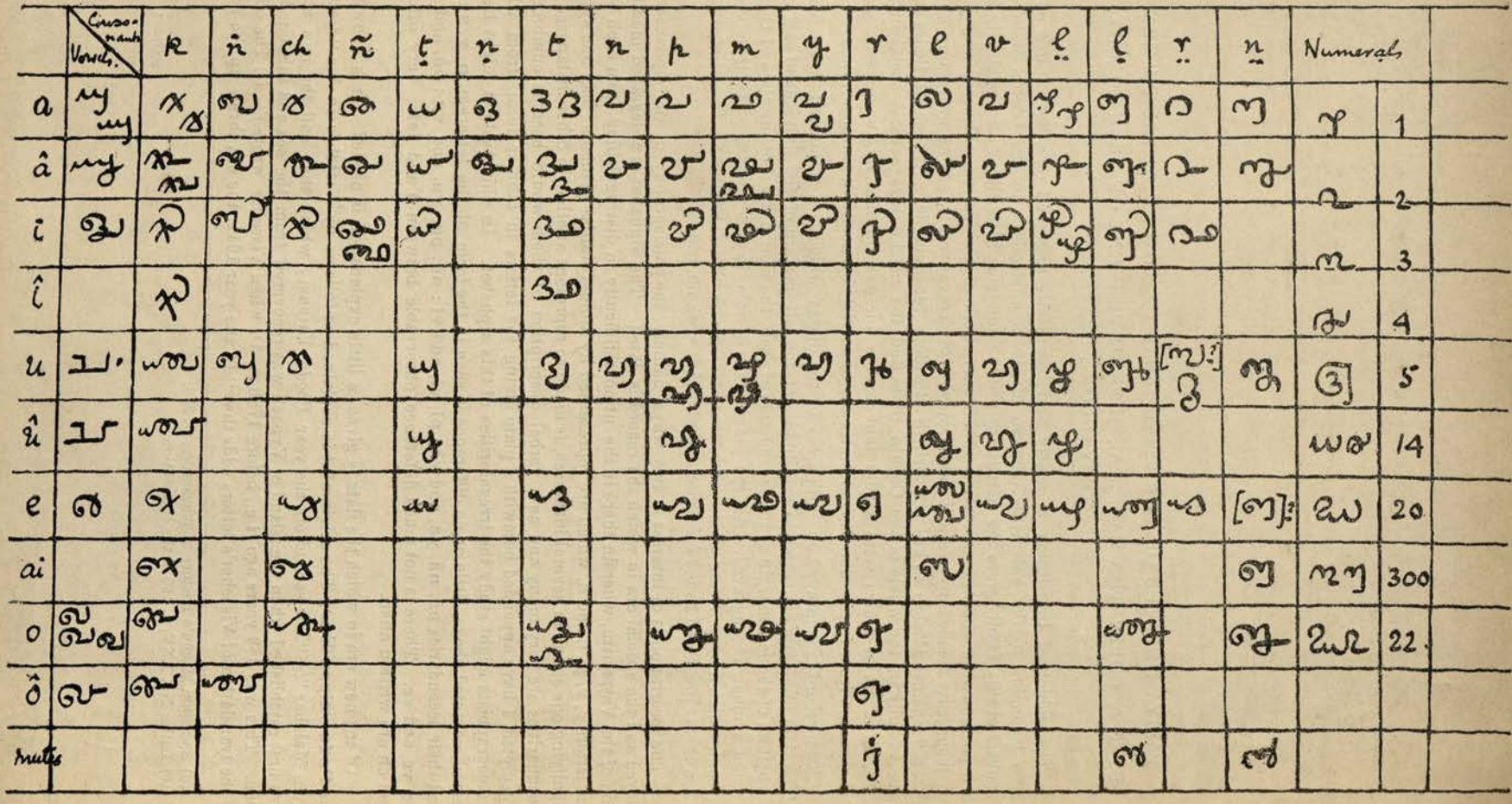
The inscription is of interest in two ways, namely, the palæography of the alphabet employed and the special era in which the record is dated. The alphabet is a degraded modification of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu, wherein there is the utmost difficulty in distinguishing from each other the letters *p*, *v*, *y*, *l*, and *n*, which are represented by almost similar symbols: nay one symbol signifying one sound in several instances, is made to represent another in other instances. The peculiarities are very many and as a verbal description of them would become cumbrous if attempted, I have appended herewith a plate giving the letters in tabular form, from which palæographists might study the irregularities of this alphabet. In this table it might be observed, as noted above, little or no difference is seen in the form of the letters **p**, **n**, **y**, and **v**, and their secondaries **pâ**, **nâ**, **yâ**, and **vâ**; **pi**, **yi**, and **vi**: **nu**, **pu**, **yu**, and **vu**: **pû**, and **vû**: **pe**, **ye**, and **ve**. There is not much difference observable between **ṅ** and **lai**. Very often **k** and **ch** are written alike.

Of the new era in which the date is given, a little explanation is needed. It is known as the **Pudu-vaippu** Era. The origin of it is explained as follows by Visscher in his "Letters from Malabar":—"The second era the year *Pooda Vaipum*: which they call the new style, was first established when the island of Vypeen was recovered from the sea and inhabited by men. This was 383 years ago (**i.e.**, before 1723 A. D. when Visscher wrote.)" (*b*) The editor of the translation of Visscher's letters adds that "In the year 1341, the sea threw up the small

(*a*) Śaṅguṇṇi Mênôn's History of Travancore, p. 336.

(*b*) Letter No. XXV, p. 150 of the translation.

Table showing the Letters employed in the Paliyam Plates of the 322nd. year (=1662 A.D.) of the Pudu-Vaippu Era



island of Vypeen on the north side of Cochin. The waters breaking through the river Cocci, swept away the village and formed a large river and back-water, and so spacious a harbour, that large ships can lie safely at anchor in the river on the North-east side of the town of Cochin. Vaipeen is thirteen miles long and one mile broad. The natives date their era from the period of its origin. This is called *Poodu-Vaypa* from the two Malayâḷam words *poodu*, new and *veypa*, foundation" (c). It was current for some time, but I do not know if any one uses it at present.

Besides the two features of the document already mentioned, it might be also noted that this is the first extant agreement between the Râja of Cochin and the Dutch East India Company. No doubt the record alludes to a previous agreement, but it is not forthcoming. It is upon this treaty that the Dutch settlements on the West Coast were established. The period to which the inscription under discussion belongs marks also the decline of the Portuguese supremacy in India.

The inscription is **dated** the 14th *Mînam* in the year **322** of the **Pudu-Vaippu** era: that is, it corresponds to the 22nd. March, 1663 A. D. The record begins with an allusion to the several misfortunes that the royal family of Cochin suffered on account of the internal dissensions that prevailed in its five collateral branches and proceeds to state that this agreement with the Dutch was drawn up after deliberation with the *prabhus* (lords) residing North and South of the river Kâñjirapuḷai, the Vâḷai prabhu and Avaṇâ Nambûri, held in the temple of Bhagavati at Paḷayaṉṉûr. The object of the treaty is said to be to ensure the safety of the Cochin royal family (*Svarûpam*) by entering into friendly relationship with The Hon'ble the Dutch East India Company (or as the record has it *vegumânappaṭṭa Lêndakummañji*) and to guide the conduct of the *anantaravars* in future. As a consequence of the feud that existed in the royal family, the Portuguese (*Paṟuṅgi*) also joined its enemies and caused to it lot of harm. Therefore, their alliance was overthrown and the new one with the Dutch was contracted: the terms of the agreement which was drawn up on the occasion are recorded on these five plates as follows :—

(1). The Dutch having come in possession of the fort at Cochin which was first built by the Portuguese, their occupation of the forts at Cranganore (Koḍuṅṅallûr), Pallippuram and Pâmbâ was ratified in writing by the Râja of Cochin. He also permits the Dutch the enjoyment of the produce of the islands (*turuttu*) of Pâdiri-turuttu, Poṭṭa-turuttu and Veṇḍu turuttu, as also the services of the slaves who were working under the Portuguese, who are now made over to the Dutch.

(2). In the open space in front of the fort at Cochin which is purposely left so and which is bounded on the South by the land belonging to the Râja, the west boundary of the plot of land known as the *Naḍuḍal-paṟambu*, the *Tirumaṅṅalattu paṟambu* and the *Chakkâlakka paṟambu* and on the east by the Bhagavati Temple, no one shall plant any trees, without the previous express sanction of the Hon'ble Company.

(3). If there occurs any disturbance between the subjects of the Cochin State and the Dutch Company, each party is bound to restore the men belonging to the respective Government for punishment.

(4). No succession fee shall be levied (by the Cochin Government apparently) upon the descendants of the seven classes of subjects that were set apart once by the Cochin Râjas for the services of the Portuguese and upon the Christian converts whom the Portuguese brought down from the Canara side. Nor can their persons be substituted by others.

(c) Ibid, foot-note.

(5). No pepper that grows in Cochin territory shall be permitted to get out of its limits, but shall be collected, weighed and delivered over to the Company.

(6). When the Company is in need of the help of the Cochin forces, the Râja should render it all possible assistance with his men: similarly, if the Râja wants help of the Company, the latter should bind itself to put down his enemies and protect his kingdom.

(7). During the times of hardship which the Râja was obliged to pass through, the **chief of Vaḍakkaṅkûṟu** rendered great help to him: in grateful recognition of this the Râja promises to give him assistance whenever wanted by him.

(8). If the Cochin royal family becomes poor in children and it is required to go in for adoption, such adoptions shall be taken from the **Châḻiyûr** line only. Even then, such a step should not be taken without previously intimating the matter to the Company and taking their counsel in that connection.

(9). The Mênôn of Pâliyam has, for the good of the royal family, served faithfully in several ways: therefore, the Râja binds himself to protect the family (*taṟavâḍu*) for ever and ever.

(10). The temples, the brâhmaṇas and the cows in the following places shall specially be protected by the Râja of Cochin:—Paḻayannûr, Tiruvallâmala, Tiruchchivappêrûr, Ûragam (Ûrôtta) Iruññâḍakkûḍa, Tiruvañjaikkuḷam, Tiruppûṇittuṟai and Tiruvallây. The temple affairs should not be allowed to fall in desuetude. In addition to these the Râja should offer facilities for *yâgas* and other brahmanical ceremonies.

(11). The representatives of the Koṅṅiṉi mahâjanam requested the ancestors of the Râja of Cochin to take them (Koṅṅiṉis) under their protection and also build for them a temple. Thereupon, a plot of land was given them for the latter purpose and also arrangements made for the conduct of the festivals in the temple built by them. The Râja now binds himself to protect these subjects as in old times. As in times of his misfortunes, these subjects amply helped him with money, he promises further that in the matter of protection and punishment the Koṅṅiṉis shall be treated just in the same manner as the other brâhmaṇas.

When the Koṅṅiṉis first came to the Cochin territory, they requested that they should be protected by the kings of Cochin just as they were by the kings of *Kaḍamalayâḷam*. In compliance with this request, they were then exempted from the succession fee. But then it was the custom that when a Koṅṅiṉi died without heirs, his property was taken charge of jointly by the Râja's officers and the representatives of the Koṅṅiṉis and divided into two equal parts, one of which went into the royal treasury and the other to the temple of Tirumaladêva. This custom shall be observed in future also.

(12). All the misfortunes that befell the royal family are directly attributed to the negligence on the part of its members in paying reverence to their family gods in the palace at Chitrakûṭam in Perumpaḍappu. The dissensions in the family enabled the Sâmuri to encroach upon the country comprising Perumpaḍappu and its adjoining parts: as a consequence, the Cochin royal family was disabled from paying personal obeisance to its family gods. Therefore, the Râja exhorts his *anantaravars* that in alliance with the Kummañji (Company) they must try their utmost to obtain possession of the said tract of land.

The record winds up by saying that, if the members of the royal family observed scrupulously the arrangements made in the preceding paras, there is not the least doubt that peace and happiness would be firmly established in it and it would suffer no reverses in future.

Last of all the Râja states that "We ordered these clauses of the agreement to be engraved upon copper plates in the presence of all those who were assembled here as witnesses to this deed and have affixed our signature to it."

The above is a free rendering of the contents of the document. Let us now turn our attention to the facts alluded to therein. Sometime before 1660, the Portuguese deposed prince Vîra Kêraḷavarman and set upon the throne his aunt Gaṅgâdhara-Mahâlakshmi (*d*). Vîra Kêraḷavarman opened negotiations with the Dutch East India Company at Ceylon inviting them to attack the Portuguese, drive them away and reinstate him on the throne: in return he promised them all facilities in their trade in the produce of Malabar. Meanwhile, Pâliyattu Achchan, the prime minister of Cochin, who had some personal misunderstandings with the Portuguese fell in co-operation with the deposed prince and was expecting the arrival of the Dutch fleet. While reconnoitering in the sea to find out the best place from which the fort at Cochin could be attacked, he saw the Dutch fleet coming, met its admiral, settled some terms of a treaty of alliance and signed it on board the ship. The Dutch then attacked Cochin, but were not successful in capturing it: they then proceeded against Cranganore, reduced and took possession of it easily. They then set sail to Batavia to return once again with a stronger fleet. All this took place in 1662 A. D. Early in 1663, the Dutch once again appeared before Cochin, but this time they succeeded in compelling the Portuguese to capitulate. A cadjan manuscript belonging to the Cochin palace library containing copies of all treaties and agreements, &c., between the princes of Cochin and other powers, mentions that the Portuguese on their capitulation agreed that,

(1). They shall make over the fort at Cochin to the Dutch, together with the islands called Pâdiritturuttu, Poṭṭatturuttu and Veṇḍutturuttu

(2) that all the arms and ammunition, as also all articles of merchandise are to be handed over to the Dutch,

(3) that the Dutch are to take any Portuguese living in Cochin to Goa, if so desired by them,

(4) that the Goanese converts, known as **Kannaḍi** *Kristam* residing in and near the Cochin fort, are handed over to the Dutch with the entreaty that they should be treated kindly.

The key of the fort of Cochin was delivered in the hands of the Dutch Admiral Ryklof Van Goens on the morning of January 8th, 1663 A.D.

It is after this event, it appears, that the Râja of Cochin and the Dutch entered into the agreement recorded in our document: a copy with some difference is also found in the manuscript above referred to.

The Cochin royal family is said, in the inscription, to have consisted of five collateral branches, a statement which Visscher, in his "Letters from Malabar" confirms thus, "The hereditary princes of Cochin consisted formerly of five families, which have been reduced by death to three, those of Paliat, Montata Viesse, and Shalour." The prince Vîra Kêraḷavarman who is mentioned in the manuscript as one of the parties to the agreement engraved on the copperplates under notice, belonged according to the cadjan manuscript to the eldest branch, the Châḷiyûr one.

The family of the Râjas of Cochin is known by the distinct title, the *Perumpadappu Svarûpam* just in the same way as the family of the Travancore Sovereign is called Tiruppâppûr

(*d*) For a detailed account of this period see Day's "The Land of the Perumâḷs" and the paper entitled "A chapter from the History of Cochin" in the Malabar Quarterly Review for....by Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L.

svarûpam. This name of the Cochin royal family is explained by Mr. Sankara Menon, B.A., (and this is also the popular version) in his Census Report for 1901, thus:—"The oldest name of the State is Perumpadappu, for Cochin is that part of Kerala which come under the eldest son of Cherman Perumal's sister by the Perumpadappu Namburi. The ruling house of Cochin is locally known as Perumpadappu svarupum and the Râjas of Cochin hold the territory by right of descent from Cherman Perumal."

The following names of places occur in this inscription:—Koḍuṅṅallûr, Paḷḷipuram, Pâmbâ, Pâdiri-ttiruttu, Poṭṭattiruttu, Veṇḍu-turuttu, Paḷayaṉṉûru, Tiruvallâmalai, Tiruchchivaṯṯêrûr, Ûragam, Iruṅṅâḍakkûḍa, Tiruvañjaikkuḷam, Tiruppûṇittuṟai, Tiruvallây, Kaḍamalayâḷam and Perumbaḍappu. Of these Koḍungallûr is the modern Cranganore and Paḷḷippuram a village on the northern extremity of the island of Vypeen and both of these are situated on opposite banks of the river Periyâr at its mouth. The term *turuttu* is a corruption of the Tamiḻ word *turutti* meaning an island in the middle of a river; Veṇḍu-turuttu goes now by the name of *Veṇḍurutti* and lies near Cochin. Paḷayaṉṉûr, Tiruvallâmalai, Ûragam, Iruṅṅâḍakkûḍa, Tiruvañjaikkuḷam, Tiruppûṇittuṟa and Tiruchchivaṯṯêrûr are in the Cochin State. The last is Trichûr of the present day. Kaḍamalayâḷam means the extreme Malayâḷam country, and apparently applies to the northern limit of the Malayâḷam country ruled over by the Zamorin and others. Perumbaḍappu is a village, now in British Malabar, which gives its name to the ruling family of Cochin.

Text (1)

First Plate: First Side.

1. அருளிச்செய்க [॥*] நம்மூடே அனதரவர் (2) மேல்ப்பட்ட வெகுமானப்பெட்ட கும் மஞ்ஞி-
2. யே விச்சோதிச்ச நம்மூடே தொரூபத்தே செக்கிச்ச செல்லேண்டும் பெறகாரத் தின்ன
3. அங்ஙோட்டு மிங்ஙோட்டும் விச்சோதிச்ச ஓடம்படிக்க எழுதி வெச்சரிக்குந்ந
4. பெறகாரத்தின்னும் மேல்பட்ட அனந்தரவர் நட [க் *]க ஏண்டும் பெரகாரத்தின்னு-
5. ம் புதுவப்ப நடாஉல் ரமத மேடமாதம் பழெயன்னூர் பகவதியுடே நடயில் காஞ்ஞி-
6. ர[பொ] ழெயால் தெக்கும் [வடக்கும்] (3) ஒள்ள பெறபுக்கள்மார்வும் வேங்ஙஞட்டு கிராமத்தில்
7. தச்சனங்ஙளில் வாழைபெரபும் அவணுரம்பூரியேயும் திக்கிஆயிவச்சு -
8. ம் கொண்ட எழுதிவச்ச வப்பு ஆகுந்நத [॥*] நம்மூடே தொரூபத்திலேகல் அஞ்ஞ தாவழி -
9. யும் தம்மில் மல்த்தரம் கொண்டு அநேகம் கூட்டம் ஆபத்துகள் உண்டாவதின் -

First Plate: Second Side.

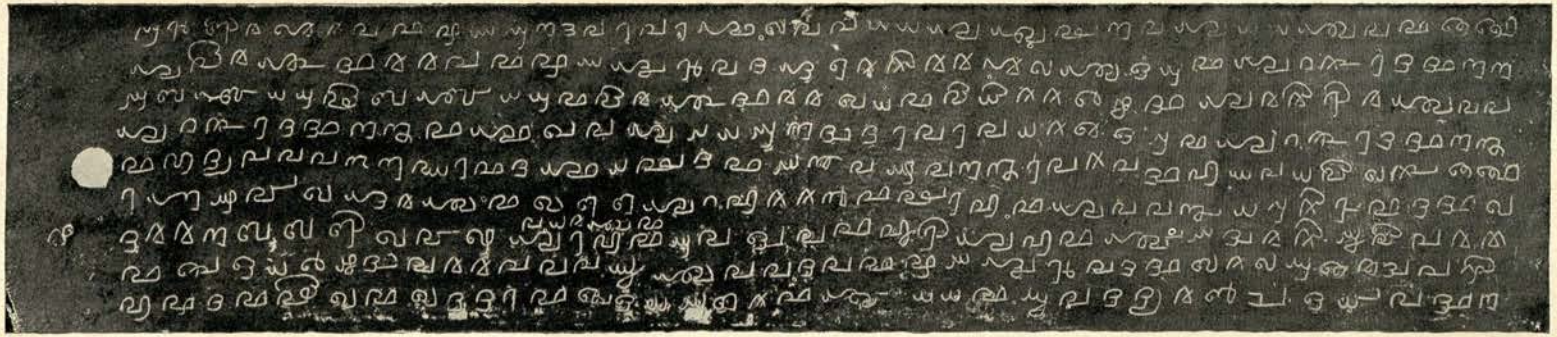
10. றே தோழம் பறங்கிகூட நம்மூடே சத்துருக்கள்(க்க) தகாயமாயி யிப்ப ந -
11. ம்மூடே தொரூபத்திலேக்கு(க்க) ஏறின அனர்த்தங்ஙள் அனுபவிச்சாறே நாம்

(1) From impressions prepared under my supervision. The transliteration has been done in Tamiḻ in preference to Malayâḷam for two reasons; *viz.*, (1) only those letters that are in the Tamiḻ alphabet are employed in this record and the spelling is precisely as in the Tamiḻ language. (2) If the Malayaḷam characters were to be employed, conjunct consonants would have to be used to be consistent with the modern system of Malayâḷam writing, which will go against the rigorous method of transliteration employed in epigraphical publications.

(2) Read *அனந்தரவர்*

(3) The letters within brackets are engraved below the line.

I.a.



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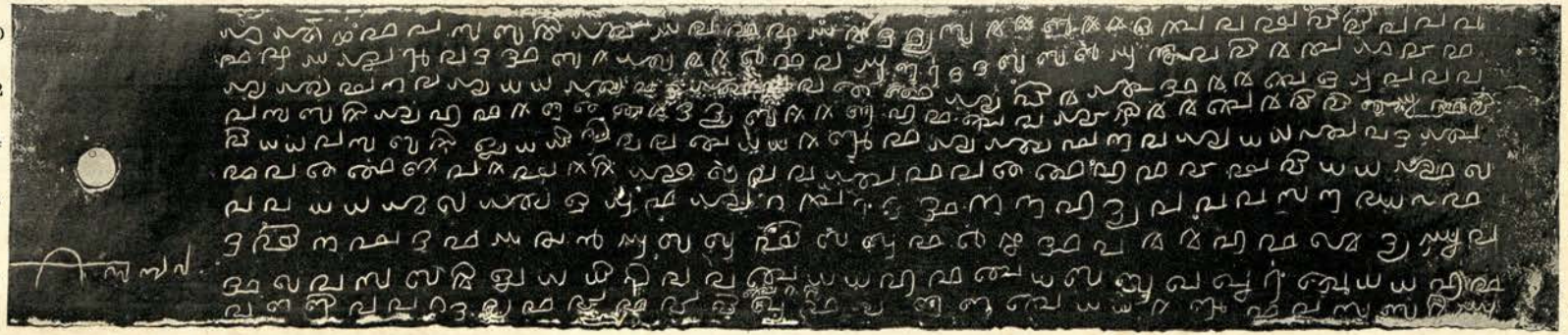

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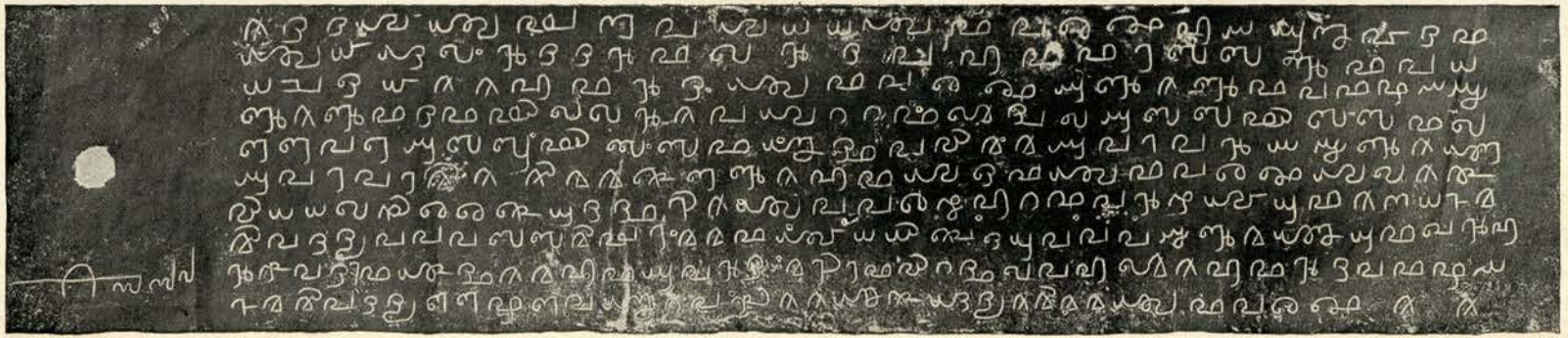
II.a.

II.b.



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12. வெகுமானப்பெட்ட லேந்தகும்பஞ்ஞியே விச்சோதிச்ச கொண்டு
13. பறுங்கியேயும் களஞ்ஞ சத்துறுக்களயும் கோப்பொழிச்ச கொச்சியில் ஆதியி -
14. [யி] ட்ட பறுங்கி இட்டிரிந்ந கோட்டகளும் வெகுமானப்பெட்ட லேந்தகு -
15. ம்பஞ்ஞிகைவசமாக்கி மேல்பட்ட கும்பஞ்ஞியும் நாமாயிட்ட மேல் -
16. ப்பட்ட செல்லேண்டும் பெறகாரத்தின்ன புதுவப்ப ௩௱௨௰௨ ம -
17. த மீனமாதம் ௰௪௨ அங்ஙமிங்ஙம் எழுதிவக்கவும் சேது [||*] ஆய -
18. தில் பறுங்கி இட்டிரிந்ந [கொச்சி] கோட்டயும் கொடுங்ஙல்லூர் கோட்டயும்
19. பள்ளிப்புறத்தும் பாம்பாவிலும் ஒள்ள கோட்டகளும் பறுங்கி அ -

Second Plate: First Side.

20. னுபவிச்சிருந்ந பாதிரி [திரி*] த்தும் பொட்டதுருத்தும் வெண்டுதுருத்தும்
21. உல்ப்பத்திகளும் பறுங்கியுடே வேலக்காரா யிட்டள்ள அடிமக -
22. ளம் வெகுமானப்பெட்ட கும்பஞ்ஞிக்க ஆயரிக்கத்தக்கவண்ணம் எழுதிவெ -
23. ச்சிரிக்குந்நவு [||*] கொச்சி கோட்டக்கு புறத்த வெட்டியெளுப்பிச்ச பரப்பு நி-
24. லத்தின்றே அதர்த்தி தநதி பாகத்தின்ன வடகக இதின்ன [வி ?] ழக்கதக்க -
25. ல் (?) கோயிலகத்தின்னும் இதின் [னு] வடக்க நடுதல்பறம்பின்றே
26. படிஞ்ஞாறே அதர்த்திக்கும் இதின்னும் வடக்க பகவதி இரிக்-
27. குந்நதின்னும் படிஞ்ஞாற இதின்ன வடக்க கிழக்க திருமங்ங-
28. லத்த பறம்பின்னு[ம்] சக்காலக்கபறம்பின்னும் வடக்க இ-
29. ருவேலிக்கும் கல்லுப்பத்திக்கும் படிஞ்ஞாற இதின்ன-

Second Plate: Second Side.

30. கத்த வெகுமானப்பெட்ட கும்பஞ்ஞியுடே அனுவாதம்
31. கூடாதே ஒருததரும் ஒருத[ய்யும்] மாங்ஙளும் நட்-
32. ட உண்டாக்கயுமருத [||*] கும்பஞ்ஞி அ (ஆ)ளுகளும் நம்முட ஆ-
33. ளுகளும் தம்மில் ஒரு கய்யேற்றம் சேதால் அங்ஙமிங்ஙம் ஒ-
34. ள்ளவரே அங்ஙமிங்ஙம் போதிப்பிச்ச அவரவருடே ஆளுகளை
35. அவரவர [சி]க்கிச்ச கொள்ளுகயும் வேணம் [||*] கும்பஞ்ஞி வேலக்கா-
36. யிட்ட ஒழிஞ்ஞ கொடுத்திருக்குந்ந ஏழுபுறம் பருழயோடும் கனடராச்-
37. சியத்துந்ந பறுங்கி மார்க்கம்கூட்டிகொண்டு வந்ந ஆளுகளோடும் ஒருபு-
38. ருழாந்தரம் சோதிக்கயுமருத [||*] சரீரம் பிரதிஒப்பு சேகயுமருத [||*] நம்முடே
39. ராச்சியத்துள்ள முளவ பொறவழிக்க போகாதே துக்கிச்ச கும்பஞ்ஞிக்க

Third Plate: First Side.

40. கொடுக்கணம் [||*] கும்பஞ்ஞிக்க ஓர ஆவிச்சம் வரும்போ நம்முடே ஆ-
41. ளுகளேகொண்ட வேண்டுந்ந தகாயங்ஙள் சேதுகொடுத்த கும்பஞ்ஞி
42. ஆயிட்டுள்ள விச்சாதம் எல்லாயாளும் செய்யத்தக்க வண்ணம் வி-
43. ச்சோதிச்ச பிந்ந நமுக்க ஒரு சத்துறு உண்டாகும்போள் கும்ப-
44. ஞ்ஞியகொண்ட சத்துறுயின்றே அமர்ச்சயும் வருத்தி நம்முட ராச்சி-
45. [ய]வும் ரெக்கிச்ச வெகுமானப்பெட்ட கும்பஞ்ஞி ஆயிட்ட விச்சா-
46. தமாயிட்டதன்ன எந்ந எந்நக்கும் நடப்பு கொள்கயும் வேணம் [||*] ந-
47. முக்க ஆபத்துகள் உண்டாயிரிக்கும்போள் வடக்குங்கூற்றில் நாய-
48. ரி ஆகுந்ந தகாயங்கள் சேதிரிக்ககொண்ட நாயரிக்க ஓர ஆவிச்ச-
49. ம் (ரு)வரும்போள் வேண்டுந்ந தகாய[ம்] சேதகொடுத்த நடத்திகொள்-

Third Plate : Second Side.

50. கயும் வேணம் [||*] நம்மூட தொரூபத்திலேகல் ஆளுபோராதே தெத்த வக்க-
51. ண்டி வந்துவெங்கில் சாழியூர் காவழியுந்ந(ர)ல்லாதே தெத்த வக்கயு-
52. மருத [||*] சாழுருந்நதன்ன தெத்த வக்கும் போழும் வெகுமானப்பெட்ட
53. கும்பஞ்ஞியேகூட போதிப்பிச்ச குணதோழம் விசாரிச்சல்லாதே
54. தெத்த வக்கயு மருத [||*] இ தோரூபத்திலேகல் குணத்தின்ன பாலியத்த மே-
55. னுண்ம்மார் நம்மே கூடவேண்டுந்ந பெற[ய]ந் நங்ஙகள் சேதிரி-
56. க்ககொண்ட எந்ந எந்நக்கும் அவரட தறவாட ரெக்கிச்ச நடத்திகொள்-
57. கயும் வேணம் [||*] பழயன்னூர் திருவல்லாமலே திரிச்சிவபேரூர்
58. ஊ[ரோ]த்த இரிங்ஙாடகூட திருவஞ்சக்குளத்த திரிப்பூணத்த-
59. றே திருவல்லாயே இச்சேதத்திறங்ஙள் பெறத்தேதகம் நாம் ரெச்சிக்க-

Fourth Plate : First Side.

60. ண்டதாக்கொண்ட இச்சேத்[த*]றங்ஙள் ஒர ஏறக்குறவு கூடாதே நடத்தி-
61. கொள்ளணம் [||*] இதினகத்துள்ள பிராம்மணரயும் பசுக்களயும்
62. வழிபோலே ரெக்கிச்ச யாகாதி கர்ம்மங்ஙகளும் நடத்திக்க சே[ய]-
63. வு கொள்ளணம் [||*] கொங்ஙிணி மகா சேனங்ஙள் அ[ம்மாமன்] ம்மாரேப்பவு
    கண்ட
64. அவர்க்க இரிப்பான் வேண்டுந்ந பூமிகளும் ரெச்சுக்க ஆயிட்ட வே-
65. ண்டுந்நதினயும் கொடுத்த அவர்க்க ஒரு சேத்தறம் ஒண்டாக்கணமெந்-
66. ந அபேச்சிக்க கொண்ட ஆயதின்ன வேண்டுந்நதலவும் அதின்ன ஒக்க-
67. யும் தீட்டேரங்ஙகளும் கொடத்த சேத்தறத்தில் அடியந்தரத்தின்ன அ-
68. ம்மாமன்ம்மாராயிட்ட வெச்ச நடத்தி இரிக்குந்நதின்னும் ஒர-
69. [ஏ]றக்குறவு கூடாதே நடத்திச்ச ஆ பருழகளேயும் அம்மாமன் -

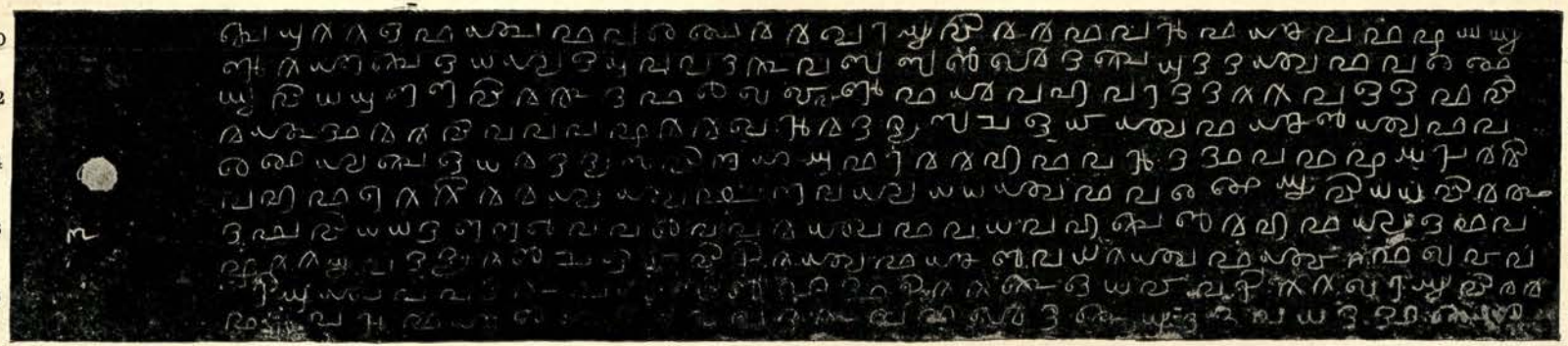
Fourth Plate : Second Side.

70. ம்மார் தீட்டுரம் கொடுத்த நடத்தி இரக்குந்ந பிறகாரம்
71. ரெச்சிச்ச கொள்ளணம் [||*] நம்மூட ஆபத்து காலத்த இ பருழகள்
72. தெரி[வி]ம் கொண்டு வேண்டுந்ந தகாயம் சேதிரிக்குந்நவ-
73. ரத்தறே ஆகுந்நத [||*] இவரே பிராம்மண மரியாதபோலே உள்ள-
74. சிக்காரெக்க அல்லாதே சேதுபோகயு மருத [||*] கொங்ஙணி மகாசென-
75. ங்ஙள் இவிடவந்ந அம்மாமன்ம்மாரே கடமலயாளத்தில்
76. பிராம்மணரே ரெச்சிக்குந்ந பிறகாரம் ஞங்ஙளயும் ரெச்சிச்சு கொ-
77. ள்ளணமெந்ந அவர் அபேச்சிக்க கொண்டத்தரே கொங்ஙணிகள்-
78. க்க புருழாந்தரம் வேண்டா எந்ந வச்சிரிக் குந்நத [||*] கொங்ஙிணி-

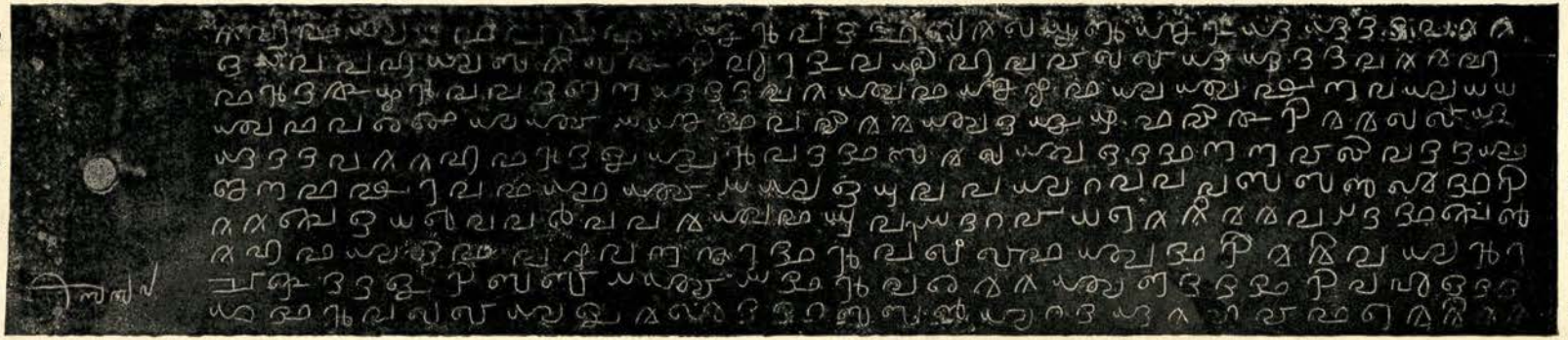
Fifth Plate : First Side.

79. களில் ஒருத்தன் அற்று போயால் அவன்றே [மு]தல் நம்மூட ஆளுக-
80. ளும் மகா சௌங்ஙளும் கூடி போதிச்ச [ஒள்ள] முதலில் பாதி நமு-
81. க்கும் பாதி திருமலதேவனும் ஆயிட்டத்தறே கீழில் அம்மாமன்ம்-
82. மார் வெச்சிரிக்குந்நத [||*] மே(ர)லிலும் அப்பறகாரம் ஆயிகொள்ளணம் [||*] பெ-

III.a.



III.b.



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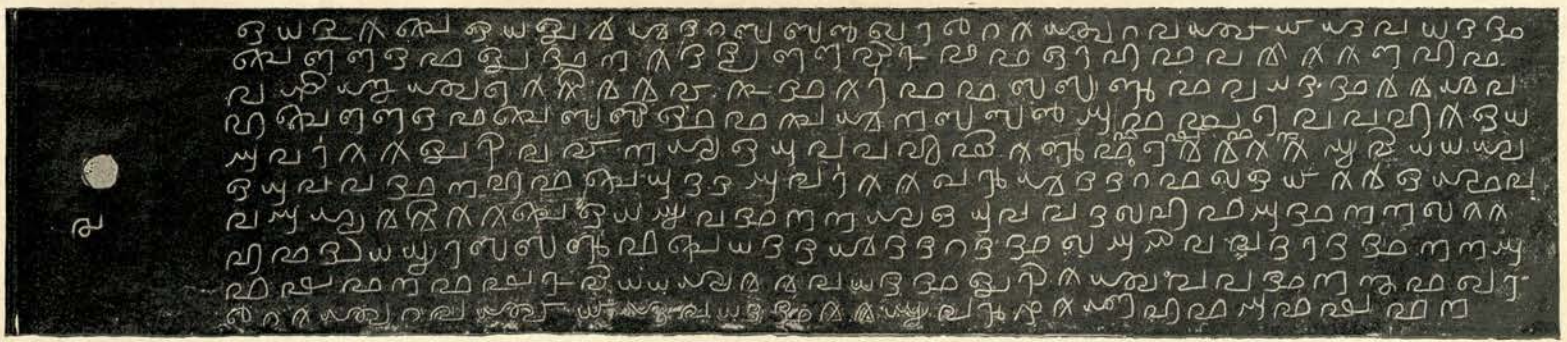
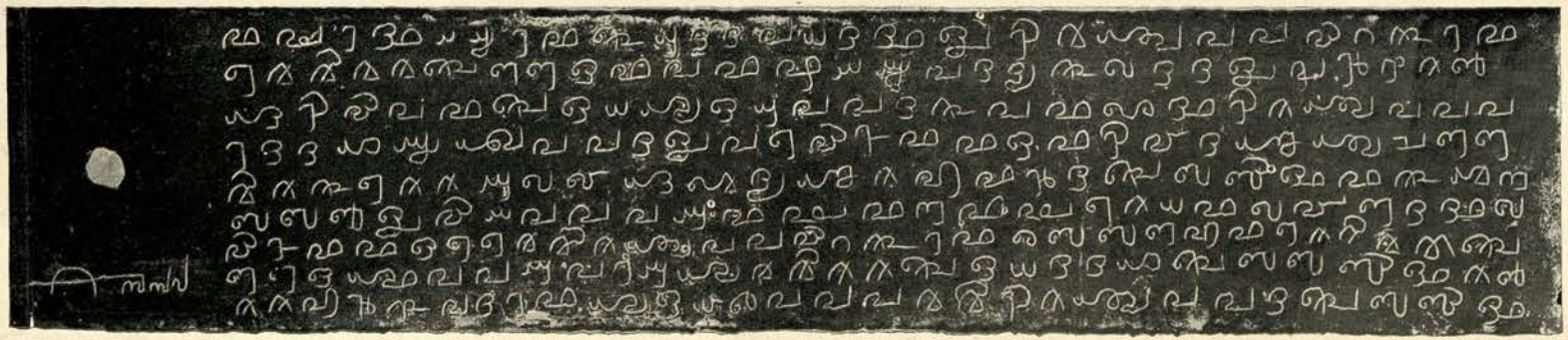
IV.a.



IV.b.



T A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0·6 HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

Paliyam Plates of the 322nd year of the Pudu-vaippu Era.

83. ரும்படப்பில் சித்திரகூடத்தில் நம்முட கோவிலகத்தவரு தேவதமா-
84. ர தேவிக்கொண்டும் பிறகாரம் தேவிக்காயிக்கொண்டத்தமே நமுக்க ஓரோரோ-
85. ஆபத்துகள் தம்பவிச்சத [|| *] நம்முட தொரூபத்திலேகல் தாவழி மல்த்த-
86. ரம் கொண்ட ஆயதின்ன தாமுரிகூடே தகாயமாயிட்ட அவிடம் ஒக்கயும்
87. தாமுரி ஆக்கறமிச்ச இரிக்ககொண்டத்தமே அவிடம் செக்கிச்ச செந்த-
88. தேயிப்பான் தங்நதிவராஞ்ஞத [|| *] ஆவ்விடம் (4) மும்பிலத்தேதானம் வரு-

Fifth Plate : Second Side.

89. வேளத்தக்க கும்பஞ்ஞியும் ஒருமிக்க நம்மாலாகுந்நபெ-
90. றயத்தணவ செயவும் [|| *] அனந்தரவர் காலத்தும் ஆவ்விடம் நம்[மு]டே தொ -
91. ரூபத்திலேகே செக்கிச்ச செல்லு வாறு யோளம்கும்பஞ்ஞியும்
92. ஒருமிச்ச வேண்டுந்ந பெறயத்தணம் சேதுகொள்ளணம் [|| *] இ எழுதி இரிக்-
93. குந்ந பிறகாரம் விசாரிச்ச மேல்ப்பட்ட கடப்பு கொண்டால் நம்-
94. முடே தொரூபத்திலேகல்க்க ஓர அந்தரம் வராதே இரிப்புகொள்ளுகயும் செய்யு-
95. ம் [|| *] அதின்ன ஒக்கயும் நம்முடே தொரூபத்திலேகல்க்க வெகுமானப்பெட்ட கும்
வஞ்-
96. ஞி தகாயமாயி இரிக்கயும் செயயும் அப்பறகாரமத்தமே நாம் கும்பஞ்ஞியே விச்சோதி-
97. ச்ச இரிக்குந்நத [|| *] இப்பறகாரம் செம்புதகட்டில் எ [ழு] தி இக்கூடிய ஆளுகள
98. எல்லாவரயும் தாக்கியாயிவச்சும் கொண்ட ஒப்ப குத்திவச்ச ஆகுந்நத

Translation

ll. 1—8. (This is) the royal command.(1) This is the message(2) of ours written in the presence of the *prabhus* residing on the North and South of the (river) Kâñjirappuḷai and the Vâḷai-prabhu(3) and Avaṇâ-nambûri among the members of the Southern (groups of) villages of Vêṅgai-nâḍu, who were made the *dikkis*,(4) in the temple of (the goddess) Bhagavati Paḷayaṉṉûr on the 29th of (the month) Mêḍam in the year 320 of the Pudu-vappu era; written in conformity with the agreement that was drawn after consulting here (*i.e.* with us) and there (*i.e.* with the Company) about how our *anantaravars* should behave towards the Company and thereby protect our family and how they should be on friendly terms with it (the Company).

ll. 8—17. We, having realised that the several reverses that befell us on account of the disturbances and dangers consequent upon the hatred(5) existing between the members of the five collateral lines of our family on account of which even the *Paṟaṅgi*(6) joined our enemy, —we have befriended ourselves with the Hon'ble the Lênda Company, dropping our allegiance with the *Paṟaṅgis*; disarmed the enemy :(7) made over to the Hon'ble the Lênda(8) Company

(4). Read அவ்விடம்.

(1). *Aruḷichchaiga* = *Tam. Aruḷichcheygai*; literally, it means 'the act which the king is pleased to do.'

(2). *Vappu*; the correct form of this is the Tamiḻ word *vaippu*, meaning 'anything that is kept.'

(3). Sanskrit words are often written as in the vulgar Tamiḻ language, *e. g.*, *vichchôdichu* for *viśvasichchu*, *rekkichchu* for *rakshichchu*, *peragâram* for *prakâram*, *perabukkaḷ* for *prabhukkaḷ*, *torûpam* for *svarûpam* &c. Hence there is no necessity for the employment of grantha letters or conjunct consonants.

(4). *Dikki* = one that represents (a country in) one direction.

(5). *Malttaram*, *Sans.* *matsaram* = selfishness, envy.

(6). *Paṟaṅgi*, the Indian form of Frank. It is applied here to the Portuguese.

(7). *Lênda kummaññi* = Holland Company, that is, the Hon'ble the Dutch East India Company.

(8). *Kôppu*, ammunition, supplies, baggage (Gundert). *Kôppu oḻichchu* = disarmed.

the fort at Kochchi which the *Paṟaṅgi* had formerly built ; and got this treaty which defines the duties of ourselves and the aforesaid Company (towards each other), written down (for us) here and (for the Company) there, on the 14th of (the month of) Mîṇam in the 322nd. year of the Pudu-vappu era.

ll. 17—23. According to this, the forts at Kochchi, Koḍuññullûr and those at Paḷḷippuram and Pâmbâ, (the islands of) Pâdirittiruttu,(9) Poṭṭatturuttu and Veṇḍutturuttu enjoyed by the *Paṟaṅgis*, their produce and the slaves that were set apart as the servants of the *Paṟaṅgis* were written down as belonging (now) to the Hon'ble the Lênda Company.

ll. 23—31. The boundaries of the flat (piece of) land that was cleared outside the fort at Kochchi are :—to the north of our share (of it), ... to the north of the western boundary of the Naḍudal-paṟambu ; to the west of (the place) where (the goddess) Bhagavati is ; to the north-east of this, to the north of the Tirumaṅgalattu-paṟambu and the Chakkâlakka-paṟambu; to the west of Iruvêli and Kallupaṭṭi ; no one shall plant a seedling or tree within this area without the sanction of the Company.

ll. 31—34. If an affray(10) between the men of the Company and ours takes place, those that are here and there (*i.e.*, with us both) shall, after receiving orders from here and there (from us and the Company) hand over the men of each side for punishment to their respective masters.

ll. 34—37. No succession fee shall be claimed from the seven classes(11) of men that were given by us to the Company for its service and from the men whom the *Paṟaṅgi*, having converted (to their faith)(12) brought with them from the Kannaḍa districts ; nor can the persons of these be substituted by others.

ll. 37—39. (We should) take precaution that no pepper that grows in our kingdom is smuggled out of it, but get it weighed and delivered to the Company.

ll. 39—45. When the Company is in need of help, we should render it to them by supplying our men ; also make our men entertain friendly feelings towards the Company. Subsequently if we are confronted by an enemy, we should put down such with the help of the Company and thus protect our country and should behave ever and ever kindly towards the Hon'ble Company.

ll. 46—49. The Vaḍakkaṅkûṟu Nâyari(13) rendered us sufficient help when we were in need of it ; therefore whenever he needs our help, we should give him all he wants and be (also) on friendly terms with him.

ll. 49—53. Whenever our family has not got sufficient heirs and adoption is found necessary, it shall not be taken from any but the Châḷiyûr line(14). Even if members are intended to be adopted from the Châḷiyûr line, it shall not be done before consulting the Hon'ble Company about the advisability of such a step and taking its advice on the matter.

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(9). *Tiruttu* is corruption of the Tamiḷ *turutti* which means an island in a river.

(10). *Kaiyyêṟṟam* = disturbance of the peace as by an affray, brawl in the street, &c.

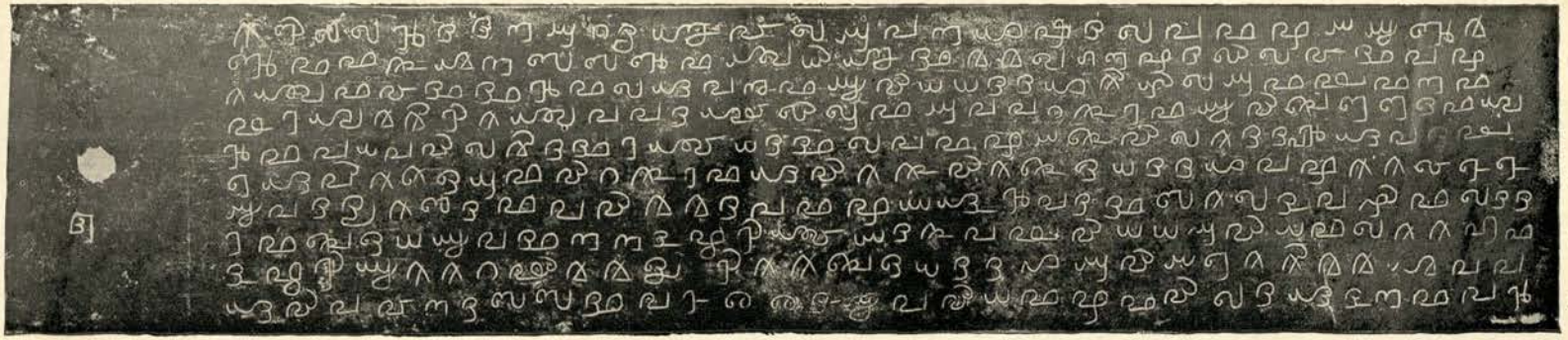
(11). *Paruḷa* is the *tadbhava* of the Sans. *parishad* = an assemblage or group, hence, a community or class as in this instance.

(12). *Mârggam-kûṭṭi-kkoṇḍu varugai* = converting to (the Christian) religion and bringing the converts. Here it refers to the Goan and Koṅkani converts.

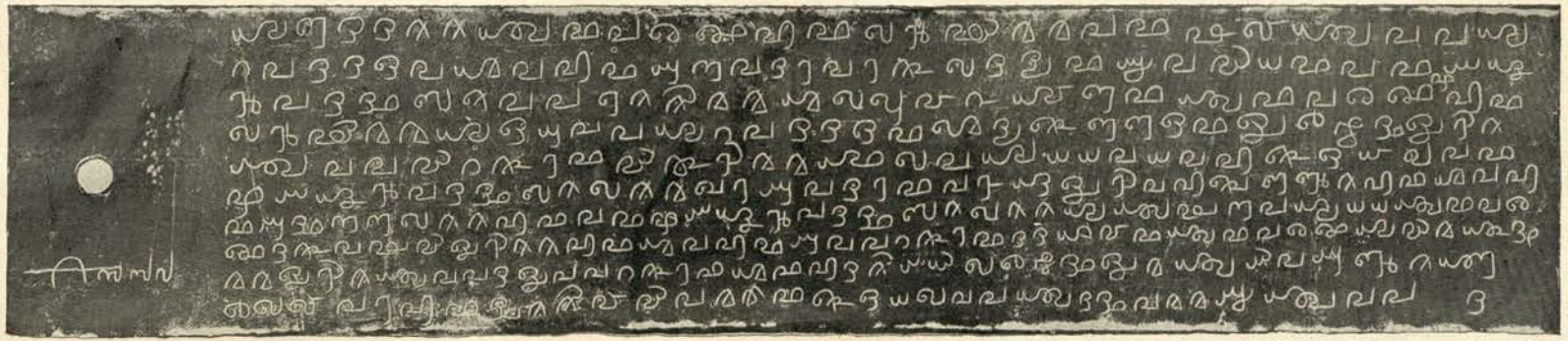
(13). This family of chiefs was subverted by Travancore whose pensioners they are at present. They are now known as the Râjas of Vaḍakkaṅkûṟu ; but the present document calls them simply Vaḍakkaṅkûṟu Nâyiri.

(14). The Cochin royal family consisted of five collateral branches or *tây-vaḷis*, of which Châḷiyûr was one.

Va.



V.b.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0·6 HALFTONE BY M. E. PRESS

Paliyam Plates of the 322nd year of the Pudu-vaippu Era.

ll. 53—56. As the Mênôns of Pâliyam(15) had exerted themselves with us for the good of this family, we should protect ever and ever their *taravâḍu*. (16)

ll. 56—62. As we are obliged to protect individually the temples at Paḷayaṉṉûr, Tiruvallâmale, Tiruchchivappêrûr, Ûrôtta, Iriññâḍakûḍa, Tiruvañjakkaḷam, Tiruppûṇittuṟa and Tiruvallâ,(16) we should do so in a regular manner. In due course, the Brâhmaṇs and the cows (living) in the above mentioned places should be protected and *yâgas* and other ceremonies be celebrated.

ll. 62—70. When the Koṅṅiṇi *mahâjanam* visited our ancestors, lands for their dwelling and the necessaries for protecting themselves were given to them; when they desired to have a temple for their worship, the land required for that purpose (erecting a temple), together with the royal orders (17) in connection with the same, were given and arrangements for the celebration of festivals were made by our ancestors. We bind ourselves to conduct these in neither more nor less satisfactory manner and to protect this class (of our subjects) in exact accordance with the promises made by our ancestors.

ll. 70—73. These subjects have rendered us monetary help during our reverses. (Therefore) these should be treated, in the matter of *raksha* (protection) and *śiksha* (punishment), like brâhmaṇas and in no other way.

ll. 73—77. When the Koṅṅiṇi *mahâjanam* came here to our ancestors and requested them to treat them as they were treated in Kaḍamalayâḷam, it was ordered that no succession fee (18) should be levied on the Koṅṅiṇis

ll. 77—81. When a Koṅṅiṇi died without heirs, (19) our ancestors have ordered that our officers and the *mahâjanams* shall take possession of his property and divide it in halves of which one shall go to us and the other to the temple of Tirumaladêva(20): in future also the same rule shall be in force.

ll. 81—84. All the troubles that befell us are attributable to the negligence on the part of the members of our palace at Chitrakûṭam in Perumbaḍappu, in not worshipping the deities in the proper manner in which they have to be worshipped.

ll. 84—91. Because there were internal dissensions in our family, the Sâmuri (21) also joined in annexing all the places around it (Perumbaḍappu) (22) and thus disabled us from

(15). These are at present called the Achchans of Pâliyam and claim a slight superiority over the common Nâyars. They were the hereditary prime ministers of the Râjas of Cochin till recently. One of the Pâliyattu Achchans joined the famous Vêlu Tambi Daḷavây who rose in rebellion against the British Government, and was consequently transported out of his country.

(16). The *ûrâṇma* of this temple seems to have belonged to the brâhman râja of Eḍapaḷḷi, who was first under the Cochin Government and subsequently came under the protection of Travancore. Then Tiruvalla (Tiruvallavâḷ) also came under the management of the Government of Travancore.

(17). *Tiṭṭûram*; the correct form of this word, says Gundert, is *tîṭṭu-varam*, which he says means, a charter, grant; a letter of the Cochin Râja. It seems to be derived from the Tamil language which has '*Kai-ttiṭṭi*,' having applied his hand (that is, having signed); 'Kai-ttiṭṭu,' latterly comes to mean, signature, and *Kai-ttiṭṭu châṛtti*, putting one's signature to. *Tiṭṭi-varam=kai-tîṭṭi-varudal*, that that comes after being duly signed.

(18). *Purushântaram*=succession fee. When a person died and his heirs entered into the possession of his property, the latter had to pay to the Government a portion of the property or its equivalent.

(19). *Aṟṟu-ppôdal* is the contracted form of *echcham=aṟṟuppôdal*, or *santati-aṟṟuppôdal*, becoming devoid of heirs.

(20). This is a richly endowed Koṅgiṇi temple situated in Cochin. It is, as seen above, a very modern temple. It maintains from its income a High School, a Sanskrit School and several other charities.

(21). The Zamorin of Calicut: later on he is called Tâmuri. (*l.* 85).

(22). The place from which the Râjas of Cochin derive their family name.

going there for offering worship. We should therefore, with the help of the Company, try our best in regaining our former possessions. Even (after us) in the days of our *anantaravars* all attempts, with the assistance of the Company, should be made to bring that (part of the) country under our protection.

ll. 91—94. If (our successors) conduct themselves in accordance with what is written above, there is no doubt that no sort of misfortune will visit our family.

ll. 94—96. For achieving all these, the Hon'ble Company will be helpful to our family and it was for that purpose we entered into friendship with the Company.

ll. 96—97. In this manner it was written on copper-plates, making all those that were present witnesses to this deed and signed (by us).

Travancore Archaeological Series

No. V

Three Sanskrit Inscriptions at Trevandram

THREE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS AT TREVANDRAM

The three subjoined inscriptions are found in the Padmanâbhasvâmin temple at Trevandram. They are all written in the Malayâḷam characters and are in tolerably good state of preservation. The language of the inscriptions is Sanskṛit.

The first is engraved on the base of the **maṇḍapa** in front of the **Ottaikkal maṇḍapa** in the Padmanâbhasvâmin temple at Trevandram.

It states that king **Bâlamârttâṇḍavarman**, the nephew (sister's son) of **Râmavarman**, who was the sovereign of the Vañchi country and was like a gem among kings, resolving to **rebuild the temple of Padmanâbha**, which was burnt down sometime previously, and having taken beforehand the permission of Padmanâbhêndrayôgi, summoned the famous brâhman architect known by the name of **Bâlakântra** and ordered him to reconstruct the temple from the **vimâna** down to the **dîpaśâlâ**. The work was started on the 29th day of the month of Âni in the year **904** Kollam, represented by the chronogram **bhûnaḷa**. In the regular course of time the central shrine, the **orraikkal maṇḍapa**, the surrounding porch, the **dîpaśâlâ**, the **alaṅkâra maṇḍapa** and the **arthagṛiha** were finished. Then the images of Padmanâbha, Lakshmi, Bhûmi, the **parivâras** and the serpent bed (of Vishṇu) were prepared. Finally, in the year **908** Kollam expressed by the chronogram **janadhi**, on the 3rd day of the month of **Paṅguṇi**, the **kumbhanyâsa** ceremony was celebrated.

The second record is also engraved on the base of the same maṇḍapa as the first.

It consists of a single verse in the **śâlini** metre and mentions that the brâhmin architect Bâlâraṇya (the same as the Bâlakântâra of the previous inscription) together with his son and disciples, being commanded by the king Bâlamârttâṇḍavarman, made the image of Padmanâbha very beautifully.

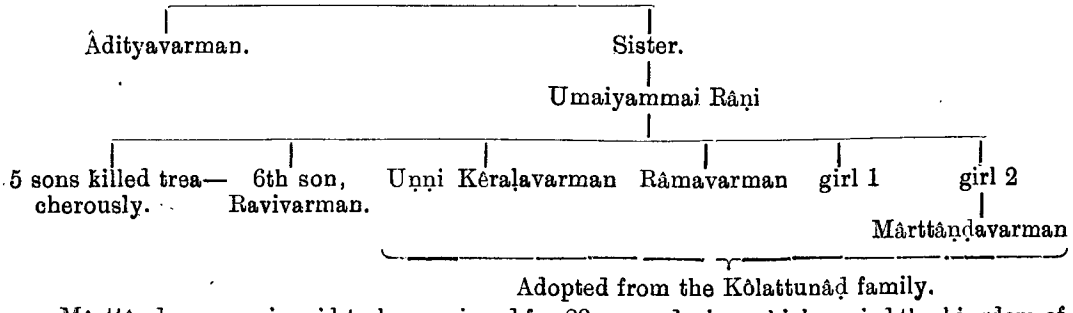
The third is found on the south and east of the large slab forming the base of the **Orraikkal-maṇḍapa** in front of the Padmanâbhasvâmin temple, and consists of a single verse in the **śârdûlavikrîḍita** metre. It records that the big slab of stone required for the **orraikkal maṇḍapa** reached the precincts of the fort of Trevandram in the year **906** Kollam expressed by the chronogram **chinnidhi**, on the **Dvâdaśi tithi** of the bright half of the month **Chaitra**, corresponding to a Thursday.

The king mentioned in these three inscriptions is the same as the Bâlamârttâṇḍavarman who is famous in the history of this country. The author of the "History of Travancore" says that this king ascended the throne in the year 904 Kollam. If this is so, the temple repairs must have been taken on hand in the very year of the coronation of the king. About the rebuilding of the temple, Mr. Shangunny Menon has the following :—"While Elia Rajah, (heir apparent) His Highness had in view the repairing and reconstruction of the pagoda at Trevandram which had become old and dilapidated. In the very year of His Highness' accession, the pagoda work was commenced, and though its progress was impeded by the mischievous proceedings of the Ettu vittil pillaimars, yet with active and energetic supervision,

the whole work was completed in the year 906 M. E. (1731 A. D.)". Continuing further, he writes that "Twelve thousand salagramams (sacred stones representing the incarnation of Vishnu, obtained from the bed of the river Gunduck, north of Benares) were procured and with these the idol of Sri Padmanabhasvami was reconstructed. At the same time, a huge piece of granite slab cut out of a rock at Tirumalai, about four miles north of Trevandram, measuring 20ft. square and 2½ ft. thick, was brought and placed in front of the idol of (Sri Padmanabhasvami) in the month of Edavom 906 M. E. (June).

We do not know from what sources Mr. Shangunny Menon drew his materials but that they have yielded fairly accurate history goes without saying. The only point which has been omitted in the history is the date of consecration, but it is yielded by our inscription No. I.

As regards Râmavarman, the uncle of Mârttâṇḍavarman, it is said therein that he was the younger brother of Uṇṇi Kêraḷavarman who died in 899 M. E. Râmavarman succeeded his brother soon after the latter's death and reigned till 904 M. E. The following pedigree for prince Mârttâṇḍavarman is obtained from "The History of Travancore"—



Mârttâṇḍavarman is said to have reigned for 29 years during which period the kingdom of Travancore was vastly improved in extent and prosperity by the collaboration of his faithful and powerful general Râma Ayyan Daḷavây and Captain De Lanoy and latterly by Dewan Râjâ Kêśava Dâs.

I am told that there was a famous brâhman called Taikkâṭṭubhaṭṭâdri, who was well versed in the śilpâgâma. The name Bâlakântâra or Bâlâraṇya might be then Sanskrit translations of Taikkâṭṭubhaṭṭâdri.

TEXT

No. I. (*)

स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] कोळंबे भू[न]ळाख्ये तिनकृति वृषगे वासरे भूप[सं]ख्ये वञ्चिक्षोणि (1)
मघोनः क्षितिपकुलमणे रामवर्म्माभिधस्य [।*] स्वस्रीयस्सत्यधर्म्मा निरुपममहि[मा]
2 बालमार्त्ताण्डवर्म्मा प्रुष्टं (2) प्राग्वद्वि[ध]तुम्मनसि निरचिनो[त्] पत्मनाभीयगेहं । (3) [॥ १*]
प्राप्यानुज्ञां यथावत्स तु नृपतिवरः पत्मनाभे (4) न्द्रयोगिश्रे-

(*) No. 35 of 1084 M.E.

(1) Read ०क्षोणी.

(2) Between प्रु and ष्टं, another ष्टं seems to have been engraved and erased.

(3) Read पद्मनाभीयगेहम.

(4) Read पद्मनाभेन्द्र०.

3 ष्ठात् सम्मन्त्र्य शिल्पागम (5) विशदमतिं बालकान्तारज्ञं (6) [।*] भूदेवञ्चागम[य्य]।शिषदहिश
[यि]नुर्म्मन्द (7) र[न्दी]पशालापर्य्यन्तञ्चाविम[ा]-
4 नादतिरुचिरतरं कारुभिः (8) कारयेति [।*] एकान्नत्रिंशवारे [ज]तुमजुषि रवौ क्षेत्रनिर्म्माणकर्म्म
प्रारभ्याथ क्रमेण व्यरचयत त[त]श्श्री-
5 विमानं विमानं (9) [॥ २*] निर्म्माप्यैको[प]लम्मण्डपमपि च महामण्डपन्दीपशालायुक्ता-
न्दिङ्मण्डपांश्चारचय[दथ]
6 चालंकार (10) सत्मार्द्धसत्म (11) ।(।) सम्यक् श्रीभूपरीवारक फणिसहितां पत्मनाभीयमूर्त्तिं नि
[र्म्म]ाप्याशेष[भू]षा अपिज-
7 नधिमिते वत्सरे मत्स्य भानौ कुंभन्यासन्तृतीये विधिवदथ[दि]ने कारयित्वां (12) शुकाद्यै-
श्शिल्पीन् (13) सम्मान्य . . . . .
8 मपि गुरुणा कारयामास रात्रौ [॥ ३*] (14) ई श्लोकंङ्गळ् . . . . . निर्म्मिच्चिद. (§)

No. II. (†)

1 स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] आज्ञात श्श्रीबालमार्त्ताण्डराजो बालारण्यक्षोणिदेवस्सपुत्रः [।*] मूर्त्तिं
2 सम्य [ङ्नि]र्म्ममे पात्मना[भीं] (15) शिष्यैर्विप्रैश्शंक[रा]द्यैस्सरामैः । [।*] (16)

No. III. (‡)

1 अब्दे चिन्निधिस[म्मि]ते श्रितलसत्तुंगे पतिंगे (17) सितद्वादश्यां चरमाद्यभे गुरुदिने लग्ने कुळी-
2 रे वरे [।*] प्राकारान्तरना(18) य्यनन्तशयितु[ः*] श्री बालमार्त्ताण्डभूपालेनैक[दृष]त् सुखे[न]
मनुजाः क[ल्प]ान्तमालोक्यताम् ॥. (19)

(5) One letter has been erased between ग and म.

(6) Read संज्ञम्.

(7) Read मन्दिर०.

(8) There is an erasure between the consonant क and its secondary *â* symbol.

(9) Read विमानम्.

(10) Though not the metre, the sense requires चा in चालङ्कार०.

(11) Read सद्मार्द्धसद्म.

(12) The *anusvâra* is engraved below the line.

(13) Read शिल्पिं ; शिल्पीन् was mistakenly written for शिल्पिनं.

(14) Metre.

(§) In Malayâlam language; badly damaged.

(†) No. 33 of 1084 M.E.

(15) Read पाद्म०.

(16) Metre शालिनी.

(‡) No. 32 of 1084 M.E.

(17) Read पतङ्गे.

(18) The secondary *â* symbol of ना is engraved below.

(19) Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

Translation

No. I.

Verse 1. Hail Prosperity! In the Kollam year 904 (denoted by the chronogram 'Bhûnaḷâ') when the sun was in Vṛishabha, on the 14th day (denoted by the chronogram 'Bhûpa') the truth-preserver, Bâlamârttâṇḍavarman of incomparable greatness, (who was) the nephew (sister's son) of the gem of the royal family (and) the Indra of the Vañchi kingdom, named Râmavarman, thought in his mind of constructing as it was before the temple of Padmanâbha, which was burnt down.

Verse 2. Having obtained duly the permission from the best of *Yògis*, Padmanâbhêndra, the good king sent for the Brâhmaṇa named Bâlakântâra, who had a clear knowledge in the science of architecture and after consulting (with him) ordered (him) thus:—"Get the temple of Ahiśayitṛi (He who lies on the serpent, *i.e.*, Padmanâbha) constructed most beautifully by architects (beginning) from the *vimâna* down to the *dîpaśâlâs*."

Verse 3. Beginning the work of building the temple on the 29th day, when the sun was in *Jatuma* (*i.e.*, the month of Âṇi) he then constructed gradually the śrîvimâna. Having caused to be constructed also the single-stone *maṇḍapa*, the *mahâmaṇḍapa*, the *diñmaṇḍapas*, together with the *dîpaśâlâs*, (he) afterwards built the *alaṅkâra sadma* and the *arthasadma*.

Verse 4. Having well constructed the figure of Padmanâbha along with (those) of Srî (Lakshmî) Bhû, and (their) train (of attendants &c.) and the serpent (Ananta) and having also made all ornaments, the king caused the *Kumbhanyâsa* (ceremony) to be performed in conformity with the rules, on the 3rd day of Paṅguṇi, in the (Kollam) year 908 (expressed by the chronogram '*janadhi*') and after honouring the artisans with cloths, &c., he caused ..... to be set up at night by (his) preceptor.

These verses were composed by.....

No. II.

Hail Prosperity! Under the command of the king Śrî Bâlamârttâṇḍa, the brâhmaṇ, Bâlâraṇya, with his sons, constructed well the figure of Padmanâbha along with (his) pupils and brâhmaṇs, such as Śaṅkara and Râma.

No. III.

In (the Kollam year) 906 (denoted by the chronogram 'chinnidhi') when the sun was in (its) shining summit, on Thursday, the twelfth day of the bright half (of the) month of the penultimate star, (*i.e.* Uttarâbhâdrapada) during the good *lagnam* of *kulira* (cancer), the single stone (the large slab of stone) was brought within the *prâkâra* of (the temple of) Anantaśayitṛi (*i.e.*, Padmanâbha) by the king Śrî Bâlamârttâṇḍa, (O!) men! let (it) be seen (by you) with pleasure to the end of this *kalpa*.

METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE, MADRAS.

Travancore Archaeological Series

Published under the Orders of the Government of Travancore

BY

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.,
Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State

MADRAS
METHODIST PUBLISHING HOUSE
AND
BRAHMAVADIN PRESS
1911

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On the suggestion of some scholars, the pages of the Travancore Archaeological Series are now numbered consecutively from the beginning; No. VI consequently begins with page 41 instead of page 1 as was the case with the previous numbers. Readers are requested to be good enough to repage the first five numbers by hand consecutively. It is hoped that this would facilitate reference.

2. A list of *addenda* and *corrigenda* in the numbers hitherto published would be issued soon.

Travancore Archaeological Series

No. VI

Some Inscriptions of the later Pandyas or the Decline of the Pandya Power

Preface

On the eastern border of Travancore in the villages of Śeṅgôṭṭai, Śâmbûr-vaḍa-karai etc., adjoining Teṇkâśi, are a number of inscriptions of the later Pâṇḍyas. The exact position of these kings in the History of South India, their geneology and chronology are best studied only with the help of a large number of inscriptions collected especially from the temple of Viśvanâthasvâmin at Teṇkâśi and the adjacent parts. For some time past I have been studying this interesting period of South Indian History which I am now enabled to publish by the kind encouragement of the Government of His Gracious Highness the Mahârâja of Travancore. Some inscriptions first discovered by me in the ruined *gôpura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple and which were subsequently reviewed in his Annual Report[1] by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri, B.A., the Assistant Superintendent of Archæology, Madras, have thrown a flood of light on the chronology of the period under study. My thanks are due to my friend, Mr. M. K. Narayanasami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., of the High Court Bar, Madras, who was good enough to secure for me excellent impressions of a number of copper-plate grants belonging to one Anantâchârya of the Daḷavây-agrahâram, Madura. Of these, three belong to the later Pâṇḍya kings. These are also incorporated into this paper as they are invaluable for the geneological portion of the history of these princes. While travelling in the Śrîvilliputtûr Tâlûka some time ago, I procured a set of copper-plates of the time of Abhirâma Pâṇḍya. This, as also a number of extracts from unpublished inscriptions from the various parts of the Tinnevelly District, are also included for the better elucidation of the history of the decline of the Pâṇḍya power in the south.

I have thus been able to piece up together the last third of the history of the once famous family of the Pâṇḍyas for three and a half centuries and hope that future researches might bring out facts which would supplement this sketch of what might be called the 'decline and downfall' of the Pâṇḍyas and make it fuller and more complete.

I am sorry I am obliged to disagree in many points pertaining to the interpretation given by Mr. Krishna Sastri to the inscriptions at Teṇkâśi and also about his identification of certain kings with those already known. I have indicated in the foot-notes where I have disagreed with him.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

(1) Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1910.

SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LATER PANDYAS OR THE DECLINE OF THE PANDYA POWER

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(To be continued)

SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF THE LATER PANDYAS OR THE DECLINE OF THE PANDYA POWER.

General Introduction.

The history of the Pâṇḍyas was hitherto enshrouded in a dense gloom. The discovery of the two Śiṉṉamaṉûr plates [1] and the two stone inscriptions at Âṉaimalai [2] has thrown a flood of light on the early Pâṇḍya period. In the light of these documents the value of the Madras Museum Plates [3] and the Vêḷvikuḍi grant [4] of Jaṭilavarman was brought out prominently. All these documents, together with a few ancient Tamiḻ classical historical poems,[5] yield the history of this illustrious race of kings for at least a period of three centuries beginning with the middle of the 8th century A. D.

Our knowledge of the mediæval period, which succeeded the ancient one, and during which occur a large number of Sundara Pâṇḍyas, Vikrama Pâṇḍyas, etc., is still in a very unsatisfactory condition. Nor are we in a better position as regards our acquaintance with the modern period. The discovery of the Pudukkôṭṭai plates,[6] the three Daḷavây-agrahâram copper records, the Śrîvilliputtûr grant and the stone inscriptions discovered in the ruined *gôpura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkâśi clear the ground to a very large extent. An examination of many more unpublished lithic records, extracts from which are given in the body of the paper, has supplied many a link which is not obtained in the above mentioned documents. Incidently these throw also side lights on the relationship existing between the later Pâṇḍyas and the Nâyakas of Madura and consequently between them and the suzerain lord, the emperor of Vijayanagara. The records help us in the elucidation of some periods in the history of the Tamiḻ literature; for example, the age of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya, the author of the superb Tamiḻ poem, the Naishadam and of Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya, the no less illustrious cousin of the former, who has written the Brahmôttara-kâṇḍam etc., have become possible to be fixed definitely

The Pudukkôṭṭai plates contain a detailed geneology of the later Pâṇḍyas. After giving the *paurâṇic* and the mythical geneology, the document proceeds to the real historical pedigree. It says that in this illustrious dynasty were born two brothers named **Abhirâma Parâkrama** and **Ahavarâma.** The latter had a son called **Śrivallabha.** He was renowned as the 'establisher of the Pâṇḍya kingdom.' In the family to which this Śrîvallabha belonged were born another **Śrivallabha** and a **Mânâbharana.** The former seems to have seen the temple at Râmêśvaram covered with copper sheets (?), whereas the latter built a *sabhâ* at Jayantipura and the temple of Viśvanâthasvâmin at Dakshiṇa-Kâśi.

To Abhirâma Parâkrama were born two sons, **Parâkrama** and **Śâlivâtipati.** The latter had two sons of whom one was named Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya. He was a master in literary composition and rivalled even Bhôja. After his death his brother **Śrivallabha** was crowned by the ministers.

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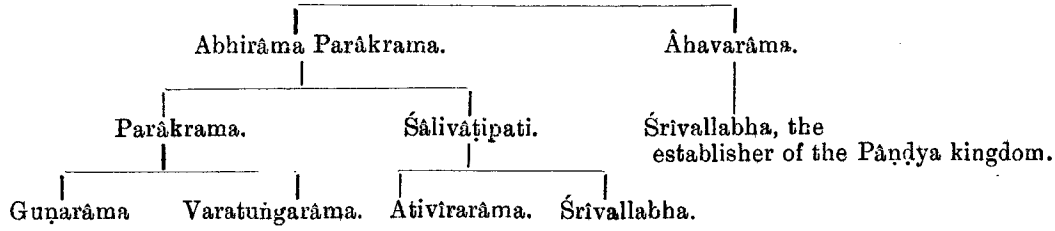
(1) Madras Epigraphist's Annual Report for the year 1907, p. 63.
(2) *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. pp.
(3) *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. pp. 57—75.
(4) *Ann. Rep.* on Epigraphy for the year 1908 p. 62.
(5) Such as Iṟaiyaṉâr Agapporuḷ etc., See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVII pp. 193—198.
(6) *Ann. Rep.* on Epigraphy for 1906, p. 72.

Parâkrama, the first son of Abhirâma Parâkrama begot two sons, **Gunarâma** and **Varatungarâma.** The relationship existing between the various kings mentioned in the above might be tabulated as follows[7]:—

Mânâbharaṇa, the builder of the *sabhâ* at Jayantipura and the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Dakshiṇa-Kâśi.

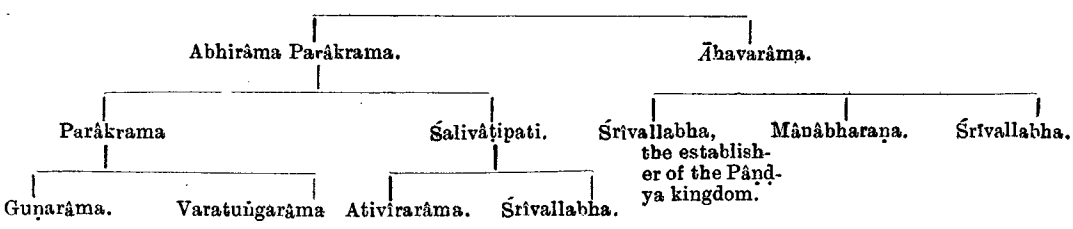
Śrîvallabha, who saw the temple of Râmêśvaram covered with copper sheets.



Appended below are a number of extracts from unpublished inscriptions ; the facts brought to light by them have been utilised in this paper for the elucidation of a more or less complete history of the later Pâṇḍyas. Ext. 1. informs us that **Jatilavarman Kulaśekharadeva** who lived in Ś. 1324 was, at the time of engraving the inscription from which this extract is taken, sojourning at Vâsudêvanallûr. Ext. 2 states that he repaired the central shrine, arddha-maṇḍapa, etc., of the Siva shrine in the Subrahmaṇyasvâmi temple at Ilañji near Tirukkuṭṭâlam.

Ext. 3.—The year Ś. 1377 corresponded with the 31+2nd year of another king named **Parakrama Pâṇḍyadeva.** The date of accession of this king would then become Ś. 1344. Inscription No. IV edited below states that in the year Ś. 1384 corresponding to the 31+9th year of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarttin **Arikesarideva** *alias* **Parâkramadeva**, the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple was begun to be constructed. The Parâkrama mentioned in ext. 3 must be identical with the same person referred to in No. IV. The circumstances under which this temple with all its appurtenances was built are detailed in the same record. It informs us that the god Viśvanâtha appeared to the king in his dream, gave him to understand that His temple at Kâśi became dilapidated and that a fresh one should be built for Him on the north bank of the river Chitraṇadi in the Teṇṇârinâḍu. The king accordingly began the temple works in the year Ś. 1368. The same fact is alluded to in the Pudukkôṭṭai plates as also in inscription Nos. II and III*. In the historical introduction to No. II, the king claims victory over some opponents,

(7). In his Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906 Mr. Venkayya makes out the relationship between the various kings mentioned in the Pudukkôṭṭai plates thus:—



There is not the slightest hint in the document itself for the supposition that Mânâbharaṇa and Śrîvallabha were the brothers of 'the establisher of the Pâṇḍya kingdom.'

* In spite of these records, Mr. Krishṇa Śâstri affirms that the king only began the repairs of the temple and in doing so he took up the central shrine first for that purpose and removed the image from the central shrine to another spot. Perhaps he is not aware of the technical meaning of the term *karshaṇa* as used in building and architecture and hence he reads this word elsewhere as *âkarshaṇa* (see the list of Teṅkâśi inscriptions given in his Report.)

No.	Place of Inscription	Śaka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the extract	Extract
1	On the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Śiva temple at Karivalamvandanallûr.	1324	...	The King Jaṭil. Tribh. Kulaśêkharadêva while staying at Vâsudêvanallûr ordered this inscription to be engraved.	Śakâbdam 1324*l* Kôj-Jaṭilavarmmarâṇa tribhuvaṇa chśakravartti Śrî Kulaśêkharadêvar Śrîvâsudêvanallûr eḻundaruḷi irundu tiruvâymoḻind = aruḷi tirukkai-viḷaiyâḍiṇa tirumugam.
2	On the west base of the central shrine of the Tiruppâgîśvara shrine in the Subrahmaṇya temple at Ilañji.	Ś1331	13+1	Mâr. Tribh. Kulaśêkharadêva.	Aḷagaṇ Kulaśêkharadêva repaired the central shrine, *arddhamaṇḍapa*, &c., which were dilapidated.
3	On the south wall of the second *prâkâra* of the Kuttâlan â ṭ h a s v â m i n temple at Tirukkuṟṟâlam.	1377	31+2nd.	Parâkramadêva's inscription with a date and astronomical details.	Śakâbdam 1377 mêl śellâniṉṟa [nam] kumâraṇ Parâkkiṟa [ma*] Pâṇḍyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 31 vadiṇ edir yîraṇḍâvadu Mina ñâyiṟṟu irubatt = eṭṭân = d i y a d i y u m Pûrvvapakshattu Shashṭiyum Tiṅgaṭkiḻamaiyum perṟa Mṛigaśirshattu nâḷ . .
4	On the west base of the central shrine of the Vaḍaperuṅgôyiluḍa i y â ṉ temple at Śrîvilliputtûr.	1395	2+42	Kulaśêkharadêva's inscription; mentions his son Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva.	Śakâbdam âyirattu-muṉṉûṟṟu toṇṇûṟṟ = añjiṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa naṅ = kumâraṇ Kulaśêkaradêvaṉukku yâṇḍu yira [ṇḍâvadi] ṉ [e] dir nâṟpatt = iraṇḍâvadu Kanni ñâyiṟṟu pattoṉbadâṉ = diyadi [yu] m Apara-pakshatt = a [shṭami] yum Śukravâramum perṟa Âyiliyattunâḷ naṅ = kumâraṇ Kulaśêkaradêvaṉ magaṇ Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêvaṉukkû

No.	Place of Inscription	Śaka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the extract	Extract
5	On the north wall of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi.	1395	2+42	Kulaśêkharadêva built an audience hall for the God Viśvanâtha at Teṇkâśi.	Śakâbdam âyirattu-muṇṇûṟṟut = toṇṇûṟṟ = añjiṇ mêl śellâniṇṟa nam kumâraṇ Kulaśêkaradêvaṟku yâṇḍu iraṇḍâvadiṇ edir nâṟpattu-iraṇḍâvadu . . . . nam kumâraṇ Aḷagaṇ-Perumâḷ Kulaśêkaradêvaṇ namakku ôlakka-maṇḍapamum taṇ pêrâlê paṇiśeyvittu-ttandu . . . .
6	On the south base of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Âṇḍâḷ temple at Śrîvilliputtûr.	1375	...	Mentions that Maduraimaṇḍalam sîmai belonged to Uṟaṅgâvillidâ [sa*]n Mabâvalivâṇâdarâyar.	Śakâbdam 1375*l* mêl śellâniṇṟa Śrîmukha varushaṃ . . . . Uṟaṅgâvillidâ [sa*]ṇ âṇa Mahâvalivâṇâdarâyar śîrmai âṇa Madurai-Maṇḍalattu Muṭṭanâṭṭu Tiḍiyaṇ âṇa Tiruvaraṅgapallûr . . . .
7	On the north base of the central shrine in the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi.	1421	20	Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva *alias* Kulaśêkharadêva, born in the Kârttigai nakshatram.	Kârttigai nâḷ piṟanda Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêvar âṇa Kulaśêkaradêvar nam yâṇḍu irubadâvadu . . . .
8	On the south wall of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Śaṅkaranârâyaṇa temple at Śaṅkaranâyanârkôyil.	1428	2+31	Jaṭil. Tribh. Aḷagaṇ-Perumâḷ Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêva, born in the Aviṭṭa-nakshatram.	Śakâbdam âyirattu nâṇuṟṟu irubatteṭṭil mêl śellâniṇṟa Śrî Kô-chChaṭilavaṇmar = âṇa tribhuvana chakravarttigaḷ Aviṭṭattu nâḷ piṟanda nam kumâraṇ Aḷagaṇ Perumâḷ Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu iraṇḍâvadiṇ edir muppatt = oṉṟâvadu . .
9	On the south wall of the *Maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Âṇḍâḷ temple at Śrîvilliputtûr.	1398	...	Sundarattôḷuḍaiyâr, son of Mâbalivâṇâdarâyar, Śrimat Tirumâliruñjôlainiṇṟâr.	Śakâbdam 1398ṉ mêl śellâniṇṟa Duṇmuki varusham Vaigâśi *m.* * 22 *d* †. Śrîmad Mûvarâyira-gaṇḍaṇ irâjamîsara-gaṇḍaṇ madiyâda maṇṇavar maṇavâḷaṇ samarakôlâkalaṇ vîrakañchukaṇ buvanêkavîraṇ bûpâlagôpâlaṇ baṭṭamânaṇgâttâṇ Śrîmatu Tirumâliruñjôlai-niṇṟâr âṇa Mâvalivâṇa-(â) darâyar kumârar Sundarattôḷuḍaiyâr.

* *m.* stands for the symbol for *month*, and † *d*, for date.

No.	Place of Inscription	Śaka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the Extract	Extract
10	Same as No. 8, above ...	1399	...	Tirumâliruñjôlai-niṉṟâr Mâvalivâṇâdarâyar.	Śakâbdam 1399ṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa Êviḷambi varusham Vaigâśi mâdam irubadâṉ-diyadi Śrîman mûvarâyagaṇḍan, &c., &c., &c. Śrîmatu Tirumâliruñjôlainiṉṟâr âṇa Mâvalivâṇâdarâyar koḍutta dharmma dânappaṭṭaiyam . . . .
11	On the west wall of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkâśi.	1412	11	Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêva *alias* Kulaśêkaradêva.	Śakâbdam âyirattu nâṉûṟṟu orubattiraṇḍil nam kumâraṉ Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêvarâṇa Kulaśêkaradêvaṟku yâṇḍu padiṉoṉṟâvadu Kumbha ñâyaṟṟu, &c. . . .
12	On the south wall of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Śiva shrine in the Saṅkaranâyanâr-kôvil.	1428	2+31	Jaṭil. Tribh. Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, born in the Aviṭṭa nakshatra.	Śakâbdam âyirattu nâṉûṟṟu irubatteṭṭil mêl śellâniṉṟa Śrî kô-Jaṭilavarmmar-âṇa Tribhuvana chchakravarttigaḷ Aviṭṭattu nâḷ piṟanda nam kumâraṉ Aḷagaṉ-Perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu iraṇḍâvadiṉ edir muppattoṉṟâvadu . . .
13	On the east base of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Âṇḍâḷ temple at Śrivilliputtûr.	1456 Jaya	...	Gô-Jaṭilvarmman Kulaśêkharadêva, "who brought back the past."	Gô-Jaṭilavarmmarâṇa iṟanda-kâlam = eḍutta Kulaśêkharadêvarkku Śakâbdam 1456 Jaya . . . .
14	.....	1457 Manmatha	...	Jaṭil. Tribh. Kôṉêrmai koṇḍâṉ Kulaśêkharadêva "who brought back the past."	Śakâbdam âyirattu nâṉûṟṟu-aimbatt-êḻiṉ mêl śellâniṉṟa Maṉmata varusham, &c. . . buvanêkavîra, &c. . . . Âhavarâma [nandana] Kô-Jaṭilavarmmarâṇa tribhuvaṇachchakravarttigaḷ Kôṉêrmaikoṇḍâṉ iṟandakâlam-eḍutta Perumâḷ Kulaśêkharadêvar . . . .

No.	Place of Inscription	Śaka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the extract	Extract
15	On the south wall of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Arddhanârîśvara temple at Vâsudêvanallûr.	1459	3rd.	Tribh. Kôn. Jaṭil Śrîvallabhadêva, "who brought back the past."	Âhavarâmanandana sâhitya sârvabhauma tribhuvanachchakravartti Kôṇêrmaikoṇḍâṇ kô-jaṭilavarmmar-âṇa iṟanda-kâlam = eḍutta Perumâḷ Śrîvallabhadêvar Śakâbdam 1419 l . . . . . ṇḍu mûṉṟâvadu Eviḷambi samvatsarattu . . . .
16	On the south base of the *Maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Śiva temple at Karivalamvandanallur.	1466	[10th]	Jaṭil. Tribh. Kôn. Śrîvallabha, "who brought back the past:" Mentions Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ, son of Abhirâma-Parâkrama [Pâṇḍyadêva].	Śakâbdam 1466 ṇ mêl . . kô-Jaṭila[va]rmmarâṇa tribhuva[na*]chchakravartti kôṇêrmaikoṇḍâṇ iṟanda-kâlam-eḍutta Perumâḷ Śrîvallabhadêvatku yâṇḍu paṭṭâ . . . ḷ Abhirâma-Parâkrama Pâ[ṇḍya]dêvar nandanarâṇa Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ-âya nâm . . . .
17	Do.	1470	5th	Tribh. Kôṇ. Śrî Perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva born in the Aśvati-nakshatram.	Śakâbdam 1470 l mêl śellâniṉra nam kumâraṇ Aśvati-na[kshatrattu Jâta]râṇa tribhuvana-chakravartti kôṇêriṉmaikoṇḍâṇ . . . .
18	On the north wall of the *śuṟṟumaṇḍapa* of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâsi.	1471 Saumya	7th	Jaṭil. Tribh. Kôn. Kulasêkharadêva *alias* Parâkkirama Pâṇḍyadêva.	Śakâbdam 1471 . . . Kô-Jaṭilavarmmarâṇa tribhuvanachchakravartti kôṇêrmaikoṇḍâṇ Abhirâma-Parâkrama dêvar nandanarâṇa nam kumâran Kulaśêkaradêvaṇâgiya Parâkkirama Pâṇḍiyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu êḻâvadu Saumya samvatsarattu . . . .
19	Teṇkâsi	1473	8th	Jaṭil. Tribh. Kôn. Śrî Perumâḷ Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêvar âṇa (?) Śrî Perumal Kulasêkaradêva *alias* Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva Tribh. Kôṇ. Kulaśêkharadêva son of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍiyadêva.	Śakâbdam 1473 . . . Kô-jaṭilavarmmar-âṇa tribhuvanachakravarttigaḷ Śrî Perumâḷ Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêvarâṇa (? dêvar nandanarâṇa) Śrî Perumâḷ Kulaśêkaradêva[râṇa] Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu 8 âvadu Virôdikrit . . .

No.	Place of Inscription	Śaka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the extract	Extract
20	On the south wall of a shrine situated on the north side of the second *prâkâra* of the Viśvanâthaśvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi.	1482	20	Tribhu. Kôṇ. Kulaśêkharadêva son of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva.	Śakâbdam 1482ļ mêl śellâniṉṟa . . . rmmarâna tribhuvanaṉchakravarti kôṉêriṉmai koṇḍâṉ Abhirâma Parâkra [ma Pâṇḍiyadêvar nandanar = âṇa] vîra-veṇbâmâlaiyâṉ dharmma-perumâļ Kulaśêkharadêvaṟku yâṇḍu irubadâvadu Raudri saṁvatsarattu. . . . .
21	On the north base of the central shrine of the Vaḍaperuṅgôyiluḍ a i yân temple at Śrîvilliputtûr.	1483	11	Abhirâma Parâkrama's son, Tirunelvêlipperumâļ Kulaśêkhara, his son Śrîvallabha born in the Punarvasu nakshatra.	Śakabdam 1483ļ mêl [śel] lâniṉṟa Svasti Śrî . . . . . Kôṉêrimaikoṇḍâṉ Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêvar nandanar = âṇa Śrî Perumâļ Tirunelvelipperumâļ vîraveṇbâ-mâlaiyâṉ dharmmapperumâļ Kulaśêkharadêvaṟkiyaṇḍu 11 [âvadu] Dundu [bhi] saütsarattu Utta [râyaṇa*] ttu saṅkrama puṇya-kâlattu hêmanta ṛituvil makara-talaiyum pûrvva-pakshattu Êkâdaśiyum Sômavâramum Śubhayôgamum śubhakaraṇamum peṟṟa Hasta nakshatra] ttu naļ Punarvvasu nakshatrattu jâtar âṇa Śrî Perumâļ Śrîvallabhadêvar = â [ṇa] nâm. . . . .
22	On the south base of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Kuttâlanâthasvâmin temple at Tirukkuttâlam.	1492	7	Aṭivîrarâma *alias* Śrivallabhadêva.	Śakâbda [m*] 1492 1 mêl śellâniṉṟa svasti Śrî Kô-jaṭilavarmmarâṇa tribhuvana = chchakravartti kôṉêrimaikoṇḍâṉ Śrî Perumaļ Aḻagaṉ Perumâļ Aṭivîrarâmaṇâṇa Śrî vallabhadêvatku yâṇḍu êḻâvadu Vibhava-saṁvatsarattu Uttarâyanattu Mîna-ñâyaṟṟu-Apara-pakshattu Pañchamiyum Sômavâramum subhayôgamum Varâhakaraṇamum peṟṟa Anishattu naļ. . .

No.	Place of Inscription	Saka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the extract	Extract
23	On the west base of the central shrine of the Kulaśêkharam— uḍaiyâr temple at Teṇkâśi.	...	...	Ativîrarâma *alias* Śrîvallabhadêva.	Punarvasu nakshatrattu jâtar=âṇa Śrî Perumâḷ Aḷagaṇ-perumâḷ Ativîrarâmaṇ âya Śrîvallabhadêvar=âṇa nâm Uḍaiyâr Kulaśêkharanâthaṇukkum Kuḷalvây-naṅgai-Nâchchiyârukku karshaṇâdi pratishṭhântam upânâdi stûpipariyantam tiruppaṇiyum śeyvittu Kulaśêkharanâthaṇaiyum Kuḷalvây-naṅgai-Nâchchiyâraiyum parivâra-dêvataiyaḷaiyum pratishṭhittu etc.
24	On the west base of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Vaḍaperuṅgôyilu ḍa i yâṇ temple at Śrîvilliputtûr.	1499	2+15	Mâṟavarman Tribh. Kôṇ Śrî Sundara Pâṇḍyadêva.	Kô-mâṟavarmmar=âna tribhuvanachchakkaravarttigaḷ kôṇêrimaikoṇḍâṇ Srî Sundara Pâṇḍyadêvaṟku yâṇḍu [ira]ṇḍu edir 15 Śakâbdam 1499 ṇ mêl Śellâniṉṟa Kanniravi etc. . . . .
25	On the north wall of the first *prâkâra* of the Śiva temple at Karivalamvandanallûr.	1499	5	Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva ...	Śakâbdam 1499 l Śellâniṉṟa nam Kumâraṇ Perumâḷ Parâkkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêvarukku âṇḍu 5 vadu Pilavaṅga V., Kârttigai m., 29 d., ... nam Kumâran śvatti Śrî bhuvanêkavîra etc. etc. . . dêva-brâhmaṇa sthâbhanâchâriya Aḷagaṇ-Perumâḷ Par-[â*]kkiṟama Pâṇḍiyadêva-ṉandaṇa K[ô]-jaṭila-vərmma-tribhuvana-chakravartti kô-[nêriṉmai*]koṇḍâṇ Aśvatinakshatrattu śâtaṇâṇa nam kumâraṇ Tirunelvêli-perumâḷ. . . . .
26	On the north base of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Kuttâlanâthasvâmin temple at Tirukkuttâlam.	1527	42	Ativîrarâma *alias* Śrîvallabhadêva.	Śakâbdam 1527 *l* mêl śellâniṉṟa . . . . . Kô-jaṭilavarmmaraṇa tribhuvaṇachchakravartti Kônêrimai-koṇḍâṇ Śrî [Râjarâja*] Aḷagaṇṇâṇa Ativîrarâmaṇâṇa Śrîvallabhadêvaṟku âṇḍu 42 vadu Viśvâvasu saṁvatsarattu. . . . .

No.	Place of Inscription	Śaka year	Regnal year	Subject-matter of the Extract	Extract
27	On the north wall of the 1st *prâkâra* of the Śiva temple at Karivalamvandanallûr.	151 ×	10	Varatuṅgarâma *alias* Vîra Pâṇḍyadêva.	. . . Jaṭilavarmmarâṇa Varatuṅgarâmaṇâṇa Vîra Pâṇḍiyadêvarkku âṇḍu pattâvadu. .
28	On the north base of the central shrine of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi.	...	...	Jaṭil. Tribh. Parâkrama, the builder of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple.	. . . Vitaraṇa-vinôda-vaḷa-nâṭṭu nâm navamâga = kkaṇḍa Viśvanâtha = ppêr = êrikku = pperunâṇkelgaiy—âvadu. . . . .
29	On the south wall of the *Mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Śrîmûlanâthasvâmin temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai.	Ś15 [3] 8 Naḷa.	3rd	Perumâḷ Śivala-Mâṟaṉ *alias* Varaguṇarâma Pâṇḍya Kulaśêkhara Sômâśiyâr.	"Śakâbdam Ś15 [3] 8, Naḷa, . . . Perumâḷ Śivala-Mâṟaṉ Varaguṇa-râmaṉ = âṇa Pâṇḍiya Kulaśêkara Sômâśiyâṟku âṇḍu mûṉṟâvadu . . . .

whose names are not given, at Śiṅgai, Aṉurai, Irâśai, Śeṇbai, Vindai, Mudalai, Vîrai, and Vaippâṟu. Of these, the battle of Śeṇbai, (Champakavanam), was fought with the Chêra by the command of the presiding deity of that place. (No. XII v. 10.) He is said to have set up five *agrahâras* beginning with Vindai. He also constructed a large tank named the Viśvanâthappêrêri. (Ext. 28.).

Arikêśari Parakrama was a great devotee of Śiva. (No. II. 11.1-2). Besides the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple already mentioned, he has constructed a *sabhâ* at Jayantîpura, a *maṇḍapa* to each of the gods at Marudûr, (Tiruppuḍai-marudûr), and at Śeṇbagavaṇam and richly endowed the temple of Śalivaṭîśvara at Tinnevelly. He seems to have been born in the Mṛigaśirsha *nakshatra*. (No. IV. 11. 12-13.).

In the year 1379 Ś, Arikêśari began to construct the *gôpura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi. It took six years to complete the stone basement ; at the end of this period Arikêśari breathed his last(9). This last fact is said in one of the inscriptions edited below, (No. III v. 13) to have taken place in the year Ś 1385. on the Chitra *nakshatra* of the month, Mârgaḷi, full moon.

The king bore the surnames **Mânâbharana, Mânakavacha and Arikesari** (10.) In all the Vijayanagara grants of the second or the Tuḷuva dynasty, Narasâ Nâyaka, the father of the distinguished Kṛishṇadêva Râya, is said to have defeated a king of Madura named Mânabhûsha. We know that Narasâ Nâyaka lived about the time of the first usurpation of the Vijayanagara kingdom by Sâḷuva Narasiṁha about A. D. 1470 and distinguished himself in the latter's service. This period agrees very well with that of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya. Hence, I have remarked in my paper on the Kṛishṇâpuram plates of Sadâśiva Râya, (Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 336), that the king defeated by Narasâ Nâyaka was no other than Arikêsari Parâkrama, the builder of the Viśvânâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkaśi.

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(9), Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śâstri, B. A., the Epigraphist with the Government of Madras states that Arikêsari died *after the tower was completed*. The inscription makes the simple statement "கற்பணி யாருண்டில் முடித்துக்கயிலை சென்றான்." meaning that "he, (Arikêsari) went to Kailâsa, i.e., died, after (seeing that) the stone-work was finished in six years."

(10). Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri writes that "Parâkrama was entitled Ponniṉperumâḷ Arikêsari, Parâkrama Mâraṉ, Teṉṉavaṉ, Parâkrama Kaitavaṉ, Mâṉakavachaṉ, Koṟkai-vêndaṉ and Perumâḷ-vaḷudi. This list contains, according to him, a large number of surnames. The Divâkara-nighaṇṭu has the following synonyms of the word Pâṇḍya ;—

செழியன் றமிழ்நாடன் கூடற்கோ தென்னவன்
வழுதி மீனவன் பஞ்சவன் மாறன் கௌரியன் வேம்பின்—
கண்ணிக்கோ கைதவன் பொதியப் பொருப்பன்
புனல் வையைத்துறைவன், குமரிச் சேர்ப்பன் கோப்பாண்டியனே.

Chûḍâmaṇi-nighaṇṭu has ;—

செழியனே கூடற்கோமான் தென்னவன் வேம்பின்குரோன்
வழுதியே குமரிச் சேர்ப்பன் வையையந் துறைவன் மாறன்
விழைவுறு பொதிய வெற்பன் மீனவன் கைதவன் சொற்
பழைய பஞ்சவனே வெய்ய கௌரியன் பாண்டியன் பெயர்.

From these two quotations it is clear that Mâraṉ, Kaitavaṉ, Teṉṉavaṉ, and Vaḷudi, when added on to the name Parâkrama, do not make so many surnames of the king. Leaving these, we have Ponniṉ-perumâḷ. Koṟkai-vêndaṉ and Mânakavachaṉ among the so-called surnames. Of these Ponniṉ-perumâḷ is an honorific address which, in so many different forms, is current to this day in the west coast : the Mahârâja of Travancore and the Râja of Cochin when they are referred to by the people are always spoken of as the 'ponnu-tambiraṉ.' It simply means the king who is as precious as gold. (Cf. Naṉṉûl-Sû. 299., wherein the particle *iṉ* is said, in such cases as the present one, to be employed for the purpose of comparison. Also, Cf. Śilappadigâram, *Andimâlai-chchirappu chchey-kâdai*, wherein the compound '*virundiṉ maṉṉar*' occurs in *l.* 12. The comment on this by the '*Arumbada-vuraiyâsariyar*' is specially worth noting.) In a similar manner Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ is called Ponniṉ-Pâṇḍiyaṉ in v. 2, Inscription No. VII edited below.

About the beginning of the 13th century A. D. when the Chôḷa supremacy was getting weakened and the Pâṇḍyas were rising in importance, a chief of Naḍu-nâḍu (or Magadai-nâḍu), Râjarâja Vâṇakôvaraiyaṉ by name, rebelled against his overlord(11) and seems to have joined the Pâṇḍya king. The Pâṇḍyas appear to have changed their capital from Maḍura to Tinnevelly, leaving the Madura country in charge of their new ally the Vâṇakôvaraiyaṉ. For, we see from about Ś. 1375, inscriptions of Mâvalivâṇâdarâyars, of whom one Uṟaṅgâvillidâan Mâvalivâṇâdarâyaṉ calls the country his own, (Ext. 6). The next person of this dynasty appears to be one Sundarattôḷuḍaiyâṉ Mâvalivâṇâdarâyaṉ, the son of Tirumâliruñjôlai Mâvalivâṇâdarâyaṉ. He bears a few of the Vijayanagara *birudas*, such as, Mûvarâyaraganḍa, Râjamîsaraganḍa, etc. He lived in Ś. 1398, just the time when Narasâ Nâyaka must have invaded the Pâṇḍya country. Either the Mâvalivâṇâdarâyaṉ was defeated by the Vijayanagara general and then dubbed himself with the Vijayanagara *birudas*, or he defeated the latter and assumed, as the conqueror, the Vijayanagara *birudas* ; which of these was the case it is not easy to say in our present state of knowledge of the history of that period. But that the chieftains of this family held or were suffered to hold the Madura country under them is certain. For, inscriptions of a second Sundarattôḷuḍaiyâṉ Mâvalivâṇâdarâyaṉ are found in several places such as Tiruppullâṇi, Aḻagarkôvil, Kâḻaiyârkôyil, etc, (11a) till so late a period as Ś. 1468. Thus it is patent that the Pâṇḍyas gradually lost to their feudatories (or those of the Vijayanagara Empire,) the Vâṇadarâyars, their northern possessions and themselves stuck to the south and west of the present Tinnevelly district. We do not come across many inscriptions of the later Pâṇḍyas in the Madura district, belonging to the 15th century A. D., and we can therefore safely infer that their jurisdiction over that tract of country was already lost.

Ever since the construction of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkâśi the coronation of all kings who came after Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya seems to have been celebrated in this temple. Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ, Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍyadêva, Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya etc., were crowned in the presence of Viśvanâthasvâmin (Ins. Nos. VII, VIII and X.)

The next king that is mentioned is **Kulaśekharadeva.** Ext. 4 and 5 give Ś. 1351 as the date of accession of this king, that is, seven years after that of Arikêsari Parâkramadêva. But we know that the latter ruled for no less than 42 years (?+42) and the former also an equal number of years. We are not able to say how this is possible. We might only suggest that either they ruled by common consent over separate regions of the kingdom or ruled jointly over the same country. Anyhow this two-ruler system comes into vogue from about this time, that is, a sort

Again, all the Pâṇḍyas are known by the name Koṟkaivêndaṉ. In Śilappadigâram, the king Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ, is addressed ' *vâḻi-eṉ-Koṟkai-vêndé* and ' *naṟṟiṟam-baḍarâ-Koṟkai-vendé*' (*Vaḷakkurai-kâdai, ll.* 30 and 67).

So then, the only surnames Parâkrama bore were Arikêsari and Mânakavacha. As for Perumâḷ-vaḻudi mentioned by Mr. Sastri, there are difficulties in accepting it as correct. In none of the records examined by me hitherto is Parâkrama called by that name. It looks likely that Mr. Sastri having seen the word *perumâṉ* (not *perumâḷ*) and *vaḻudi* side by side in v. 15 No. III edited below, was led into the mistake. If the compound '*maṉṉarperumâṉ*' had been consciously broken up into *maṉṉar* and *perumâṉ* and the latter added on to the succeeding word *vaḻudi*, it completely destroys the meaning of the otherwise easy verse. In his Annual Report for 9105-6, Mr. Venkayya has surmised that Arikêsari might have been also known by the name of Perumâḷ Parâkrama and this might have also contributed towards Mr. Krishṇa Sâstri's taking Perumâḷ-vaḻudi as a surname.

In the collection of stray Tamil verses, called the Taṉippâḍaṟ=ṟiraṭṭu, a verse praising a king named Mânâbharaṇa, said to be the composition of the Tamil Poet, Pugaḻêndi, is found. If this name refers to Arikêsar Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, the age of Pugaḻêndi will become the last quarter of the 15th century A. D. But the tradition places him at the beginning of the 12th century A. D. (see p. 56 of the 1899 Edition).

(11) Sendamiḻ Vol. III pp. 423—32.

(11a). See Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy for the year 1903, pp. 18, 19.

of over-lapping of two reigns becomes more frequent. For example, the Pudukkôṭṭai grant was made by Śrivallabha and Varatuṅgarâma. In one of the inscriptions, Kulaśêkhara is called Aḷagaṉ-Perumâḷ (Ext. 2 and 5); he built an audience hall in the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkaśi. As this king succeeded Arikêsari Parâkrama we might suppose that he was the same Kulaśêkhara as the one who completed the front *gôpura* left unfinished by Parâkrama.(12) This surmise seems to receive corroboration from Inscription No. V, wherein he is called also Aḷagaṉ. He calls Arikêsari Parâkrama his *aṇṇâḷvi*, a term applied to an elder brother in S. Tinnevelly. So, Kulaśêkhara might be a brother or perhaps a cousin of Arikêsari. The son of Kulaśêkhara is said to have been a Parâkrama (Ext. 4).

From Ext. 7, it is learnt that in the year Ś. 1395 a king named Jaṭilavarman **Aḷagaṉ-perumâḷ Parakrâma Paṇḍyadeva** ascended the throne. His 31+2nd year corresponded with Ś. 1428. Since the date of accession of this king is the last known date of his predecessor, Kulaśêkharadêva, who, we know from Ext. 4, reigned for 42+2, we might take the former to be the same as Parâkrama the son of Kulaśêkhara mentioned in Ext. 4. This king ruled for no less than 31+2 years. He is said to have been born in the Aviṭṭa (Dhanishṭha) nakshatra (13) The relation between these kings might be exhibited thus :—

.....	.....
Arikêsari Parâkrama. Mânâbharaṇa, Mânakavacha, born in the Mṛigaśîrsha nakshatra. Ś. 1344-1388.	Jaṭil. Tribh. Kulaśêkharadêva, Aḷagaṉ-perumâḷ. Ś. 1351-1395.
	Jaṭil. Tribh. Aḷagaṉ-perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, born in the Aviṭṭam (Dhanishṭhâ) nakshatra. Ś. 1395-1428.

In the year S. 1401 a king named **Parâkrama Pandyadev** *alias* **Kulaśekharadeva** born in the Kârttika nakshatra, ascended the throne (Ext. 7) and ruled for over 20 years. Thus we see that the reigns of Parâkrama born in Aviṭṭam and Parâkrama *alias* Kulaśêkhara born in Kârttikai overlap each other. How the king Kulaśêkhara described as born in the Kârttika nakshatra was related to those described above is at present not known.

The two brothers Abhirâma Parâkrama and Ahavarâma must, according to the Pudukkôṭṭai plates, be the next sovereigns. Nothing is known of these from the records hitherto collected. When and how long they ruled, therefore, is difficult at present to say.

The son of the latter (Âhavarâma), Jaṭil, Tribh. **Śrivallabhadeva**, who bears the *birudas* '*Pâṇḍya-râjya-sthâpanâchârya*' and '*Iṟandakâlam-eḍutta*', and who in some inscriptions is also called Kulaśêkhara (Ext 13&14), came to the throne in Ś. 1456. This Śrîvallabha is not the only person who has the title '*Pâṇḍya-râjya-sthâpanâchârya*'. In the Kṛishṇâpuram plates, Nâgama Nâyaka is described by the same distinguishing appellation.(14) Again Achyutadêva-

(12) M. Krishna Śâstri who states in one portion of his An. Rep. for 1909-10, p. that Arikêsari Parâkrama died after *completing the erection* of the *gôpura* admits later on that Kulaśêkhara completed the *gôpura left unfinished by his* older brother Arikêsari Parâkrama.

(13) See Extract 8.

(14) Krishnapuram plates; ll. 115-116 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 336;

यशश्विना पाण्ड्यकुलस्थापनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च ॥ ९२ ॥
नागमक्ष्मापपौत्रेण नलनाभागकीर्त्तिना ।

râya bears also a similar title.(15) When and how the Pâṇḍya kingdom came to be **re**-established let us attempt to study in detail in the following paragraphs.

We have already seen that the Pâṇḍyas lost the northern half of their possessions to the Vâṇakôvaraiyars first and then to the Nâyakas latterly, and that they retreated to the southern portion of the present Tinnevelly district. A large portion of even this little territory held by the Pâṇḍyas was being gradually annexed to their kingdoms by the neighbouring kings. One of the kings of Travancore, **Udayamârttâṇḍavarman** by name, seeing the weakness of the Pâṇḍyas began to encroach upon their possessions. We see several inscriptions of this king in Brahmadêśam, Shêrmâdêvi, Ambâsamudram, Kaḷakkâḍ,—places clearly within the limits of the kingdom of the Pâṇḍyas, plainly evidencing the fact that he had already come into possession of these places. Thus divested of large portions of its territory, the Pâṇḍya kingdom had shrunk to an insignificant extent. Evidently, Śrîvallabha, the son of Âhavarâma, realising the miserable condition to which his kingdom was reduced, and perhaps spurred on to activity by the aggressions of Udayamârttâṇḍavarman, appealed to the Vijayanagara Emperor for help. It was readily obtained. **Achyutadevarâya**, the then Emperor, had more reasons than one for accepting the offer of the Pâṇḍya. In his *kâvya*, the Achyutarâyâbhyudayam, Râjanâthakavi informs us that the Emperor having heard that the king of the Tiruvaḍi-râjyam had withheld tribute for some years and was also harbouring a rebel chief of the Chôḷarâjya (16) resolved to teach him a lesson. To add to these, the invitation of the Pâṇḍya must have quickened the designs of the Emperor. A large expedition was fitted up and was personally commanded by the king. On the way several places of pilgrimage such as Tirupati, Chidambaram, etc., were visited till eventually it came to the island of Śrîraṅgam. The Emperor was delighted with the place. Finding that the Emperor had a desire to spend some time in this holy place, his brother-in-law, son of Saḷagarâja, implored him to entrust to him the charge of bringing the Tiruvaḍi to his senses. The prayer was granted. This general encountered the army of the Tiruvaḍi on the bank of the Tâmraparni, defeated him and took him prisoner.(17) On the Tiruvaḍi offering terms of peace, the war was concluded and all proceeded to Anantaśayanam to worship the god of that place. The Tiruvaḍi gave large numbers of elephants and horses to the Vijayanagara general. Then the expeditionary party returned with the Tiruvaḍi and his ministers to Śrîraṅgam. The ministers who prostrated before the Emperor were treated with great consideration, while the chief of the Chôḷadêśa was made over to the ministers of the Emperor for punishment and the Tiruvaḍi's life was spared. The Pâṇḍya kingdom was wholly restored to Śrîvallabha. The name of the chieftain of the Chôḷadêśa is given in the Achyutarâyâbhyudayam as **Chellappa**.(18)

The facts above narrated are completely borne out by the inscription found at Conjeevaram belonging to the reign of Achyutadêva Râya, which says that the king defeated the Tiruvaḍi on the bank of the Tâmraparni, set up a pillar of victory on the spot and married the daughter of

(15) प्रस्थानाय श्रीपतेरभ्यनुज्ञाः प्राप्तुं पाण्ड्यस्थापनाचार्य एव ।
मोक्षाधारं प्राविशन्मोहदूरं देवागारं दत्तनेत्रोपहारम् ॥ Achyutarâyâbhyudayam.

(16) छन्ननिग्रहतया पलायितश्चेल्लपो वसति चेरसीमनि ।
चच्छरण्यधरणी भुजा समं शिष्य एव स चिरायुषा त्वया ॥
प्राक्तनान्निज पदात्परिच्युतः पालनीय इह पाण्ड्य भूपतिः ।
शिक्षणं मदवतां पुनः सतां रक्षणं च नमु राजलक्षणम् ॥ Ibid.

(17) Achyutarâyâbhyudayam, Canto VI, vv. 29-31.

(18) See foot-note 16, above.

the Pâṇḍya king.(19) It must be noted that this inscription adds the further fact of the Vijayanagara king marrying the daughter of the Pâṇḍya king. It looks as if the Pâṇḍya in gratitude and perhaps also with a desire to cement the relationship between himself and the Emperor more strongly offered his daughter to him. By these transactions Śrîvallabha 'brought back the Pâṇḍya kingdom to its pristine glory'. Therefore is it that he is called '*iṟanda-kâlam-eḍuttavaṉ*' '*Pâṇḍyarâjya-sthâpanâchârya*"(20)

To about this same time belongs an inscription partly written in Sanskṛit and partly in Tamiḻ verse, found in the Śiva temple at Mûvalûr, which praises a certain person called Piḷḷaipperumâḷ of Puduvai (21). All the verses are said to be the composition of Marttâṇḍaṉ *alias* Akhila-kalâ-vallabhan Chêramâṉ-perumâḷ of the Tiruppâppûr family (22). Evidently the latter is the same as the Travancore sovereign whose inscriptions, as we have already noticed, are found in several places in the south Tinnevelly District. The chief of the Mûvalûr inscriptions is said therein to be a Chêdiyarâyan, a title which belongs to the chiefs of Naḍu-nâḍu or Magadai-nâḍu. It is quite likely that this man somehow incurred the displeasure of the Vijayanagara Emperor and took refuge in the court of his friend, Mârttâṇḍavarman, the king of the Tiruvaḍi-râjyam, and it is this prince of the Chôḷarâjya, that must have been demanded by Achyutadêvarâya, from the Tiruvaḍi and also handed over by him after his defeat on the bank of the Tâmraparṇi.

Nâgama Nâyaka's claim to the title of '*Pâṇḍya-kula-pratishṭhâpanâchârya*' (23) must have been based upon the fact that perhaps he was also one of the generals that took part in the subjugation of the Tiruvaḍi. He might probably have been sent later on to settle internecine feuds in the Pâṇḍya country on account of his knowledge of that country gathered during his campaign against the Travancore king.

Of the sons of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Śâlivâṭipati, the younger, was crowned in the year S. 1474 at Teṇkâśi in the presence of Viśvanâthasvâmin. His real name appears to be Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ, which has been rendered into Sanskṛit as Sâlivâṭipati, Śâlivṛitîśvara Vrîhivṛitîśvara, etc. He was also called Kulaśêkhara, and when he was crowned, he assumed the name of Vîra-vêḷ. This king, "seeing that all flower garlands would sooner or later fade away, wore a garland of verses sung in praise of him by poets" (in the Veṇbâ metre). He was born in the Aśvati nakshatra. (Ext. 25). He was known by various other names such as Aḻagaṉ-perumâḷ, Dharma-pperumâḷ etc. What the latter title purports to mean is not clear. On the north wall of the central shrine of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi, there is an

(19) Ep. An. Rep. for 1900, p. 27.

(20) About this Śrîvallabha, Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri has the following:—"Iṟanda-kâlam-eḍutta Śrîvallabhadêva (No. II), may have been connected, though we are not sure how, with a certain Perumâḷ Kulaśêkhara, who was also called '*iṟanda-kâlam-eḍutta*' and was ruling in Śaka 1457, Manmatha. (=A. D. 1535. No. 525 of 1909). It cannot be definitely stated who this Kulaśêkhara was and so his name has been omitted from the list. Śrîvallabha was perhaps also called Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍya and had a son Kulaśêkhara. Parâkrama whose initial date, as obtained from No. 532 of 1909, is A. D. 1543. This enables us to identify him with Perumâḷ Parâkrama". According to this the geneology of the later Pâṇḍyas mentioned above will be as follows:—

'Iṟanda-kâlam-eḍutta' Śrîvallabha
alias Abhirâma Parâkrama
|
Perumâḷ Kulaśêkhara
|
Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha

whereas all epigraphical records agree with the pedigree given in the Puḍukkôṭṭai grant.

(21) Śeṇḍamiḻ, Vol. IV. pp. 251-2.

(22) In an unpublished inscription at Suchîndram dated the Kollam year 716 (=1541 A.D.) the name Sakal kalai Mârttâṇḍavarman, Śîraivây-Mûtta- Tiruvaḍi is mentioned.

(23) p. See footnote 14 above.

inscription of the king Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ Dharmma-pperumâḷ Kulaśêkharadêva, son of Jaṭilavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Kôṇêriṇmaikoṇḍâṇ Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍya-dêva, dated Ś. 1485, which corresponded with the 12th year of his reign. We learn from this that the initial date for him is Ś. 1473. The *gopura* inscription, recording the coronation of this king, gives the date Ś. 1474 for that event. Evidently he ruled from Ś. 1474 to 1486, in which latter year Ativîrarâma Śîvallabha was crowned.

The Mâṛavârman Tribhuvanachakravartiṇ Kaliyugarâmaṇ Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ, mentioned in Nos. 178 of 1895, 86 of 1905 and 172 of 1895, of the collection of the Madras Epigraphist, whose initial date as obtained from these records is Ś. 1342-3, cannot be identical with his namesake, the father of Ativîrarâma. The Tamil poet Palapaṭṭadai-chChokkanâtha-p-Pulavar has twelve verses in praise of a king whom he calls by the names Parâkrama, Seṇbaga-Mâṛaṇ and Kulaśêkhara and one in praise of Ativîra, and another, apparently of Ativîrarama and Varatuṅgarâma. (see pp. 96- 98 of the 1899 Edition). It looks likely that the first mentioned king is Tirunelvêlipperumaḷ Kulaśêkhara, the father of Ativîrarâma Paṇḍya and the others, Ativîrarâma and Varatuṅgarâma. It is a noteworthy fact that this king and his son Ativîrarâma are styled *vêḷ*, a title suggestive of a subordinate rank and not of suzerainty. It might allude to their subordination to the suzerain lord, the Emperor of Vijayanagara.

Ativîrarâma was the elder son of Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ Kulaśêkhara; his brother was **Śrivallabha,** a name which belongs also to Ativîrarâma. It is curious that Kulaśêkhara should have nameḍ his two sons with the same name. However, it is not uncommon in the history of the later Pâṇḍyas to find the same name applied to two brothers ; for example, Parakrâma the brother of Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ Kulaśêkhara is also known as Kulaśêkhara (Ext. 18). The Pudukkôṭṭai grant is the only one which mentions that Ativîrarâma had a brother.

There are graver difficulties in accepting wholly the statements made in the Pudukkôṭṭai grant than the mere identity in the names of the sons of Tirunelvêli-pperumâḷ Kulaśêkhara. This grant which is dated Ś. 1505 purports to belong to the reign of Śrîvallabha, brother of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya, whom, on the date on which this document was written, it takes as dead.(24) But we know certainly enough that Ativîrarâma lived even after Ś. 1505, (see Ext. 26 Ins. No. XIII, edited below). Ativîrarâma built the pretty large temple of Kulaśêkharamuḍaiyâr at Teṇkâśi, in honour of his father Kulaśêkhara and another of Vishṇu very near the former. These erections must necessarily have taken no less than a dozen years. Considering all these, it becomes difficult to believe that he was dead sometime previous to Ś. 1505.

Then again the record describes the battle which took place at Vallaprâkâra, in which the armies of **Venkatarâja** (Veṅkaṭapatidêvarâya I.), Achyutappa Nâyaka of Tanjore, Vîrappa Nâyaka of **Madura** and Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya took part with varying success. From what little history we know at present of this period, we can assert that such a combination of armies took place in the war of succession which followed immediately after the death of Veṅkaṭâpatidêvarâya I., between the parties of the pretender, whose cause was espoused by his father-in-law, **Jaggarâya** and the Nâyaka of Madura and his ally, Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya on one side and the legitimate claimant helped by the General **Echama Nâyaka** and the Nâyaka of Tanjore on the other side. It is also known that Veṅkaṭapatidêvarâya I. died about the year Ś. 1536 (1614 A. D.) and consequently the events narrated could likely have taken place only after this latter date. (25)

(24) But Mr. Krishna Sastri asserts that the grantor of the Pudukkôṭṭai plates was Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha; the record itself emphatically declares that one of the grantors of those plates was Śrîvallabha the brother of Ativîrarâma and the other, Varatuṅgarâma, his cousin.

(25) ' See A Forgotten Empire ' Chap. XVII.

Ativirâma Pâṇḍya was a Tamiḻ poet of established reputation. (26) As we have already mentioned he has rendered Naishadham into elegant Tamiḻ verse. One of the donees in the Pudukkôṭṭai grant is a Naishadham Râmakṛishṇa (1.229). The tradition is that Ativîrarâma heard the original completely and translated it afterwards in Tamiḻ. Perhaps, the Brahman, Râmakṛishṇa, was his reader in Sanskrit of Naishadham. A number of other works are also attributed to this Pâṇḍya prince, such as Kûrma-purâṇam, Tirukkaruvai antâdis, etc., Ativîrarâma was born in the Punarvasu nakshatra (27). In the Tâṉippâḍaṟṟiraṭṭu, there are two verses attributed (wrongly no doubt) to the great Tamiḻ poet Kambaṉ, which praise a Śîvala-Maṟaṉ *alias* Vîra Maṟaṉ, of Nelvêli, and who is well-versed in the Tamiḻ language. From the tenor of the verses, they appeâr to refer to Atîvirarâma Srîvallabha.

After the death of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya, his brother, the Pudukkôṭṭai grant says, was selected by the ministers and crowned. The date of the above grant is Ś. 1505, which was the 21st-year after the coronation of the king Ativîrarâma. Issued as it was in the reign of Śrîvallabha, the brother of Ativîrarâma, it is not quite clear why it is dated in the regnal year of the latter. The king Ativîrarâma's reign seems to have extended, accordiug to an inscription at Tirukuṟṟâlam, to nearly 42 years, that is, till Ś. 1527. How the date Ś. 1505 of the Pudukkôṭṭai grant could have belonged to the reign of the brother of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya is not patent. (28)

Of **Srivallabha** the brother of Ativîrarâma, nothing is known.

Two inscriptions found at Teṉkâśi give Ś. 1471 and 1473 as belonging to the 7th and 8th years of the reign of Kulaśêkhara *aliâs* Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, the son of Abhirâma Parâkrama. Hence the first year of his reign will be S. 1464-5 and he might have ruled till S. 1474, in which year, we have already seen, his brother was crowned, most likely after his death. He might therefore have occupied the throne for nearly 10 years.

We know that Parâkrama, the brother of Śâlivâṭipati, had two sons named **Gunarâma** and **Varatungarâma.** Of the two, the Pudukkôṭṭai plates have nothing to say of Guṇarâma, the elder. It quietly passes on to his brother without mentioning whether Guṇarâma succeeded to the throne or not and if not, why not. One inscription found in the ruined front *gôpura* of the Viśvanâtha temple at Teṉkâśi records the grant by Ativîrarâma to Guṇarâma of certain taxes. (29) It is likely that he was given a sort of pension in the grant of the taxes referred to above and kept away from succession.

Varatungarâma was the brother of Guṇarâma. He went by several names; **Abhirâma** or **Abhirâma-Sundarśevara** was the name given to him at his nativity. He assumed the *biruda*

(26) நிலவு பொழித்தனிக்கவிகை நிடதர்கோன் புகழ்ச்சரித நெடுநீர்வைப்பிற்
புலவர்களியமுதொழுகு புதுமொழி கூட்டுணத்தமிழாற் புனைதல்செய்தான்
வலனுயர்த்த வண்ணலஞ்சேல்வான்றொடு பொற்கோட்டிமய வரையிற்றீட்டி
யலர்தலைமாநிலம்புரக்கு மதிவீர ராமனிகலரசரேறே. நைடதம்.

புவி புகழுங் காசிகண்டம் பொருவில் பராசரன் புதல்வன் புகன்றவாறே
செவிவழியின முதுகுத்ததென மதுரம்பொழி தமிழாற்றெரித்தல் செய்தா
னுலவுமதிக்குடைநிழற்ற வோராழி திசையுருட்டி யொலிநீர்வேலை
யவனிபுரந்தருள் வழுதியதிவீர ராமனி கலரசரேறே. காசிகண்டம்.

கடலகமுழுதும் பொதிந்த பேழ்வயிற்றுக்கடவுள் மொட்டாமையம் பெருமான்
வடமொழிதொடுத்த தெய்வமாக்கதையை வடித்த செந்தமிழினாற் செய்தான்
படுமதஞ்செருக்கிப் பாகுடல்பிளந்து படர் சிறை மழலை வண்டோச்சு
மடுசினக்களிற்று மானவேல் வழுதி யடலதிவீர பூபதியே. கூர்மபுராணம்.

(27) See Extracts 21 and 23.

(28) While quoting the antiquated work of Dr. Caldwell, that Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya was perhaps the last of this line of Pâṇḍys, Mr. Krishna Sastri neither contradicts nor assents plainly to that statement. The Pudukkôṭṭai grant affirms that after him came his brother Śrîvallabha and we know Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya was also a sort of direct successor of his. Mr. Sastri himself adds three or four names after Ativîrarâma in his provisional list of later Pâṇḍyas. See Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy for 1910, p. 100.

(29) Śendamiḻ, Vol. IV. p. 120.

Varatungarâma later on. At the time of his coronation he assumed the name of **Vira** or **Abisheka Vira Pâṇḍya.** He was born in the Pushya nakshatra; as the Pâṇḍyas trace their descent from the moon (Chandra), the son of Atri, the later Pâṇḍyas claim to belong to the Âtrêya gôtra. Varatuṅgarâma was, according to the *gôpuram* inscription of Teṇkâśi crowned in the Kali year 4689.(30) The same inscription also says that he won a victory at Vallam or Vallaprâkâra as the Pudukkôṭṭai grant has it. The battle was evidently fought before this king ascended the throne. With whom it was fought it is not mentioned. We have to look for information about this matter elsewhere. In the Taṅjaivâṇaṉ-kôvai, a Tamil poetic work the hero of the poem Taṅjaivâṇaṉ, (the Vâṇaṉ of Taṅjai), is described as 'the Vâṇaṉ, who was victorious in the battle of Vallam', 'the Vâṇaṉ, who won a victory in the battle of Mallai', 'the Vâṇaṉ who made all those that did not serve the Pâṇḍya turn their backs in the battle-field', and 'the Vâṇaṉ who took the land of the Kannâḍar."(31) It has been shown by Mr. Venkoba Rao that this Taṅjaivâṇaṉ ruled in a place called Poṭṭai Taṅjai near Madura. The battle of Vallam seems to have been fought against some generals of the Vijayanagara Emperor, Varatuṅgarâma claims to have defeated the Villavaṉ (the king of the Malainâḍu, perhaps the Travancore king). If before his coronation Varatuṅgarâma was able to win a victory over his enemies, he should have been a sufficiently old man when he came to the throne.(32)

Like his cousin, Ativîrarâma, Varatuṅgarâma was a literary celebrity. He was the author of *Brahmôttara Kâṇḍam* and of *Kokkôkam*, &c., in Tamil. His spiritual teacher was Îśâna-mâmunivar of Vêppattûr.(33)

The next Pâṇḍya we meet with is **Varaguna Srivallabha** *alias* **Kulaśekhara.** In the Saka year 1537, he caused a *yâga* to be celebrated and on that occasion he set up a Vighnêśvara whom he called Yejñêśa-Vighnêśvara. In one or two inscriptions he calls himself Varaguṇa Śrîvallabha Dîkshitar in token of his having done the *yâga*. Nothing more of him is known.

There are two copper-plate records in the Kuttâlanâthasvâmin temple at Tirukkurṟâlam which belong to the reign (!) of one **Aḷaganperumâḷ Sivala-Varagunarâma Pâṇḍya Kulaśekharadevar**, 'who brought back the past.' Both of them are dated S. 1675. He bears all *birudas* known to the previous Pâṇḍyas.

After this Pâṇḍya we have not come across any other Pâṇḍya name. Evidently the family that had lived through at least twenty centuries was lost in oblivion in the latter half of the eighteenth century, their country being gradually taken away by the Nayakâs of Madura.

One fact worth noticing is that the later Pâṇḍyas adopted the Varâha or Bhûvarâhamûrtti as an additional emblem of their family, along with their carps and hook. It is to be accounted for by the subordination of the Pâṇḍyas to the Vijayanagara suzerainty. The Vijayanagara emblem, every one knows, is the boar.

The later Pâṇḍyas have gone in for names ending in Râma. Thus we have Kaliyugarâmaṉ. Avaṉivêndarâmaṉ, Râjakularâmaṉ, Abhirâmaṉ, Âhavarâmaṉ, Ativîrarâmaṉ, Guṇarâmaṉ, Varatuṅgarâmaṉ, etc.

(30) Mr. Krishṇa Śâstri identifies this king with another, Mâravarman Vîra Pâṇḍya, said to have borne the surnames Kaliyugarâman and Tirunelvêli-perumâḷ: the latter, Mr Sastri considers, might have been a co-regent with Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya. But Kaliyugaraman Vîra Pâṇḍya, ascended the throne in S. 1342, whereas Abhirâma, who assumed the name Vîra Pâṇḍya, crowned in the Kali year 4689 which corresponds with S. 1510. Therefore it is plain this identification is untenable.

(31) Sèndamiḷ Vol. IV. p. 506.

(32) A Tamil poet, Râmasâmi Kavirâyar by names, refers, in one of his verses, to Abhirâma, *alias*, Varatungarâma and his country, Kâśi (Teṇkâśi).

(33) "தேசான சிவஞானச் செஞ்சுடரான் மும்மலமாம்
மாசான விருளகற்றி மன்னுயிரைப் புரந்தளித்துத்
தூசானை யுள் யசைத்தோன்றெல் சமைய நிறுத்து நிம்பை
ஈசான முனிவனினேயடியை யிறைஞ்சுவாம்."

குருவணக்கம் in his work.

LIST OF LATER PAṆḌYA KINGS.

No.	Name of the King	Initial Date	Probable latest Date	Relationship	Remarks
1	Jaṭil. Kulaśêkhara ...	Ś. 1324		...	...
2	Arikêsari Parâkrâma.	S. 1344	S. 1385	...	Builder of th Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi.
3	Kulaśêkharadêva ...	Ś. 1351	Ś. 1385	Brother or cousin of 2.	Could he be the Śrîvallabha who is said to have seen Sêtu with copper-plates.(?)
4	Jaṭil. Aḷagaṇ Parâkrâma.	S. 1385	Ś. 1428	Perhaps son of 3. (See Ext. 12).	Born in Aviṭṭa Nakshatram.
5	Parâkrâma Kulaśêkhara.	S. 1401	Ś. 1421	Probably son of 4. (See Ext. 7).	Born in Kârttigai Nakshatram.
6	Abhirâma Parâkrama.	...	...	...	...
7	Ahavarâma ...	...	...	Brother of 6 ...	...
8	Iṛanda-kâlam-eḍutta Śrîvallabhadêva *alias* Kulaśêkharadêva.	S. 1456	Ś. 1464-5	Son of 7 ...	'Pâṇḍya-râjya-sthâpanâchârya.'
9	Parâkrâma Kulaśêkhara.	S. 1465	S. 1474	Son of 6 ...	Born in Aśvati Nakshatra.
10	Tiruneḷvêḷipperumâḷ Kulaśêkharadêva.	S. 1474	S. 1486	Son of 6 and younger brother of 9.	...
11	Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha.	S. 1486	...	Son of 10 ...	Born in Punarvasu.
12	Śrîvallabha ...	...	...	Said to be the brother of 2?	...
13	Varatuṅgarâma ...	Ś. 1510	...	Son of 9 ...	Born in Dhanishṭhâ Nakshatra (Pushya according to No. XII).
14	Varaguṇa Śrîvallabha *alias* Kulaśêkhara Dîkshita (or Sômayâji).	S. 1535		...	Performed a *Yâga* and thence styled himself a *Dîkshitar* (or Sômayâjiyâr).
15	Śivala Varaguṇarâma Pâṇḍya Kulaśêkhara Dîkshitar.	S. 1675		...	...

NO. I. THE PUDUKKOTTAI PLATES OF SRIVALLABHA AND VARATUNGARAMA PANDYA. SAKA SAMVAT 1505.

When the temple in the village of Pudukkôṭṭai was repaired some years ago the set of copper-plates, upon which the subjoined inscription is engraved, was discovered underneath the *pîṭha* of the image in the central shrine. At present the plates are owned by the Brahmans of that village and were got on loan for me by the kind offices of a friend of mine. It is from the impressions prepared under my supervision I now edit the record.

The plates are all numbered with Tamiḷ numerals ; since the writing begins only on the second side of the first plate, the numeral one is engraved on the second side. In the case of all other plates the numbers are engraved on the first side only, just below the ring-hole. The second side of the eighth plate is left blank. On the second side of the seventh and on the first side of the eighth plates the following figures are engraved :—The figure of Lakshmî-Varâha, a pair of *châmaras*, a pair of lamps, and a pair of carps, with between them a hook. Below these figures is the sign-manual of the sovereign the word *tulyam*, written in rather larger types ; and at the end is the signature of an officer whose name is Koḍumaḷûr-uḍaiyâṉ.

The size of these plates is unusually large : they measure 12″ by 9″. Though there is a ring-hole in each of the plates, they were not bound with a ring. The alphabet of the inscription is Grantha and the language, Sanskṛit.

The document purports to belong to the year Ś. 1505 in the reign of **Śrivallabha** the brother of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya and of **Varatungarâma Pâṇḍya**, his cousin. The immediate object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Pudukkôṭṭai to a number of Brahmans, which was made at the request of one **Tirumalairâja**, who is described as the right hand of Vîrabhûpati.

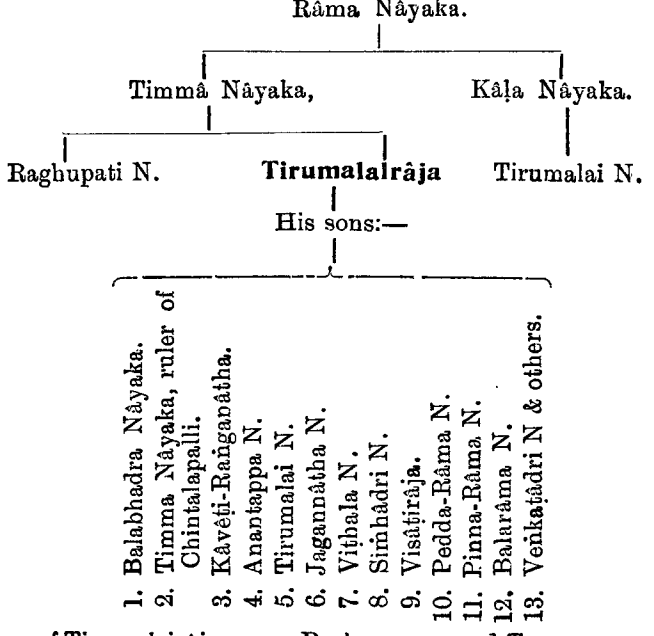
The record begins with the geneology of the Pâṇḍyas, which consists of three parts, the *paurâṇic*, the legendary and the historical. The *paurâṇic* part runs as follows :—

Vishṇu.
|
Brahma.
|
Atri.
|
Chandra, the Moon.

The legendary portion praises individual kings without often mentioning their names. Of these the first is a Pâṇḍya towards whom the oceans behaved as though they were only knee deep. The next king compelled Indra to give him one-half of the seat on his throne ; he is also said to have broken the crown of Indra with his club and to have assisted the lord of *Asuras* against the lord of the *Dêvas*, and churned the ocean for the sake of the *Dêvas*, with the Âdi-purusha. Next is mentioned a Pâṇḍya who gave a thousand elephants to a woman who asked for them. This act belongs perhaps also to this same king. In this family was born Taṭâtakâ, Mînâkshi, whose husband was the lord Śiva of Madura, under the name of Sundara Pâṇḍya. To them was born a son named Ugra Pâṇḍya. The historical geneology begins after this, and it has already been given in the General Introduction.

As we have already seen, the grant was made jointly by Srîvallabha and Varatuṅgarâma. It was made in the presences of the gods, Kuttâlêśvara and Karamarddiśvara in the year 1505 of the Śaka era, Svabhânu, on a Tuesday corresponding to the 5th of the month Chaitra and Pañchami of the dark fortnight, Vasanta-ṛitu, Uttarâyaṇa, in the Harshaṇa *yôga* and Taitula *karaṇa* ; and the villages granted were **Pudukkottai, Iluppaiyadippatti, Valangaimigâman** and **Sivakâliyâkkaruchchi**, clubbed together and renamed **Timmâpuram**. Of these Iluppaiyaḍippaṭṭi was contributed by Śrîvallabha and Valaṅgaimîgâman by Varatuṅgarâma and Pudukkôṭṭai perhaps by both.

The grant was made at the instance of **Tirumalairâja** whose history is given as follows: He was the son and grandson respectively of Timmâ and Râma Nâyaka and was a native of Chintalapalli. He was a devout worshipper of the feet of the god Raṅganâtha (Srîraṅgam). He bore the *biruda, Svâmidrôharaganḍa.* He was the right hand, as we have incidentally mentioned before, of Vîrabhûpati. Himself, he was a great warrior. When Aḷiya Râmarâja fell at Vidyânagara, a Basavarâja took refuge with Tirumalairâja, who saved him from his enemies Pâyati and Râchavîṭi. But when Veṅkaṭapatidêvarâya's army attacked Tirumalairâja, the ungrateful Basavarâja was on the opposite side. Him Tirumalairâja killed and established his claim to the title Svâmidrôharaganḍa. In the battle of Vallaprâkâra, when the army of Vîrarâja was slaughtered and the army of Achyutarâja fled away, Tirumalairâja captured all the horses and elephants that were on the battlefield. It is stated that in his battles Tirumalai employed guns (made of iron) in which were put leaden shots. A large number of relatives of Tirumalai are mentioned whose relationship might be expressed in a manner in the following table :—



The *pradhâna* of Tirumalairâja was a Brahman named Tammarasa. He was also the spiritual teacher of his master. He built at Chintalapalli otherwise known as Timmâpuram a temple and dug out a tank also. Tirumalairâja renamed the place Timmâpuram after his father.

At the end of the document a long list of officers who took even the smallest part in the making of this gift is given. They are :—

(1). Tammarasa, the *pradhâna* of Tirumalai.

(2). Ellappa Nâyaka son of Saḷika Nâyaka, the commander of Tirumalai's forces.

(3). Koṅgarâya, son of Vaḷattu-vâḷvitta-perumâḷ, a Vaishṇava living in the village of Mudaṇai.

(4). Ellappa Mudali Lakkachchi Nâyanâr.

(5). Râmanâtha Toṇḍaimâṉ of Sûralûr: his subordinate Vaḷattu-uruvâkkum-perumâḷ Muṇayadarayaṇ.

(6). Âvuḍaiya Nâyanâr Kâliṅgarâyan, an officer of Varatuṅgarâma.

(7). Pêrvâśi-Kâliṅgarâyan, Pachchappa Nâyan, Muṇayadarayaṇ, the ministers of Srîvallabha.

(8). Mêkkum-perumâḷ Muḍali, Perumâḷ Piḷḷai Saṅkara Nâyanâr, Śrîvallabha Toṇḍaimâṉ. Nâgamaṇi Prabhu, ministers of Varatuṅgarâma.

The composition of the grant was that of Abhirâma Sabhâpati Kâmâkshi and it was engraved by Nârâyaṇa, son of Silpapurandhara.

Last of all it is said that Sundara Pâṇḍya entreats all that this charity might be eternally maintained.

As regards the date and other items mentioned in the record we have already seen in the General Introduction that there is some difficulty which we are unable to overcome easily. The Teṉkâśi *gôpuram* inscription says that Śrîvallabha, that is Ativîrarâma was crowned in the year S. 1486 and Ext. 24 state that his rule extended to at least 28 years: thus then his reign must have extended till Ś. 1514. Again No. IX. edited below is dated Ś. 1517 and belongs to Ativîrarâma but the present document asserts that it belongs to the 21st year in the reign of Srîvallabha the brother of Ativîrarâma, whom the record distinctly mentions as dead. If the plates happen to be true, we must understand that, though Śrîvallabha was raised to the throne, the reckoning of the date was still kept up from the beginning of the reign of Ativîrarâma, the deceased king. We cannot at present say when this nondescript brother of Ativîrarâma ascended the throne and how long he ruled. If he ever ascended the throne at all, he seems to have been kept up on it in name only, for we see that Varatuṅgarâma, who at the time of this grant was not yet crowned, taking equal share in the affairs of the government and latterly distinguishing himself in the wars of succession in the Vijayanagara Empire.

The Sundara Pâṇḍya mentioned at the end of the document is Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya, who we know had the name Abhirâma Sundarêśvara.

The place of Tirumalairâja in the history of Southern India is not definitely known, but we can take him to be one of the several Zamindars who ruled under the Nâyakas of Madura. And from the facts that he is said to have been the right hand of Vîrabhûpati, that he took a prominent part in the war of succession already referred to, fought on the side of Vîrabhûpati, that he took first the consent of Vîrabhûpati for requesting the Pâṇḍya princes to make this grant,—all these go to show that he might have acted as a minister to the Madura Nâyaka. He might have been chosen to the place on account of his nationality. Chintalapalli, the native place of Tirumalairâja, is Telugu in form and therefore it appears likely that must be looked for in the Telugu districts; but when he came south he might have named another village, which is now in the Tinnevelly district, Chitalapalli, after his own native place.

Little is also known of Basavarâja who was first protected and then killed by Tirumalairâja. Achyutarâja mentioned in the record is Achyutappa Nâyaka of Tanjore.

If Varatuṅgarâma was subordinate to the Nâyakas of Madura, it is quite clear that they lost all vestiges of independence which the Pâṇḍya dynasty enjoyed for no less than twenty centuries. We need not say that they accepted the suzerainty of the Emperors of Vijayanagara.

We have already seen that Varatuṅgarâma was a literary celebrity. The names of the following places occur in the plates:—Pudukkôṭṭai, Iluppaiyaḍippaṭṭi, Valangaimîgâman Śivakâḷiyâkkuruchchi, Kaḷagûr, Kaḍambaṅguḷam *alias* Tirumalabhaṭṭagrâmam, Sevvaliruppu, Kottaṇêri, Śeṅguḍi, Veḷḷûr, Periyakâḷiyâkkuruchchi, Maṅgalagrâmam, Chintalapalli, Vidyânagara, Muḍanaigrâmam, the river Arjuna *nadi* and Vallaprâkâra. The following is the identification of some of them:—Pudukkôṭṭai is in the Srîvillâputtûr Tâlûka; Kaḍambanguḷam and Chintalapalli are in the Śâttûr Tâlûka, Kâḷaiyâkuruchchi is in the Srîvilliputtûr Tâlûka of the Tinnevelly District. Vidyânagara or the modern Hampe is in the Hospet Tâlûka of the Bellary District.

From line 318 up to the end of that plate the writing appears to be the execution of a different hand, compare the *Ga, rva, pû, ha, rtti*, &c., of this part of the inscription with those found in the other part.

TEXT. (1)

First Plate : Second Side.

1. शुभमस्तु [॥*] श्रीगणाधिपतये
2. नमः ।[।*] लक्ष्मीवल्लभनाभिजन्मनालिनम्[2]
3. यस्येरितम् जन्मभूस्संकल्पस्सचराचरञ्च-
4. गदिदं वाणी च साक्षात्त्रयि[3] । आकल्पः कलशी
5. जटाः कमलिनी बीजावली वल्कलम् ज्योति[:]
6. पुष्यतु विष्वगाननमिदम् भद्राणि भूयां[सि]
7. वः ।[। १*] शेषोरस्थलशायि दारितमहानी-
8. लाश्मरश्मिच्छवि[4] क्षिरोदप्रतिबिम्बिताम्-
9. बरतलश्रीचारु यद्राजते । स्वेच्छामात्र-[5]
10. विकल्पितत्रिभुवनस्थानोपसर्गोदयम्
11. तेजस्तत्[6] द्युमणीन्दुनेत्रमनिशम् भद्राणि पु-
12. ष्णातु वः ।[। २*] धत्ते यस्य जटाकलापकलिते[।]
13. रेखामयश्चन्द्रमा दुग्धाम्भोधिविरू-
14. ढविद्रुमलताव्यासंगिहंसश्रियम्[7] । पृ-
15. थ्वीवारिहुताशहोतृहिमरुग्भास्वत्[8]-
16. वियन्मारुतस्वात्माधीनचराचरस्थितिरसौ
17. शर्व्वश्शिवायास्तु वः ।[। ३*][9] पार्श्वोल्लसत्[10] भूकमला-
18. दिदृष्टे [11]प्रवृत्तगोत्रोद्धरणे नयेन [।*] प्र-
19. काशितश्रिनवमावतारप्रकार[12] एष त्वमयं
20. विदध्याः ।[। ४*][13] कल्याणायास्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरा-

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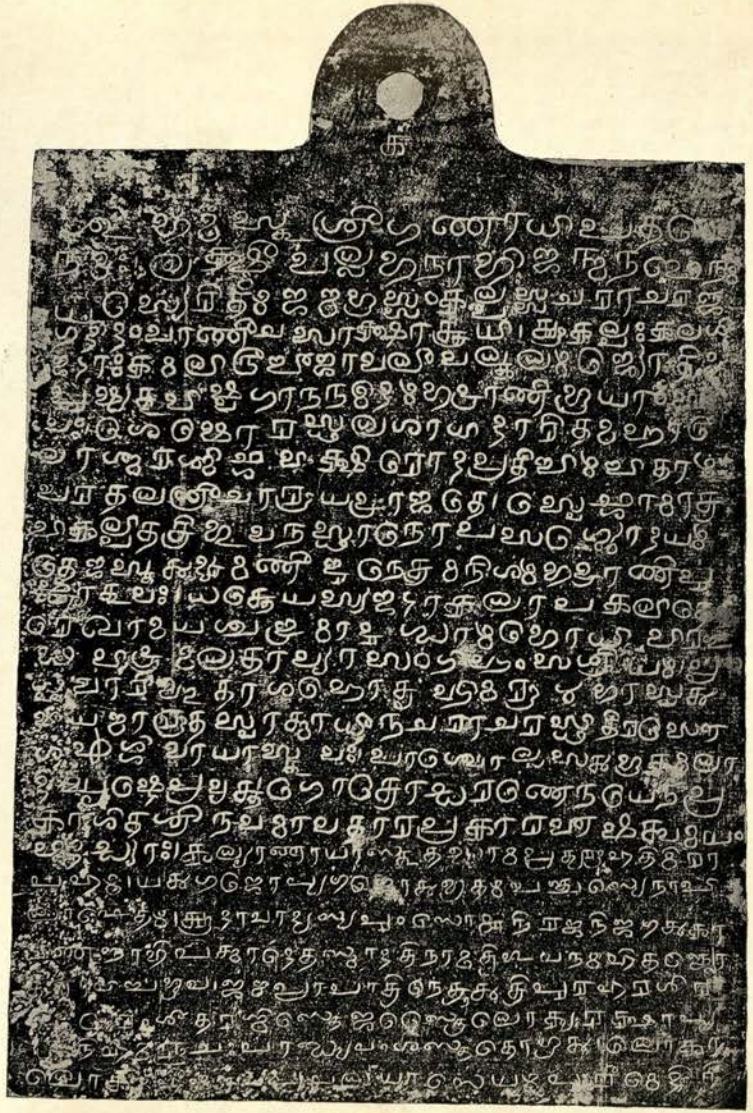
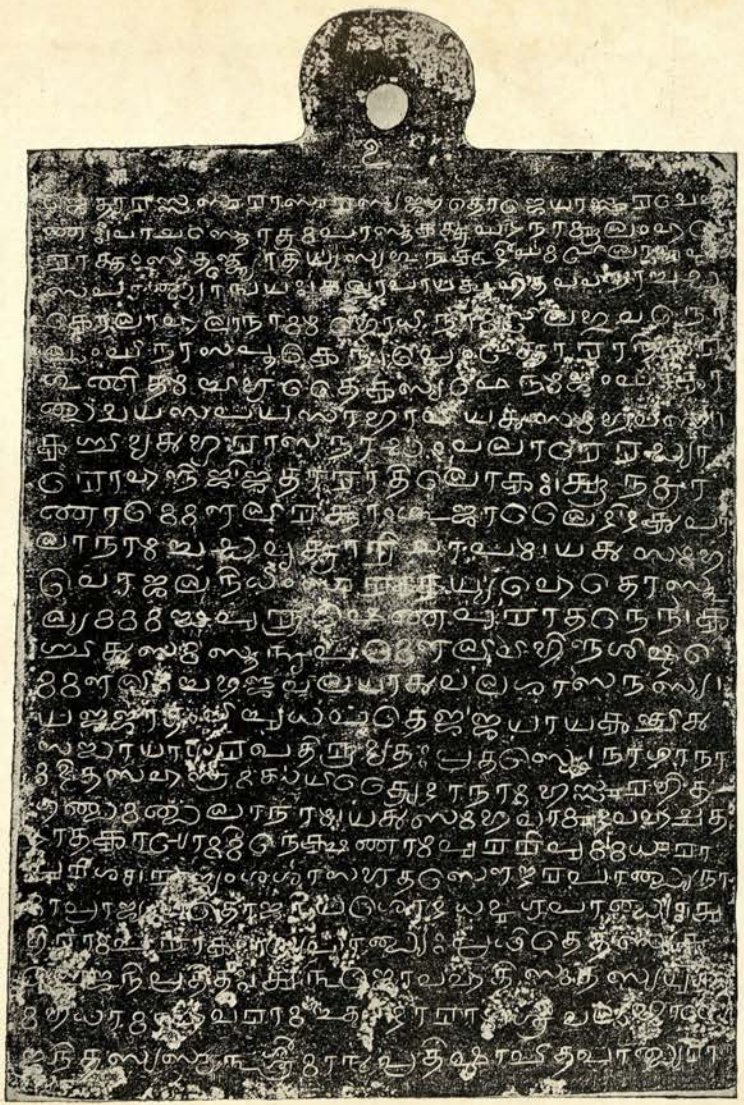
1. From impressions prepared under my supervision.
2. Read ०नलिनं.
3. Read ०त्रयी.
4. Read ०च्छवि क्षीरोद०.
5. Read ०स्वेच्छा०.
6. Read ०स्तद्द्युम०.
7. Read ०सङ्गि०.
8. Read ०भास्वद्विय०.
9. Metre of Vv, 1—3, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
10. Read ०सद्भूकमला०.
11. Read प्रवृत्त०.
12. Read ०श्री०.
13. Metre, उपजातिः.

I. b.



II. a.



Pudukkottai Plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0.44

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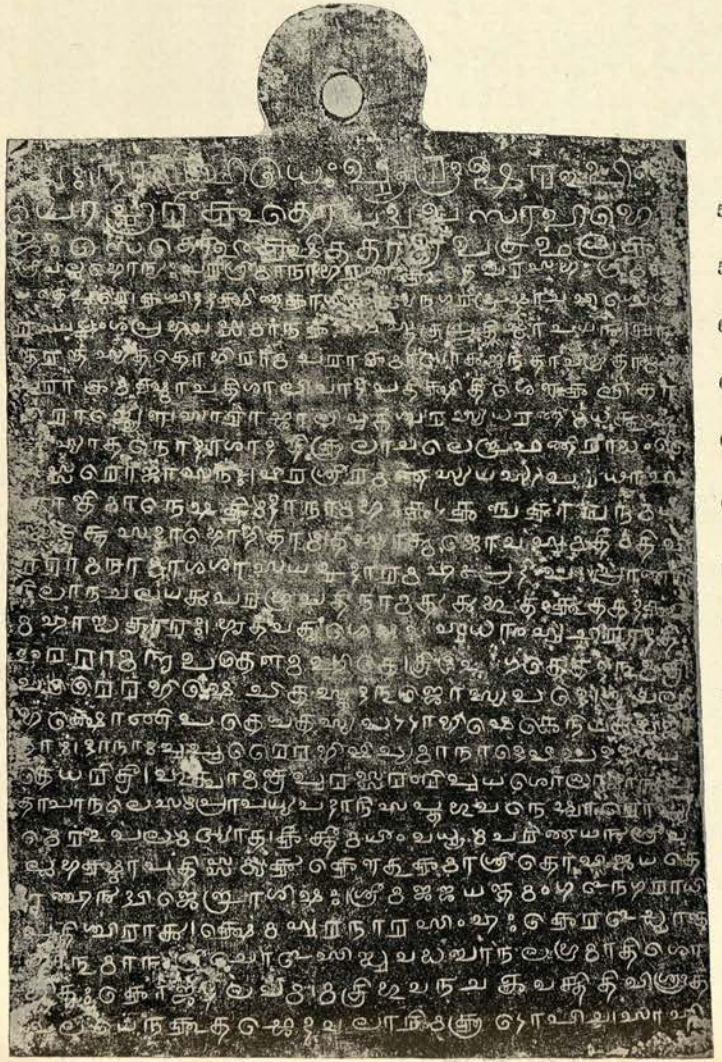
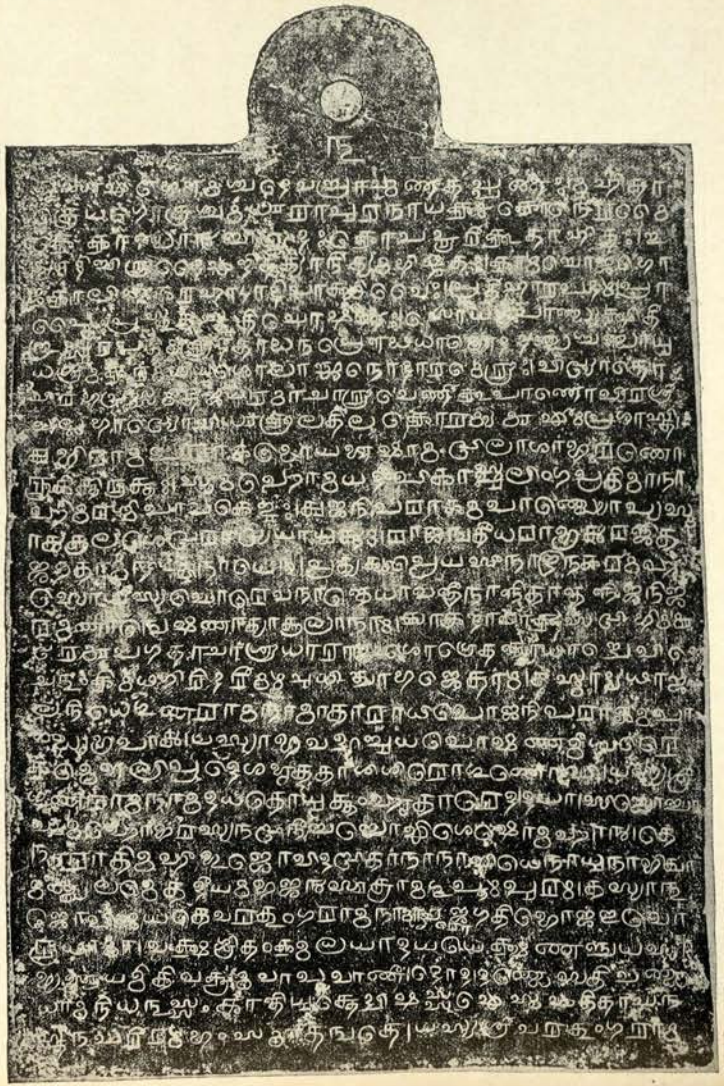
II. b.

III. a.





Pudukkottai Plates of Srivallabha and Varatungarama Pandya.

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21. पहम् । यत् गजोप्यगजोत्भूतम्[14] पद्मास्येनापि
22. लालितम् ।[। ५*][15] आदावाद्यस्य पुंसो मुनिरजनि जगत्का-
23. रणं नाभिपत्मादेतस्मादत्रिनाम[16] त्रिभुवनमहितञ्ज्यो-
24. तिराविर्बभूव । जन्म प्रापात्रिनेत्र[ा]त्[17] त्रिपुरहरशिर-
25. [श्शे]खरं शीतरस्मिस्तेजस्त्रैलोक्यरक्षाव्य-
26. [स]निहिमरुचः पाण्ड्यवंशस्ततोभूत् ।[। ६*][18] लोका-
27. लोकमही[ध्र]वप्रवलया सेयम् [पु]री मेदिनी

Second Plate: First Side.

28. जेतारस्सस्सुरासुरस्य जगतो जेयास्सुरद्वेषि-
29. णः । वाच[:*]स्तोत्रमपास्तकर्त्तृघटनामूलं ह-
30. [18a]रोत्तंसितञ्ज्योतिर्य्यस्य[19] भुनक्तु दीर्घमखिलामुर्व्वीं
31. स पाण्डयान्वयः ।[। ७*][20] कल्पापयक्षुभितपव[ना]बद्ध-
32. कोलाहलानाममभोधीनामंखिलभुवनो-[21]
33. लंघिना सप्तकेन । प्रेंखत्तारानिकर—[22]
34. गुणितम् बिभ्रतैकस्य फेनम् जंघाका-[23]
35. ण्डद्वयसपयसाभावि यत्सम्भवस्य ।[। ८*][24]
36. कश्चिद्यत्भूरासनार्द्धं[25] वलारेरध्या-
37. रोहन्निर्ज्जितारातिलोकः । आनम्रा-
38. णाम्मौलिरत्नांशुजालैर्दिक्पा-
39. लानाम् बद्धवृत्तारिचापम् ।[। ९*] यत्सम्भ-[26]
40. वो जलनिधिं सुरकार्य्यहेतोस्तु-

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14. Read यद्गजोप्यगजोद्भूतं.
15. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.
16. Read० पद्मा०.
17. The secondary ā symbol of त्रा in नेत्रा is engraved below the line.
18. Metre' क्षमधरा.
18 (a) The secondary ô symbol is at the end of the previous line.
19. The secondary *e* portion of the *o* symbol belonging to ज्योतो is engraved below the line.
20. Metre, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
21. भ is corected into भु in भुवनो Read भुवनोल्लङ्घि०.
22. Read प्रेङ्ख०.
23. Read फेनं जङ्घा०.
24. Metre, मन्दाक्रान्ता.
25. Read०न्द्रू०.
26. Metre शालिनी.

41. ल्यम[27] ममन्थ पुरुषेण पुरातनेन । क-
42. श्चित् समस्तनृपमौलिविभिन्नशिष्ट-
43. [27a]म्मौलिम् बभञ्ज वलयात्[28] वलशासनस्य ।[। १०*][29]
44. यज्जातं विबुधपतेर्ज्जयाय कञ्चित्
45. सन्धायाशरपतिरुद्यतः प्रतस्थे । नागाना-
46. मदित सहस्रमर्त्थयित्र्यै दानाम्भस्सुरभित-
47. गण्डमण्डलानाम् ।[। ११*] यत्सम्भवामुदवहच्चत-[30]
48. टातकाख्याम्मीनेक्षणाम् पुररिपुर्म्मधुरा-
49. पुरीशः । राज्यं शशास भूतसौन्दरपाण्डयना-
50. मा प्राज्यं [य]तोजनि यशोदधदुग्रपाण्ड्यः ।[। १२*] अ-[31]
51. भिरामपराक[मा] [32]ख्यपाण्ड्यः प्रथिते तस्य कु-
52. [ले]जनि प्रतीतः । अनुजो वहति स्म तस्य[यु]क्ता-
53. मभिधामाहवराम इत्[यु]दाराम् ।[। १३*][32a] श्रीवल्लभा [ख्ये]-
54. जनि तस्य सूनुश्श्रीमान् प्रतिष्ठापित पाण्डयरा-

Second Plate: Second Side.

55. ज्यः । नारीविधेः पूरुषरूपि [णी]
56. यो दूरीकृतौ[33] यद्वचसापि भ[ो]-
57. जः [॥ १४*] [34]सेतौ वीक्षिततामपत्रफलक [:]
58. श्रीवल्लभोन्यः पर[:] श्रीमानाभरणः कृतेश्वरसभः श्रीम[ज्ज]-
59. [य]न्ते पुरो कश्चिद्दक्षिणकाशि[का]रव्यनग[री]द्रष्टा च विश्वेश्व-
60. रं यद्वंशप्रभवस्स मानक[व]चस्तत्र प्रतिष्ठापयन् ।[।१५*][35] अन-
61. न्तरन्तस्य ततोभिरामपराक्रमाख्यात् [36]जनितावभूताम्[।]
62. पराक्रमक्ष्मापतिशालिवाटीपतिक्षितीशौ कलिता-

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27. Read °ल्यं ममन्थ.
27.a The secondary *au* symbols are at the end of the last line.
28. Read °द्वल°.
29. Metre वसन्ततिलकम् .
30. Metre प्रहर्षिणी.
31. Metre वसन्ततिलकम् .
32. Read° क्रमा°.
32a. Metre वसन्तमालिका.
33. Read. ° कृतौ.
34. Metre इन्द्रवज्रा.
35. शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् .
36. Read °ख्याजनि°.

63. धिराज्यौ ।[। १६*][37] साराछ्शालिवृतीश्वरस्य[38] धरणीम् धत्तुम् भु-
64. जं ह्यातनोदाशादन्तिकुलाचलेन्द्रफणिराडं-
65. शैस्सरोजासनः।[39] वीरश्रीरमणस्य यस्य परथा वि-
66 क्रान्तिमानेष किम्[40] दानाम्भः कटकञ्च काञ्चनमयं
67. (न्)धत्ते सदा भोगिताम् ।[। १७*][41] तस्यात्मजो वसुमतीमतिवी-
68. ररामनामा शशास यदुदारमहःप्रदीपः । प्राण[ा]-
69. निलानचलयत् परभूपतीनामत्यत्भुतं[42] कृततदाक्षि-
70. महान्धकारः ।[। १८*][43] भृतवत्यशेष[व]सुधां सुचिरादति-
71. वीररामनृपतौ महिते । त्रिद[वं] [44]गते तदनु मन्त्रि-
72. वरैरभिषेचितस्तदनुजोस्य पदे ।[। १९*][45] श्रीवल्ल-
73. भक्षोणिपतेश्च तस्य पट्टाभिषिके नियत[न्द्वि]जा-
74. [न]ाम् । दानाम्बुपूरैरभिषिच्यमाना देवीपदन्दर्शय-
75. ते धरित्री ।[। २०*] [46] हुत्वा मन्त्रपुरस्सरं रिपुयशोलाजान् प्र-
76. तापानले सम्प्रापय्य पदानि सप्तभुवनेष्वारोप्य
77. मेरूपलम्[।]ख्यात[:*](।)कीर्त्तीमयीं[47] वधूम् परिणयन् श्रीव-
78. ल्लभक्ष्मापतिस्सम्यक् कौतुकमाश्रीतो[48]विजयते
79. गृण्हन्[49] द्विजेन्द्राशिषः।[। २१*][50] श्रीमज्जयन्तमंगळनगराधि-[51]
80. पतिश्चिरात् । क्षेम[ा]सुरनारसिंहः केरळध्द्वान्त-
81. [भा]नुमान् ।[। २२*] श्रीचोळसिन्धुवडबानलभूमातिशो-
82. भितः[।*] कोजटिलवर्म्मत्रिभुवनचक्रवात्तिति[52]विश्रुतः [॥ २३*]
83. वलयेन कृतछ्शेदवलारिमकुटोपि च[।*] साहि-

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37. M [illegible] वंशस्थम् .
38. R [illegible]रां शालिवृतीश्वरस्यधरणीं धर्त्तुं
39. T [illegible]dary *au* symbols are the end of the
40. R [illegible] दा०.
41. M [illegible]र्दूलविक्रीडितम् .
42. R [illegible]तं.
43. Me [illegible]तिलकम् .
44. R- [illegible]
45. Metre प्रमिताक्षरा.
46. Metre इन्द्रवज्रा.
47. Read कीर्तिमयीं.
48. Read० माश्रितो .
49. Read गृह्णन् .
50. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् .
51. Read० मङ्गळ०
52. Read० चक्रवर्तीति.

Third Plate: First Side.

84. त्यसार्व्वभौमश्च देवब्राह्मणतर्प्पणः ।[। २४*] महिता-
85. त्रेयगोत्रश्च मधुरापुरनायकः [।*] कोनेरमै-
86. क्कोण्डान्विरुदः कोपदूरीकृताहितः । [। २५*] इ-
87. त्यादिबिरुदैर्व्वन्दितत्या नित्यमभिष्टुतः । काम्बोजभो-
88. कालिंगकरहाटादि[54]पार्थिवैः । [। २६*] प्रतीहारपदम् प्रा-
89. तैः प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषणः ।[। २६, ॥ *][55] सोयम् पाण्डयक्षिती-
90. न्द्रस्सुरपतिमकुटीताडनप्रौढधामोद्दण्डश्चण्डायु-
91. धश्रीमकरमययशोलाञ्छनोदारमेरुः।[56] विख्यातो
92. वीरभद्रस्सामिति जयरमाचारुवेणीकृपाणो वीर[:] श्री-
93. वल्लभाख्यो विधुकुलतिलको रम्यमुर्व्वीम् प्रशास्ति ।[। २७,॥*][57]
94. अभिरामपराक्रमो य एषामखिलाशाभरणो-
95. रुकीर्त्तिरु [क्त]: । स्वमहोमयदीपिकास्फुलिंग[58] प्रतिमाना-
96. हिमरश्मिपावकेन्दुः।[। २८॥,*][59] अजनि पराक्रमपाण्डयोप्यस्मा[60]
97. त् कुलशेखराख्यया युक्तः । राजन्वती धराभूत्[61] रञ्जित-
98. जगता मनस्विना येन।[। २९॥,*][62] प्रत्यर्थिप्रेयसीनान्दिनकरमह-
99. सो यस्य घोरे वनान्तें धावन्तीनान्नितान्तनिजनिज-
100. रमणान्वेषणात्याकुलानाम् । साक्रन्दा वाक् सखीभिर्म्मु-
101. खरमुपगता चाश्रुधारा दृशोग्रे तन्नोथान्द्रे वि-
102. चेतुं[63]किमथ गिरिदरीमम्बुधीन्त्वा[64] भजेताम्।[। ३०,*॥][65]तस्माद्यथा ज-
103. लनिधे[65a] गुणरामनामा ताराधिपोजनि पराक्रमपा-
104. ण्डयभूपात् । यस्याभवद्विबुधपोषणमीश्वरै-
105. कमौलिप्रदेशभृतता शिशिरो गुणोपि।[। ३१॥*][66] यस्य श्री-

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54. Read० कालिङ्ग०.
55. Metre of vv 22—26½, अनुष्टुप् .
56. Read • लाञ्छनो०.
57. Metre स्रग्धरा.
58. Read० लिङ्ग०.
59. Metre वसन्ततिलकम् .
60 The secondary *a* symbol of स्मा is at the begining of the next line.
61. Read ०द्रञ्जित०.
62. Metre गीतिः.
63. The Secondary *e* symbol of चे is at the end of the previous line.
64. Read ०म्बुधिञ्चा०.
65. Metre स्रग्धरा.
65a. Read o धेर्गुण०
66. Metre वसन्ततिलकम् .

106. गुणरामनाम दधतो युक्तं[66a] हृतारेर्द्दया (।) सिन्धोर्ब्बा- ·
107. हुमहोभरस्य नळिनीबन्धोर्विशेषो महान् । ते-
108. नारातिमहीभुजो विदळिता नानाविधेनाधुना भित्वा
109. मण्डलमेतदीयमभजन् सूत्रामगुप्तम् पुरम् ।[। ३२॥*][67] तस्यानु-
110. जो विजयते वरतुंगरामनामापरो[68] जगति भोज इवो[69]-
111. रुधामा । वक्षश्श्रितं कमलया दययेक्षणञ्च यस्या[70]-
112. भ्यसूयमिति वक्त्रमवाप वाणी ।[। ३३॥*] दोर्द्दण्डसति चण्ड-
113. धामनि धनुस्संक्रान्तियुक्ते[71] द्विषस्सर्व्वे स्वर्व्व [नि]ताघन·
114. स्तनपरीरम्भं समातन्वते । यस्य श्रीवरतुंग[72] राम-
115. नृपतेर्ध्दत्वा यशःकञ्चुकं सेवन्ते च हसन्तिका-
116. नलमित्र स्फारम् प्रतापन्दिशः।[। ३४॥*][73] मुक्तक्ष्माभारयद्वैरि-
117. षु भृशकुपिताः कुभिकूर्म्माहिशैलाः[74] पर्ण्णास्वा-
118. दम् पयोवर्त्तनमदुरनिलाहारताञ्चागतित्वम् । धी-
119. रे यस्मिन् ददुस्तन्दधति च भुजयोर्भूमहेन्द्रे
120. प्रहृष्टा दानोल्लासं सुवृत्तस्थिति[75]मपि च महाभो—
121. गतान्धीरताञ्च ।[। ३५॥*][76] श्रीमज्जयन्तमंगळनगराधिपातिश्चिरा-
122. त् । [। ३६*] क्षेमासुरनारसिंहः केरळध्वान्तभानुमान् ।
123. श्रीचोळसिन्धुवडवानलभूमातिशोभितः । [। ३७*] कोजटि-
124. लवर्म्मत्रिभुवनचक्रवर्त्तीति विश्रुतः । वलयेन
125. छेदबलारिमकुटोपि[77] च । [। ३८*] साहित्यसार्व्वभौमश्च दे-
126. वब्राह्मणतर्प्पणः । महितात्रेयगोत्रश्च मधुरा[पु]-
127. र नायकः । [। ३९*] कोनेर्मैक्कोण्डान्विरुदः कोप-
128. दूरीकृताहितः । इत्यादिविरुदै र्वन्दितत्या नित्यमभि[ष्टु]तः । [। ४०*]
129. काम्बोजभोजकालिंग[78]करहाटादिपार्थिवैः । प्रती

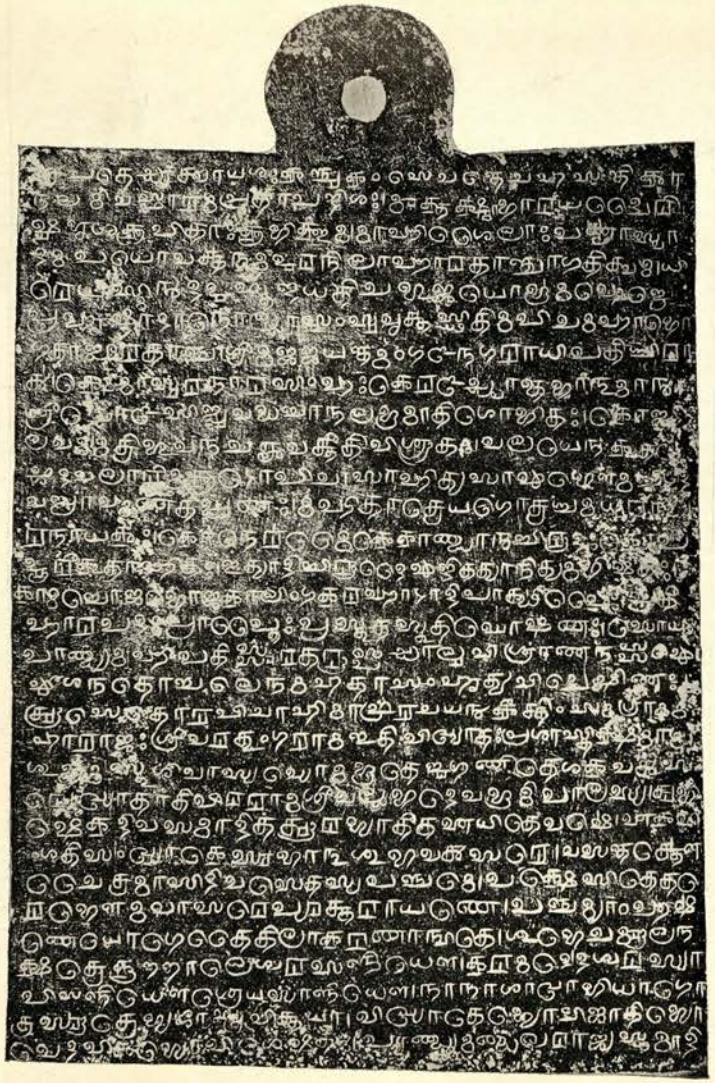
66-a. Read युक्तं.
67. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् .
68. Read °तुङ्ग°
69. रो is engraved below the line.
70. Metre वसन्ततिलकम्.
71. Read °युक्ते
72. Read °तुङ्ग°.
73. Metre, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् .
74. Read कुम्भि°
75. Read °सुवृत्त°
76. Metre स्रग्धरा-
77. Read °च्छेद°. The secondary e symbol of छे is at the end of the last time.
78. Read °कालिङ्ग°

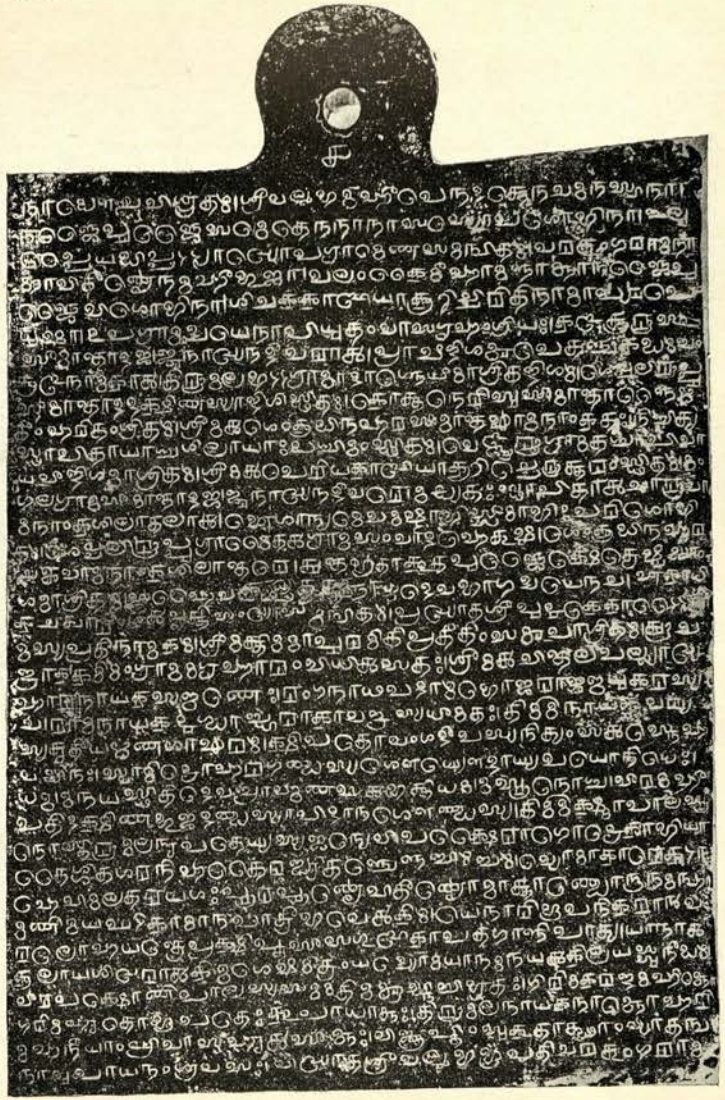
130. हारपदम् प्राप्तैः प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषणः ।[। ४१*][79] सोयम्-
131. पाण्डयमहीपतिस्सुरतरुस्पर्द्धालुविश्राणनस्सर्व्वो-
132. र्व्वीशनतो बलेन महता संहृत्य विद्वेषिणः ।
133. आसेतोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन् कीर्त्तिं[80]समग्राम म-
134. हाराजः श्रीवरतुंगराम[81]इति विख्यातः प्रशास्ति क्षमाम्[। ४२*][82]
135. शुभमस्तु [। *] शिवास्यव्योम भूतेन्दुगणिते शकवत्स-
136. रे। [४२॥ *] ख्यातातिवीररामश्रविल्लभदेवभूमिपालस्य । अभि-
137. षेकदिवसमादित आरभ्यातीत एधिते वर्षे ।[।४३ ॥*] एकविं-[83]
138. शतिसंख्याके सुभानुशुभवत्सरे । वसन्तर्त्तौ-
139. चैत्रमासि दिवसे तस्य पञ्चमे । [। ४४ ॥*] पक्षे सितेत-
140. [84]रे भौमवासरेप्युत्तरायणे । पञ्चम्यां हर्ष-
141. णे योगे तैतिलाकरणान्विते । [४५*॥] शुभे च मूलन
142. क्षत्रे कुंभलेश्वरसन्निधौ । करमर्देश्वरस्या—
143. पि सन्निधौ श्रेयसान्निधौ । [। ४६ ॥*] नानाशाखाभिधागो-
144. त्रसूत्रेभ्यश्शास्त्रवित्तया । विख्यातेभ्यो द्विजातिभ्यो-

Fourth Plate: First Side.

145. वेदवित्भ्यो[85]विशेषतः ।[। ४७ ॥*] पाण्डयमण्डलराज्यस्थमादि-
146. नाडौ च विश्रुतम्। श्रीवल्लभमहीपेन दत्तेन च मनस्विना ।[। ४८ ॥*]
147. नञ्जैपुञ्जैसमेतेन नानासस्योपशोभिना । इलु-
148. प्पैयाडिप्पट्टयाख्योपग्रामेण समन्वितम् ।[। ४९ ॥*] वरतुंगरामना[86]-
149. म्ना वितीर्णेन महीभुजा । वलंकैमीहामन्नाम्ना नञ्जैपु-
150. ञ्जैविशेभिना ।[। ५० ॥*] शिवक्काळियाकुरिच्चिरिति नामाप्युपे-
151. युषा । उपग्रामद्वयेनापि युतं वासगृहं श्रियः । [। ५१ ॥*] कळकूरुसु-
152. सीमान्तादर्ज्जुनाख्यानदीवरात् । प्राचीन्दिशमुपेतञ्चकडम्बं-

79. Metre of vv 36—41, अनुष्टुप्.
80. Read कीर्तिं समग्रां.
81. Read तुङ्ग
82. Metre, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्
83. The anusvâra of विं is at the begining of the next line.
84. The secondary *e* symbol of रे is at the begining of the previous line.
85. Read वेदविभ्यो.
86. Read •तुङ्ग

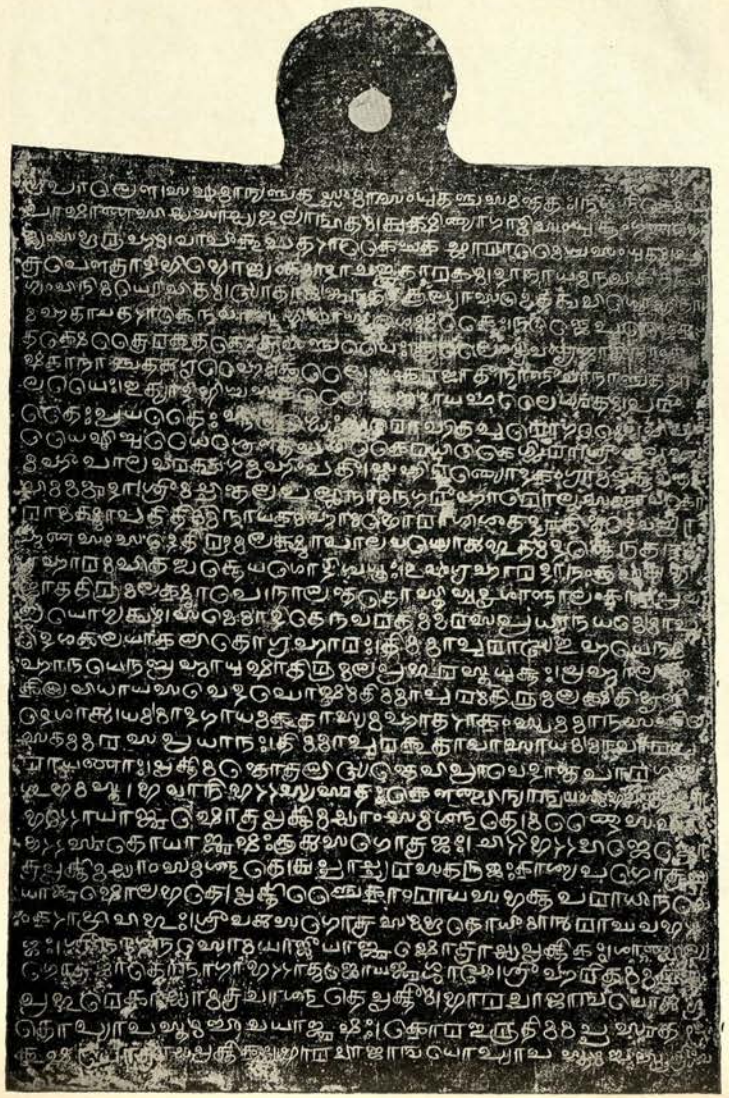


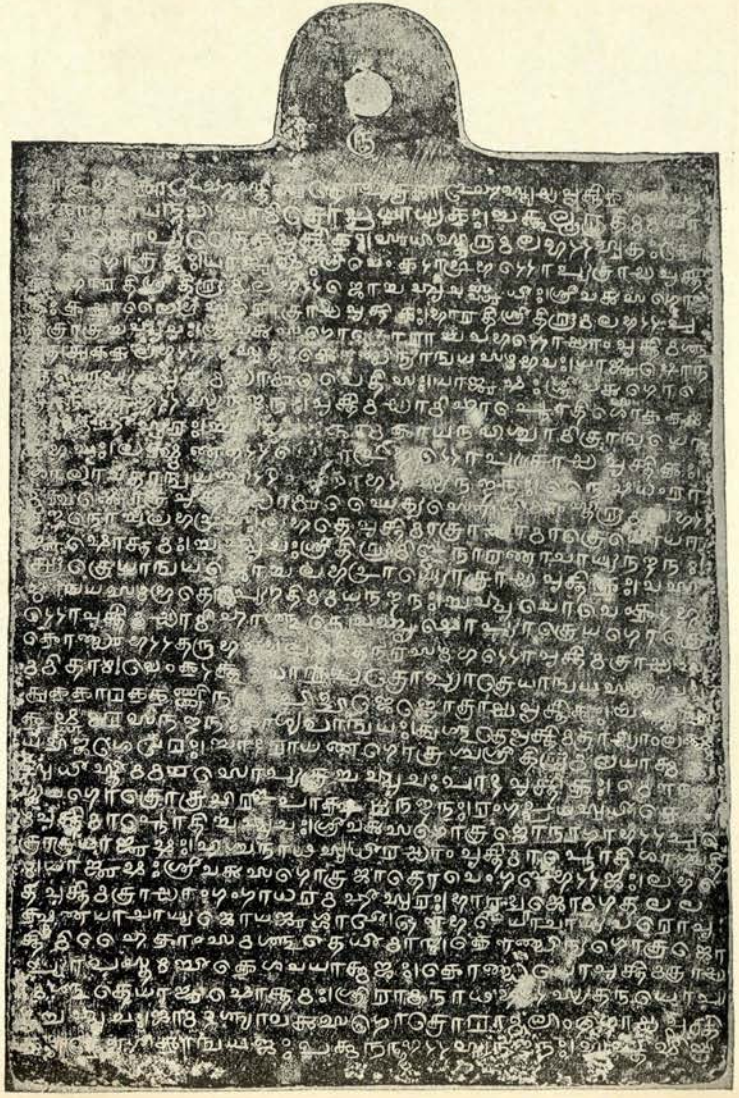


T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0.44

HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS





T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0·5

HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

153. कुळनामकात् । [। ५२ ॥*] तिरुमलभट्टग्रामादाग्नेयीमाश्रित्यान्दिशम् । शेव्वलिरुप्पु-
154. सीमान्ताद्दाक्षिणस्यान्दिशि स्थितम् । [। ५३ ॥*] कोत्तनेरिसुसीमान्तान्नैऋ-
155. तीं हरितं श्रितम् । श्रीमत्[87] शकुडिनहर सीमान्तर्व्वामनांकतः[88] [। ५४ ॥*] निश्चित्य-
156. स्थापितायाश्च शिलायाः पश्चिमं स्थितम् । वेळ्ळूरुग्रामतश्चापि वा-
157. यव्यन्दिशमाश्रित । [। ५५ ॥*] श्रीमत्पेरियकाळियाकुरिच्चेरुत्तरं स्थितम् । मं-
158. [89]गलग्रामसीमान्ता दर्ज्जुनाख्य नदीवरे । [। ५६ ॥*] मध्यतः स्थापितात् चारुवा-
159. मनांकशिलातलात्[90] । ऐशान्यमेवमष्टाभिस्सीमाभिः परिशोभि-
160. तम् । [। ५७ ॥*] शेव्वलिरुप्पुग्रामैतत्प्रामसंवादहेतुषु[91]। शैंकुडिनहर-
161. चक्रवामनांक[92]शिलान्तरे । [। ५८ ॥*] अन्तर्भूताकृतपुञ्जैक्षेत्रेष्वर्द्धो-
162. शमाश्रितम् । सहैवकल्पितान्नायदेवभागद्वयेनच । [। ५९ ॥*] एकाधि-
163. कचत्वारिंशत्वृत्तिसंख्यासमन्वितम् । प्रख्यातश्रीपुदुक्कोट्टै [ग्रा]
164. मस्य प्रतिनामकम् । [। ६० ॥*] श्रीमत्तिम्मापुरमिति प्रतीतिं समुपाश्रितम् । आच-
165. न्द्रार्क्कमिमं ग्राममग्रहारं विधित्सतः । [। ६१ ॥*] श्रीमत्[94] चिन्तलपल्ल्याख्य-
166. हारनायकसन्मणेः । [95]रङ्गनाथपदाम्भोजराजन्मधुकरस्य-
167. च । [। ६२ ॥*] रामनायकदुग्धाब्धिराकाचन्द्रस्य धीमतः । तिम्मिनायकवर्य्य-
168. स्य तृतीयऋणशार्वरम् । [। ६३ ॥*] क्षितो वंशदीपस्य नित्यं सत्स्नेह-
169. वर्द्धिनः । स्वामिद्रोहरगण्डस्य शौर्य्यौदार्य्यपयोनिधेः । [। ६४ ॥*][96]
170. धर्म्मनयस्थितिदेवब्राह्मण[97]सत्भक्तिधर्म्मसूनोश्च । वीरमही-
171. पतिदक्षिणभुजदण्डस्यापि दानशौण्डस्य । [। ६५ ॥] [97a] तिम्मिक्ष्मापालसू-
172. नोरि रुमलनृपतेर्य्यस्य जन्ये विपक्षै रागोद्रेकाभिया
173. तैश्शितशरनिहतैरन्धितञ्चेन्नबिम्बम् । व्योमाकारे कटा-
174. हे विमलतरयशःपूरपूर्णे वितीर्णो मार्त्ताण्डो नूनमन्हा-[98]

87. Read •मच्छं•
88. Read •नाङ्कतः•
89. Read मङ्गल•
90. Read वामनाङ्क•
91. Read •द्वाम•
92. Read वामनाङ्क•
93. Read द्वृत्ति•
94. Read •मच्चि•
95. Read रङ्ग•
96. Metre of vv 42½—64½, •अनुष्टुप्
97. Read सद्म. 97a. Metre गीतिः
98. Read •मह्नां

175. मणिमयघटिकामानपात्रीभवेत् किम् । [। ६६॥*][99] येनारिभूपनिकरान् व
176. रलोहयन्त्रे प्रक्षिप्तसीसगुळिका पतगान्निपात्ययानात्
177. कुलायशिखरात् किमशेषमित्रं यद्व्योमयानमनयत् किल यस्सुनीडम् । [। ६७॥*][100]
178. वीरपक्षोणिपालस्य सम्मतिम्मूर्द्धि बिभ्रतः । [। ६८*][101] गिरिमकरन्दमहिम्नो
179. गरिमद्दतो भूपतेः कृपाधाम्नः । तिरुमलनायकनाम्नो हरि-
180. सहनीयांघ्रिवासहृत्सीम्नः । [। ६९*] विज्ञप्तिं सुकृतार्थी व्यातन्व[।]

Fourth Plate: Second side.

181. नावुपायनं श्रवसः । विख्यात श्रीवल्लभभूपतिवरतुंगराम[102]
182. भूपालौ ।[। ७०*][104] सर्व्वमान्यञ्चतुस्सीमासंयुतञ्चसमन्ततः । निधिनिक्षेप-
183. पाषाणसिद्धसाध्यजलान्वितम् । [। ७१*] अक्षिण्यागामिसंयुक्तं गणभो-
184. ज्यं सभूरुहम् । वापीकूपतटाकैश्च [105]कच्छारामैश्च संयुतम् । [७२*] पु-
185. त्रपौत्रादिभिर्भोज्यं क्रमादाचन्द्रतारकम् । दानाधमनविक्री[ति] यो-
186. ग्यं विनिमयोचितम् । [। ७३*] ख्यातार्ज्जुननदीकूल्यासमेतत्वविशोभिना ।
187. महता च तटाकेन वास्तुभिर्वास्तुशेषकैः । [। ७४*] नञ्जैपुञ्जैकृ-
188. तक्षेत्रैरकृतक्षेत्रसञ्चयैः । कुलैस्त्रिवर्ण्णजातीनां क-
189. र्षकानाञ्च तत्गृहैः[106] । [। ७५*] कुलैस्संकरजातीनानीचानाञ्च तदा-
190. लयैः । इत्यादिभिश्च सकलैस्समुदायफलैर्य्युतम् । [७६*] परी-
191. तैः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः [पु]रोहितपुरागमैः । विवि-
192. धैर्विबुधै[ः*] श्रौतपथिकैराधिकै[र्गिरा]। [। ७७*] श्रीवल्लभ-
193. महीपालवरतुग[107] महीपती । सहिरण्योदकं ग्रामन्दत्तवन्त[।]
194. विमम मुदा[108] । [। ७८*][109] श्रीमच्चिन्तलपल्लिनामनगरीहारोल्लसन्नायको-
195. रामक्ष्मापतितिम्मनायकमहाम्भोराशिशीतद्युतिः । देवब्रा-
196. ह्मणसंसदे तिरुमलक्ष्मापालवर्य्योत्भुतम्[110] दत्तेनूतन[म]
197. ग्रहारमपि तन्धत्ते यशो दिग्वधूः ।[। ७९*][111] उच्चैग्रहारदानं कुर्व्वत्याभि-

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99. Metre, **स्रग्धरा**.
100. Metre, **वसन्ततिलकम्**.
101. Metre, **अनुष्टुप्**.
102. Read **•याङ्घ्रि•**.
103. Read **•तुङ्ग•**.
104. Metre of *vv* 69-70, **गीतिः**
105. Read **कच्छा•**.
106. Read **तद्गृहैः**.
107. Read **•तुङ्ग•**.
108. Read **•विमम्मुदा**,
109. Metre of *vv* 71-78, **अनुष्टुप्**.
110. Read **भुतम**.
111. Metre, **शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्**.

198. जाततिरुमलक्ष्मापे । नालन्ततोस्ति सुदृशान्नलंकारप्रब-
199. न्धयोग्यत्वम् [। ८०*][113] सम्मोदितेन वरतम्मरसप्रधानधर्म्मोप-
200. देशकलया कलितोग्रहारः । तिम्मापुराख्य इह येन म-
201. हानयेन ब्रह्मायुषा तिरुमलप्रभुरस्तु युक्तः[114] [। ८१*] ब्रह्माल[यं]
202. किल विधाय स वेदघोषम तिम्मापुरम् [115] तिरुमलाक्षितिभृन्नि-
203. देशात् । धर्म्मादगाधमकृतास्य महातटाकं स्वम्मानसं[116] किल-
204. स तम्मरसप्रधानः [। ८२*][117] तिम्मापुरकृतावासा धर्म्माचारप-
205. रायणः। वृत्तिमन्तोत्र[118] लिख्यन्ते विप्रावेदान्तपारगाः । [। ८३*]
206. शुभमस्तु ।[। *] भवानिभट्टस्य सुतः कौण्डिन्यान्वयसम्भवः। ति[ण्पा]-
207. भट्टो याजुषोत्र वृत्तिमर्द्धी समश्नुते । [। ८४*] मण्टै सर्व [।]-
208. भट्टसुतो याजुषः कुत्सगोत्रजः । चिट्टिभट्टद्विजेन्द्रो-
209. त्र वृत्तिमर्द्धी समश्नुते ।[। ८५*][119] अप्पाच्यरसतनूजः काश्यपगोत्रश्च-
210. याजुषो लभते । वृत्तिञ्चैकां रायसभक्तपरार्धानवे-[120]
211. कटाद्रिविभुः । [। ८६*][121] श्रीवत्सगोत्रसम्भूतो धीमानू राघवभ[ट्ट]-
212. जः । श्रीनागनसोमयाजी याजुषोत्रार्द्ध वृत्तिकः । [। ८७*][122] शाण्डिल्य-
213. गोत्रजातो नागाभट्टात्मजो यजुश्शाखी । श्रीहरितम्मर[स]-
214. प्रभुरेकार्द्धमत्र चाश्नुते वृत्तीम् [123]।[। ८८*][124] भारद्वाजान्वयोत्भू-[125]
215. तोप्यापस्तम्बी च याजुषः। कोरूरु तिम्मप्पसुतः
216. कृष्णयोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। ८९*] भारद्वाजान्वयोप्यापस्तम्बसूत्री च

Fifth Plate: First side.

217. याजुषः काळहस्ति सुतोप्यत्र काळहस्त्यर्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। ९०*] बहू
218. चः कामकायनविश्वामित्रोप्यार्य्यकः बत्तुलूरुतिम्मया-
219. र्य्यसुतोप्यत्रैक वृत्तिकः । [। ९१*] सुश्रीस्तिरुमलभट्टसुतः कौ-
220. शिकगोत्रजः । याजुषः श्रीवेंकटाद्रिभटटोप्यत्रार्द्धवृत्ति-

113. Metre, गीतिः.
114. Read युक्तः.
115. Read ०षं तिम्मापुरं.
116. Read स्वर्म्मा०.
117. Metre of *vv* 81-82, वसन्ततिलकम्.
118. Read वृत्ति०.
119. Metre of *vv*83-85, अनुष्टुप्.
120. Read वेङ्क०.
121. Metre. गीतिः.
122. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.
123. Read वृत्तिम्.
124. Metre गीतिः.
125. Read योद्भूतो०.

221. कः : [। ९२*] भारति श्रीतिरुमलभट्टजो बह्वृचस्सुधीः । श्रीवत्सगो-
222. त्रः कच्चालैभूसुरोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। ९३*] भारति श्रीतिरुमलभट्टपु-
223. त्रात्र बह्वृचः । श्रीवत्सगोत्रो राघवभट्टोर्द्धो वृत्तिमश्नु-
224. ते । [। ९४*] अक्कलभट्ट[स्य] सुतः कौण्डिन्यान्वयसम्भवः । याजुषोन-
225. न्तयोप्यत्र वृत्तिमर्द्धामुपैति सः । [। ९५*] याजुष(:) श्रीवत्सगो-
226. त्रो[126] नागाभट्टस्य नन्दनः । वृत्तिमर्द्धामिहाप्नोति शोक्कम्-
227. भट्ट महीसुरः । [९६*] ब[ह्वृच]ः कामकायनविश्वामित्रान्वयो-
228. [127]त्भवः । लक्ष्मणभट्टवेदाद्रिभट्टोप्यत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। ९७*]
229. शालावतान्वयश्चिट्टि[सर्व्वा] भट्टस्य नन्दनः । नैषधं रा-
230. मकृष्णोत्र वृत्तिमर्द्धा मुपैत्यसौ ।[। ९८*] धीमांस्तिरुमलभट्ट-
231. नन्दनो बलभद्रयः । लभते वृत्तिमात्रार्द्धमात्रेयो या-
232. ज्ञुषोत्तमः ।[। ९९*] बह्वृचः श्रीतिरुमिळळ नारणाचार्य्य नन्दनः ।
233. आत्रेयान्वयजो बलभद्रार्य्योत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः ।[। १००*] वासि-
234. ष्ठान्वयसम्भूतोप्येतिम्मयनन्दनः । बह्वृचो वेंकटभ.[128]
235. ट्टोवृत्तिमर्द्धा[ं]मिहाश्नुते ।[। १०१*] बह्वृचोप्यात्रेयगोत्रो-
236. कोण्डुभट्टतनूभवः । लभेत नरसम्भट्टो वृत्तिमत्रार्द्धस-
237. म्मिताम् ।[। १०२*] वेंकटत्तु[129][प]वार् पुत्रोप्यात्रेयान्वयसम्भवः ।
238. अक्कारक्कण्णिनामापि द्विजेन्द्रोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। १०३*] बह्वृचः
239. कृष्णमरसनन्दनः काश्यपान्वयः । अश्नुते वृत्तिमत्रार्द्धं लक्ष्म-
240. यद्विजशेखरः ।[। १०४*] बादरायणगोत्रश्च श्रीतिरुमलयात्मजः ।
241. सुधीस्तिम्मरसो प्यत्र बह्वृचः पादवृत्तिकः । [१०५*] मौनभा-
242. र्गवगोत्रोत्र विरूपाक्षय्यनन्द[न]ः । रंगप्पय्यसुधीरेका.[130]
243. म्[131] वृत्तिमाप्नोति बह्वृचः । [। १०६*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रजो नागाभट्टपु-

126. The first limb of the secondary *o* of त्रो is in the previous line.
127. Read °योद्भव;
128 In ° ये*प* the Tamil rough *r* is used.
129. Read वेङ्कट°
130. Read. रङ्ग°
131. Read रेका

244. त्रोत्र याजुषः । विश्वनाथसुधीरर्द्धी वृत्तिमाप्नोति शाश्वति-[132]
245. म् । [। १०७*] याजुषः श्रीवत्सगोत्रजातो वेंग[133] लभट्टजः । लभ-
246. ते वृत्तिमत्रार्द्धी [134]गंगाधरमहीसुरः । [। १०८*][135] भारद्वाजो मगतल ल-
247. क्ष्मणयाचार्य्यजो यजुश्शाखी । औभळयाचार्य्यवरो वृ-
248. त्तिभिहैकां समश्नुते घीभान् । [। २०९*][136] कौण्डिन्यगोत्रजो-
249. प्यापस्तम्बी केशवयात्मजः । कोण्डयो वृत्तिमत्रार्द्धी-
250. मश्नुते याजुषोत्तमः । [। ११०*] श्रीरामनाथभट्टस्य तनयोप्य-
251. [त्र] बह्वृचः । जामदग्न्या[137] वत्सगोत्रो रामलिंगोर्द्ध वृत्ति-
252. कः । [। १११*] कौशिकान्वयजः पत्मनाभभट्टस्य[139] नन्दनः सप्तर्षि [र्वे]-

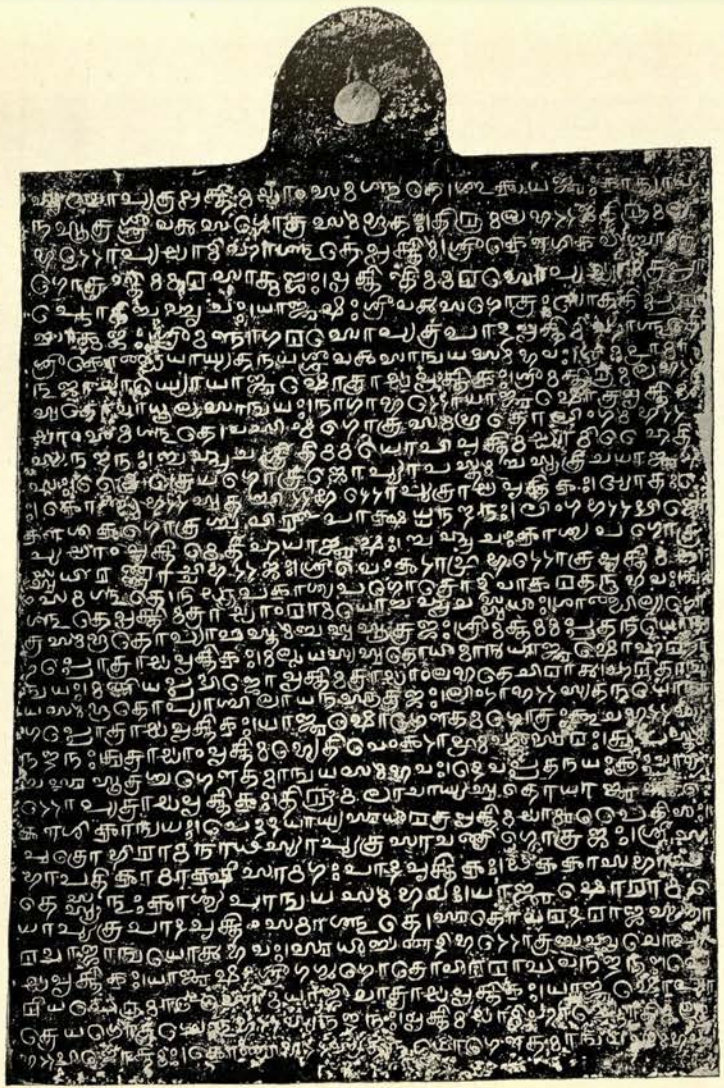
Fifth Plate : Second side.

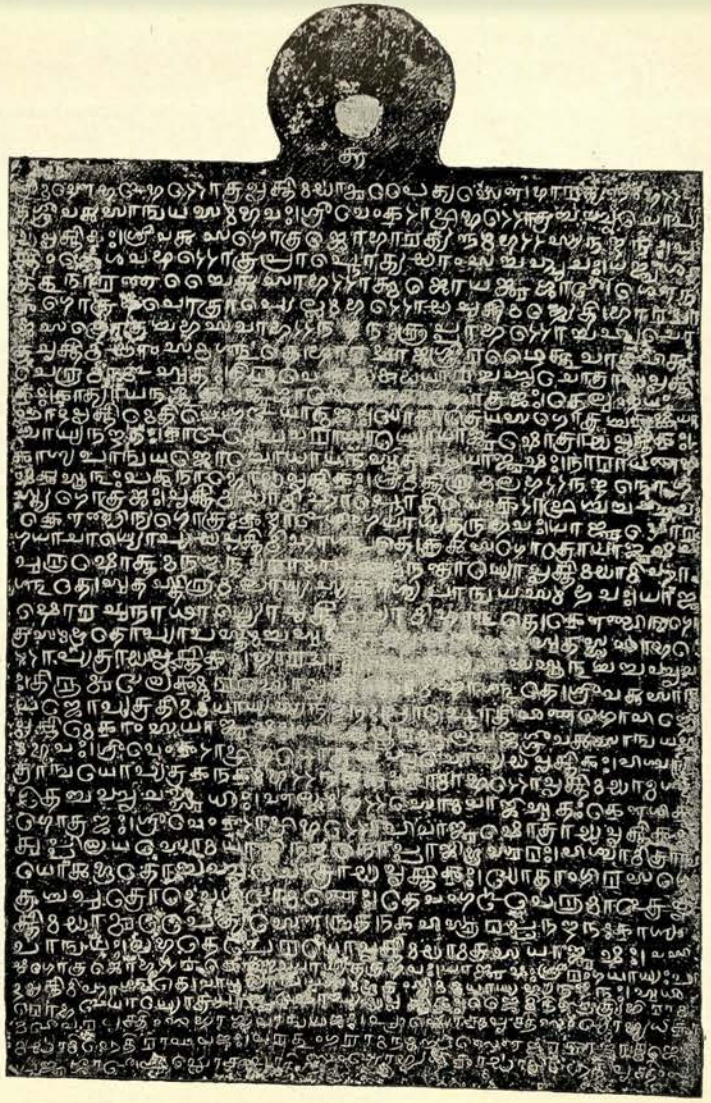
253. ह्वचोप्यत्र वृत्तिमर्द्धी समश्नुते । [। ११२*][140] शुक्लयजुः कात्याय-
254. नसूत्रश्श्रीवत्सगोत्रसम्भूतः । तिरुमल-
255. भट्टोप्यर्द्धामिहाश्नुते वृत्तिम्[141] । [। ११३*] श्रीकौशिकविश्वामित्र-
256. गोत्रास्तिम्मरसात्मजः । वृत्तिन्तिम्मरसोप्यर्द्धामत्र प्रा-
257. प्नोति बह्वृचः । [। ११४*] याजुषः श्रीवत्सगोत्रः ख्यातातिप्पर-
258. सात्मजः । श्रीमन्नागरसोप्यत्र पादवृत्तिमिहाश्नुते । [। ११५*]
259. श्रीकोण्डयार्य्यतनयश्श्रीवत्सान्वयसम्भवः । श्रीमद्रामानु-
260. जाचार्य्यो याजुषोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। ११६*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलभट्ट-
261. सुतो वाधूलसान्वयः । नागाभट्टो याजुषोत्र वृत्तिम-
262. र्द्धी समश्नुते । [। ११७*] वसिष्ठगोत्रसम्भूतो लिंगभट्ट[142]-
263. स्य नन्दनः । बह्वृचश्श्रीतिम्मयोपि वृत्तिमर्द्धामिहैति
264. सः । [। ११८*] मैत्रेयगोत्रजोप्यापस्तम्बसूत्रो च याजुषः ।[143]
265. कोण्डुभट्टसुतश्चिट्टिभट्टोप्यत्रार्द्धे वृत्तिकः । [। ११९*] ख्यातः

132. Read शाश्वतीम्.
133. This is a popular form of वेङ्कट.
134. Read वृत्तिमत्रार्धौ गङ्गा०.
135. Metre *vv* 89-108, अनुष्टुप्.
136. Metre गीतिः.
137. Read जामदग्न्यो.
138. Read ० लिङ्गो०
139. Read पद्मनाभ. भ is engraved below the line.
140. Metre of *vv*110-112, अनुष्टुप्.
141. Read वृत्ति०.
142. Read लिङ्ग०.
143. The *visarga* of षः is at the beginning of next line.

266. [144]कौशिकगोत्रश्च विरूपाक्षय्यनन्दनः । लिंगभट्टद्विजो-
267. प्यर्द्धं वृत्तिमेतीह याजुषः । [। १२०*] बह्वृचः काश्यपगोत्र-
268. स्सुधीरण्णाच्चिभट्टजः । श्रीवेंकटाद्रिभट्टोत्र[145] वृत्तिमर्द्धं[146]
269. समश्नुते । [। १२१*] निध्रुवकाश्यपगोत्रो दिवाकरतनूभवः । अ-
270. श्नुते [147]वृत्तिमत्रार्द्धं रामयो बह्वृचस्सुधीः । [। १२२*] शाण्डिल्यगो-
271. त्रसम्भूतोप्यापस्तंबसुसूत्रजः[148] । श्रीमत्तम्मप्पतनयो ना-
272. गप्पोत्रार्द्ध वृत्तिकः[149] । [। १२३*] मल्लयस्य सुतो धीमान् याजुषो हरि[ता]-
273. न्वयः । मणियप्पद्विजो वृत्तिमत्रार्द्धं लभते चिरात् । [। १२४*] हरितान्व-
274. यसम्भूतोप्याश्विलायनसूत्रजः । लिंगभट्टस्य[150] तनयो ना-
275. गप्पोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। १२५*] याजुषो गौतमगोत्रः कूचभट्टस्य
276. नन्दनः । अत्रार्द्धं वृत्तिमभ्येति वेंकटाद्रिमहीसुरः । [। १२६*] आपस्तम्-
277. बसुसूत्रश्च गौतमान्वयसम्भवः । देवप्पतनयः कुप्पाभ-
278. ट्टोप्यत्रार्द्धं वृत्तिकः । [। १२७*] तिरुमलाचार्य्यसुतो याजु[षः]
279. [151]कौशिकान्वयः । पेद्दयार्य्य सुधीरत्र वृत्तिमर्द्धमुपैति सः । [[१२८*]
280. पुत्रोभिरामनाथस्याप्यत्र सावर्ण्णिगोत्रजः । श्रीस-
281. भापतिकामाक्षी सामगः पादवृत्तिकः । [। १२९*] ढक्कासभाप-
282. तेस्सूनुः काश्यपान्वयसम्भवः । याजुषो राम-
283. योप्यत्र[152] पादवृत्तिं समाश्नुते । [। १३०*] सुतो वरदराजस्य भा-
284. रद्वाजान्वयोभवः[153] । सुधीर्बणदिभट्टोत्र बह्वृचोप्य-
285. र्द्धावृत्तिकः । [। १३१*] याजुषः श्रीगर्ग्यगोत्रो[154] वीरराघवनन्दनः । पे-
286. रियपेरुमाळ सोमयाजी चात्रार्द्ध वृत्तिकः । [। १३२*] याजुषोप्या-
287. त्रेयगोत्रश्चेन्नुभट्टस्य नन्दनः । वृत्तिमर्द्धामिहाप्नोति मल्लु-

144. The *e* limb of the secodary au of the letter, कौ is at the end of the previous line.
145. Read वेङ्क०
146. The *anusvara* of र्द्धं in the beginning of the next line. Read ० मर्धं.
147. Read वृत्ति०.
148. Read० परतम्ब०
149. Read० श्वलायन.
150. Read लिङ्गा०.
151. The *e* limb of the secondary *au* of कौ is at the end of the previous line.
152. The *e* limb of the secondary ô of यो is at the end of the previous line.
153. Read० योद्भवः
154. Read गर्ग०





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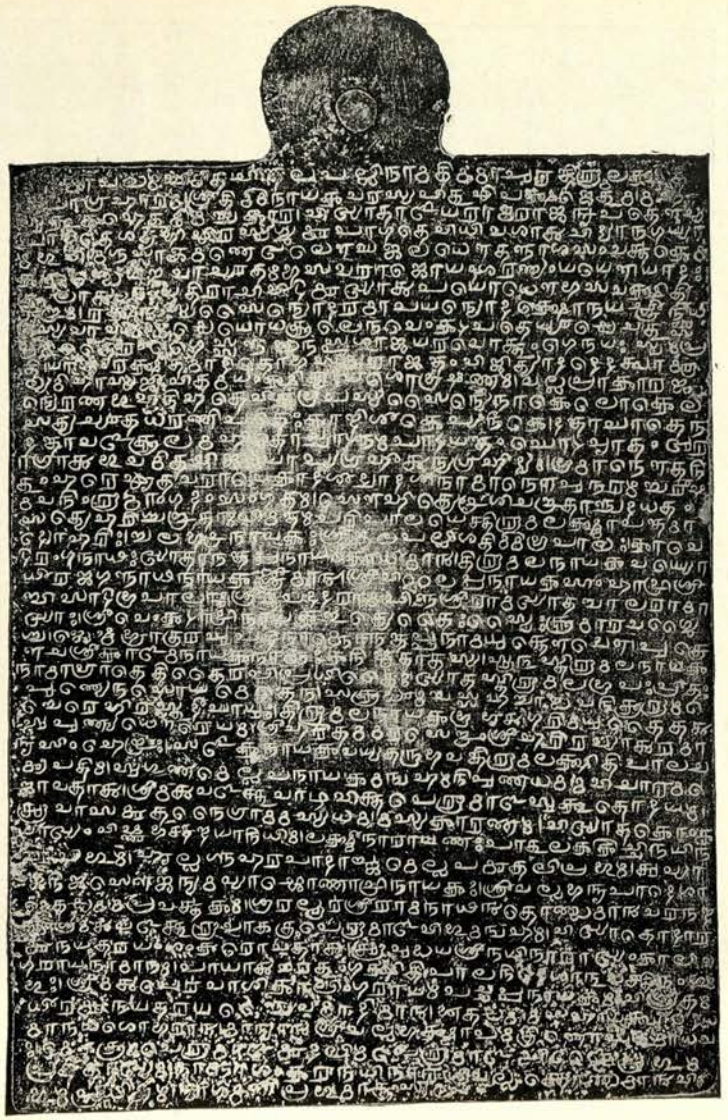
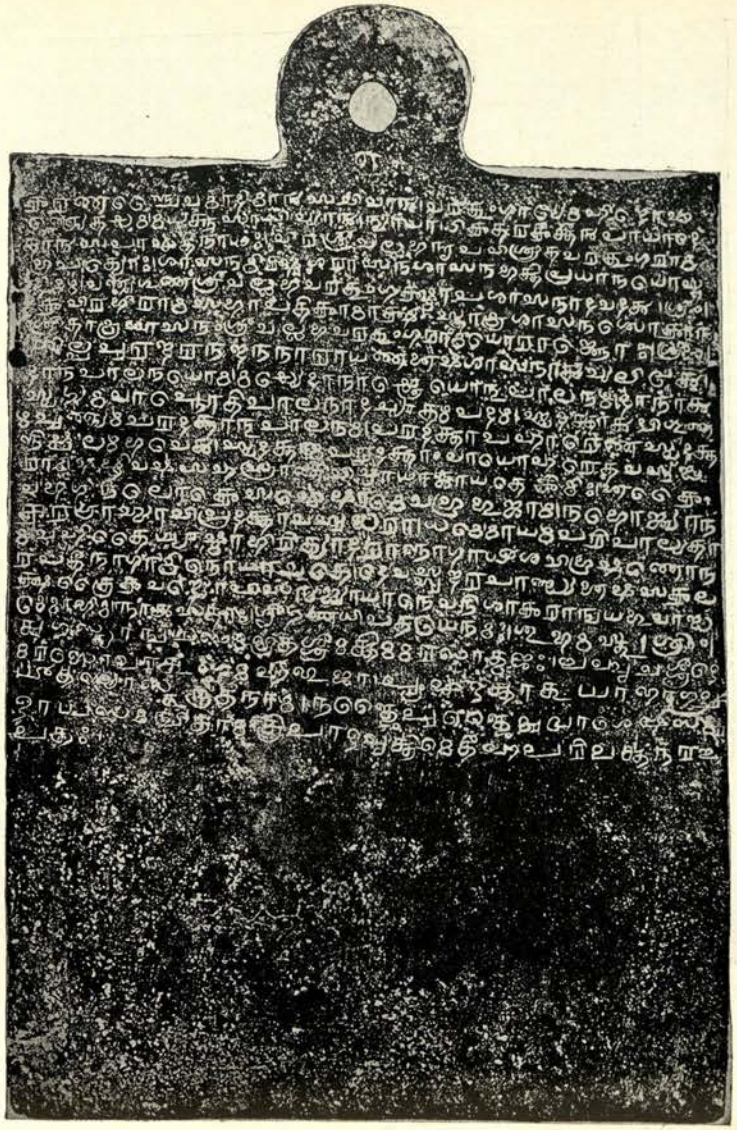
VI. b.



VII. a.



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288. भट्टद्विजोत्तमः ।[। १३३*] कोण्डिभट्टस्य तनयो गौतमान्वयसम्भवः ।
289. श्रीमदौभळभट्टोत्र वृत्तिमर्द्धामुपैत्यसौ[155] । [। १३४*] भारत्यन्नम्भट्टसु-
290. तश्श्रीवत्सान्वयसम्भवः । श्रीवेंकटाद्रि[156] भट्टोत्र बह्वृचोप्य-
291. र्द्धवृत्तिकः ।[। १३५*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रजो भारत्यन्नम्भट्टस्य नन्दनः । वृ-
292. त्तिं केशवभट्टोत्र प्राप्नोत्यर्द्धी स बह्वृचः । [। १३६*][157] यज्वशत-
293. क्रतुनारणबैत्साभट्टात्मजो यजुश्शाखी । शौन-
294. कगोत्र[भ]वोत्राप्येतम्भट्टोर्द्धवृत्तिमभ्येति । [। १३७*][158] भारद्वा-
295. जसगोत्रश्च भसवाभट्टनन्दनः । कुप्पाभट्टोबह्वृचो-
296. त्र वृत्तिमर्द्धी समश्नुते ।[। १३८*] भारद्वाजश्श्रीரழத்துவாழ்[159] वित्त-
297. पेरुमळ्सुतः । तिरुवेंकडमुडयार् बह्वृचोत्रार्द्धवृत्ति-[160]
298. कः ।[। १३९*] कात्यायनश्शुक्लयजुश्शाखी गौतमगोत्रजः । तेलुंगय:[161]
299. पादवृत्तिमेति वेंगळयात्मजः । [। १४०*] ख्यातात्रेयसगोत्रश्च कृष्णया-
300. चार्य्यनन्दनः । काळमेघवराचार्य्यो याजुषोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः ।[। १४१*]
301. काश्यपान्वयजो बोधानयसूत्रीह याजुषः । नारायणभि-
302. षक्सूनुः [161a]पत्मनाभोर्द्धवृत्तिकः[162] ।[। १४२*] श्रीमत्तिरुमलभट्टनन्दनोग-
303. स्त्यगोत्रजः । वृर्तिमर्द्धामिहाप्नोति[162] वेंकटाद्रिश्चबह्वृचः[163] । [। १४३*]
304. कौण्डिन्न्यगोत्रः कन्दाळशिंग[164]यार्य्यतनूभवः । याजुषो र-
305. [165]गयाचार्य्योप्यर्द्धवृर्त्ति[162] मिहाश्नुते । [। १४४*] कुत्सगोत्रो याजुष[श्च]
306. पुरुषोत्तमनन्दनः । रामायणमनन्तार्य्यो वृर्त्तिमर्द्धामिहा-
307. श्नुते । [। १४५*] सुतस्तिरुमलार्य्यस्य काश्यपान्वयसम्भवः । याजु-
308. षो रघुनाथार्य्यो वृत्तिमर्द्धामिहाश्नुते ।[। १४६*] कौण्डिन्यगो-
309. त्रसम्भूतोप्यापस्तम्बसुसूत्रजः । वीरंभट्टसुतस्सर्व्वाभि-
310. ष्टोप्यत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः[166] । [। १४७*] भारद्वाजान्वयस्तिम्मरससूनुश्चबह्वृचः । [167]

155. Read वृत्तिमर्धा॰.
156. Read °वेङ्क॰
157. Metre of Vv. 114.—136, अनुष्टुप्.
158. Metre, गीतिः
159. The Tamil letter ழ occurs twice in this name.
160. Read॰ आर्ध॰.
161. Read तेलुङ्गयः.
161-a. Read पद्मनाभोर्ध॰.
162. Read वृत्ति॰.
163. Read वेङ्क॰.
164. Read शिङ्ग॰.
165 Read रङ्गयाचार्योप्यर्ध॰
166. The *e* of the secondary *o* belonging to ष्टो is at the end of the previous line.
167 The *visarga* of चः is at the beginning of the next line.

311. तिरुमुखलक्ष्मरसो वृत्तिमर्द्धामिहाश्नुते ।[। १४८*] श्रीवत्सान्व-
312. यजोप्यत्र तिम्मयार्य्यस्य नन्दनः । प्राप्नोति वीणगोविन्दो
313. वृत्तिमेकां स याजुषः ।[। १४९*] एक्कडरप्पलयजश्श्रीवत्सान्वय[स]-
314. म्भवः । श्रीवेंकटाद्रिभट्टोत्र बह्वृचोप्यर्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। १५०*] विश्वा[मि]-
315. त्रान्वयोप्यत्र कनकंभट्टनन्दनः । कामाभट्टोवृत्तिमर्द्धामश्नु-
316. ते बह्वृचस्सुधीः ।[। १५१*] एल्लम्भट्टसोमयाजिसुतः कौशिक-
317. गोत्रजः । श्रीवेंकटाद्रिभट्टोपि[168] याजुषोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः । [। १५२*]
318. अप्पिलयसोमयाजिनन्दनोप्याजिभूसुरः । विश्वामित्रान्व-
319. योत्भूतो[169] बह्वृचोत्रार्द्धवृत्तिकः ।[। १५३*] ख्यातांगिरसगो-[170]
320. त्रश्च पुत्रो देवशिखामणेः । तेवंगळ्पेरुमाळत्र वृ-
321. [171]र्त्तिमर्द्धामुपैत्यसौ ।[। १५४*] नूतनकविसूरप्पनन्दनः काश्य-
322. पान्वयः । लभते पेरयो वृर्त्तिमर्द्धामत्र स याजुषः ।[। १५५*] वसि-
323. ष्ठगोत्रजो भट्टरकोण्डयार्य्यतनूभवः । याजुजः श्रीरंगयार्य्यः[172] पा-
324. दवृर्त्तिमिहाश्नुते[173] ।[। १५६*] वाधूलान्वयसम्भूतस्तिम्मयार्य्यस्य नन्दनः । सुधी-
325. रोभळयार्य्योत्र याजुषोप्यर्द्धवृत्तिकः ।[। १५७*] [174]जैमिनिसूत्र्यभिराम-
326. मखी वरवृत्तिं स भार्गवान्वयजः । पूर्व्वोक्तवृर्त्तिसंख्याभ्यधिका-[175]
327. मर्द्धामिहैति राघवजः ।[। १५८*] वरतुंगरामनम्बि[175] सौन्दरराजात्मजो
328. यजुश्शाखी । [176]पूर्व्वोक्तवृत्तिसंख्याभ्यधिकामर्द्धामिहैति वृत्तिं सः ।[। १५९*][177]

Sixth Plate: Second Side.

329. ब्रह्मावलम्बमितचिन्तलपल्लिनाम तिम्मापुरन्तिरुमलाक्षिति-[177a]
330. पोग्रहारम् । श्रीतिम्मनायकवरस्य पितुर्विपक्षजेतुर्म्महा-
331. सुकृतहेतुमिमञ्चकार ।[। १६०॥*][178] विख्याताळियरामराजनृपतौ[179]व्या-
332. पादिते [180]शतृभिर्वीरस्वर्गमुपागते विधिवशात् विद्यानगर्य्यां-[181]

168. Read °वेङ्क°.
169. Read °ऋतो.
170. Read °ताङ्गि°.
171. Read वृत्ति°
172. Read °रङ्ग°.
173. Read °वृत्ति°.
174. Metre of Vv. 138—157, अनुष्टुप्.
175. Read °तुङ्ग°.
176. The letter म in °काम° is engraved below the line.
177. Metre of Vv. 158—159, गीतिः.
177a. The letter म in तिरुमल° is engraved below the line.
178. Metre, वसन्ततिलकम्.
179. Read °राजनृपतौ.
180. Read शत्रुभि°.
181. Read °द्विद्या°.

333. म् भूवि । मग्नस्साक्रमणे खलौखजलधौ तन्नाशसंवर्त्तके म[ा]-
334. र्कण्डेय इवाच्युतम् भसवराजो यं शरण्यं ययौ ।[। १६१] [182] यादः-
335 कुलात् [पाय] ति राचवीटिमुख्यात् पयोधौ भसवक्षिती-
336. न्द्रम् । रक्षन् स्वसैन्योदरमापयन्यो दक्षोनयश्रीनिधि-[183]
337. रस्य वास [म्] । [। १६२*][184] ऋद्धे योधकुलेन[185] वेंकटपतेर्य्युद्धे चतुस्स-
338. म्मितैरंगैस्सन्नहनस्पृशा[186] जयरवोत्तुंगेन[187] यः स्वम् प्र-
339. ति । यान्तं रक्षितमादितो भसवराजन्तं विजित्याददे दत्वा मू-
340. ल्यमिहास्य जीवितमयं क्षित्या यशोभूषणम् । [। १६३*][188] वल्लप्राकारज-
341. न्ये रणभुवि निहते वीरभूपस्य सैन्ये नाके लोके ल-
342. सत्यच्युतधरणिपतेः कान्दिशीकेष्यनीके । दन्ताघातेन
343. दन्तावळकुलमहितोच्चटनम् पाटयन्तं घोटवृातं[189] खुरा-
344. ग्रात्[190]भुविमितविजयोष्यग्रहीत्[191] न्यग्रहीद्यः ।[। १६४*][192] भूमानौ तानि-
345. तुं हरेर्वृतवरावेकादशीद्वादशीनामानौ पुनरम्बरी[ष]-
346. मवानिं रुग्मांगदं[193] संगतम् । सौहित्ये दाशि चन्द्रताञ्च दधतं(।)
347. सत्ये हरिश्चन्द्रताम् धीमन्तम् परिपालयेत्तिरुमलक्ष्मापन्तमा-
348. द्यो हरिः । [। १६५*][194] बलभद्रनायकः श्रीचिन्तलपल्लीशातिम्मिभूपालः[195] । कावे-
349. टिरंगनाथः[196] ख्यातानन्तप्पनायको धीमान् । [। १६६*] तिरुमलनायकवर्य्यो
350. धीरजगन्नाथनायकश्श्रीमान् । श्रीविट्टलप्पनायकसिंहाद्रिश्री-
351. बिसाटिभूपालाः ।[। १६७*] श्रीपेद्दरामपिन्नश्रीरामख्यातबालरामा-
352. ख्याः । श्रीवेंकटाद्रिनायक[197] इत्येतैः [स्वैः] कुमारवर्ग्गै-
353. श्च । [। ९६८*] ज्येष्ठभ्रात्रघुपतिनाम्नो[198] नन्तप्पनामयुक्तौ[199] द्वौ । पुत्रौ[200]

182. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
183. Read °च्छ्री°.
184. Metre, इन्द्रवज्रा.
185. Read वेङ्क°.
186. Read °रङ्ग°.
187. Read °तुङ्गेन.
188. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
189. Read व्रात°. The secondary â of रा is at the beginning of the next line.
190. Read °द्भुव°.
191. Read °ग्रहीन्न्यग्र°.
192. Metre खग्धरा.
193. Read °ग्माङ्गदं.
194. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
195. The letters श्रीचि are engraved below the line.
196. Read °रङ्गनाथः.
197. Read °वेङ्कटा°.
198. Read °भ्रातृ°.
199. Read° युक्तौ.
200. The second limb of the secondary *au* in श्रौ is at the beginning of the next line.

354. च श्रीकाळमनायकनाम्नः कनिष्ठतातस्य ।[। १६९*] सूनुस्तिरुमलनायकः
355. नामा भ्रातेति तैरपि प्रथितैः । ख्यातस्तिरुमलभूपः प्रीतः
356. पुण्येन सोयमेतेन ।[। १७०*] सकुडुम्बस्सहबान्धवनिकुरुम्[201]
357. [202]बैरोभिरस्तु दीर्घायुः । तिरुमलनायकभूभृत्[203] गरिमयुतैतत्-
358. सुपुण्यधौरेयम् ।[। १७१*] श्रीहरितम्मरसेन्द्रं श्रीहरिरव्यात् रमा-[204]
359. नृहिंहेन्द्रः ।[। १७१॥*][205] सळिकनायकवर्य्यतनूभवन्तिरुमलाक्षितिपालच-
360. मूपतिम् । सुगुणमेल्लप्पनायकमन्वहम्[206] निपुणधर्म्मविचारम-
361. [207]जोवतात् ।[। १७२ ॥*][208] श्रीमत्वळत्तुवा ழ्वित्तपेरुमाळ्सुकृतोदयम् ।[209]
362. आवासमुतनैग्राममस्य धर्म्मस्य कारणम् ।[। १७३॥*] विख्यातकोंक-[210]
363. याख्यं विष्णुभक्तन्दयानिधिम् । लक्ष्मीनारायणः पातु लक्कच्चिनयिना-[211]
364. र् विभुम् ।[।१७४॥*] हल्लप्पहरपादाब्जमेल्लपमुतलिप्रभुम् । अव्या-
365. जनिजसैजन्यमव्याल्लोणाद्रिनायकः[212]।[। १७५॥*] श्रीवल्लभनृपादेशा-
366. देतद्धर्म्मप्रवर्त्तकम् । शूरल्लर श्रीरामनाथन् तोण्डमान् वरनन्द-
367. [नम्] ।[। १७६॥*] श्रमित्वळत्तुरुवाक्कुम्[213] पेरुमाळविभुमन्वहम् । विख्यातोदार-
368. मुनयतरयं शंकरोवतात् ।[। १७७॥*][214] आवुडयश्रीनयिनाराख्यं कालिं-[215]
369. गरायनामानम् । पायात् वरतुंगक्षितिपालनिदेशानुवर्त्तिनं[216] शम्-
370. भुः ।[। १७८ ॥ *][217] श्रीमत्पेरूवाशिकालिंगरायम् पच्चप्पनायकम् । विश्रुतम्[218]
371. धीरमुनयतरयञ्चैवमादिमान् ।[। १७९ ॥ *] एतद्धर्म्मसहायत्वादेध-
372. मानयशोभरान् । मान्यान् श्रीवल्लभक्ष्मापमन्त्रिणो[वतु] माधवः[219] ।[। १८०॥*][220]

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201. Read °कुटुम्ब°.
202. The first limb of the secondary *ai*, the secondary ê symbol belonging to वै is in the previous line.
203. Read °भूद्वरिम°.
204. Read °द्रमा°.
295. Metreof *v v.* 166—171½, गीतिः.
206. Read °मन्वहं.
107. The secondary ê symbol forming the first part of the secondary ô belonging to जो is at the end of the previous line.
208. Metre, द्रुतविलंबितम्.
209. Read °द्वळ°. The Tamil letter ழ is used in this name.
210 Read °कोङ्क°.
211. The secondary a symbol of ना is at the beginning of the next line.
212. Read °च्छो°.
213. म् is engraved below the line.
214. Metre of *vv.* 173½—177½, अनुष्टुप्.
215 Read कालिङ्ग°.
216. Read °द्वरतुङ्ग°.
217. Metre, गीतिः.
218. Read विश्रुतं.
219. The *visarga* belonging to वः is at the beginning of the next line
220. Metre of *vv.* 179½—180½. अनुष्टुप्.

373. मेक्कुम्पेरुमाळमुदलिम् पेरुमाळ् [पि]लैप्रभुम्
374. प्रतीताख्यम् । नाम्ना शंकरनयिनार् श्रीवल्लभोण्डमान्वि-
375. भुम् प्रथितम् ।[। १८१ ॥*] नाग[म]णि प्रभुमात्तं [स्थल]-

Seventh Plate: First side.

376. करणञ्चैवमादिभान् सचिवान् । वरतुंगाख्यमहीन्द्रोर्व-
377. [र्ण्यै]तद्धर्म्मयत्नसाचिव्यान् ।[। १८२ ॥*] न्यायाधिकतरकीर्त्तीन् पायादे-
378. तान् स पार्व्वतीनाथः ।[। १८३*] वीरश्रीवल्लभनृपविश्रुतवरतुंगराम-[221]
379. भूपत्योः । शासनमिक्षुशरासनभक्तिप्रधानयोस्त-
380. दिदम् ।[। १८४*] व[र्ण्य] गुणश्रीवल्लभवरतुंगक्ष्माप[221] शासनादवदत् । श्रीं ।
381. कविरभिरामसभापतिकामाक्षीस्ताम्रशासनश्लोकान् ।[। १८५*]
382. श्रीताम्रशासनं श्रीवल्लभवरतुंगरामयो[221] राज्ञोः । श्रीं ।[222]
383. शिल्पपुरन्दरनन्दननारायण एष शासनात् व्यलिखत् ।[। १८६*][224]
384. दानपालनयोर्म्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् । [223] दानात्
385. स्वर्ग्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतम् पदम् ।[। १८७*] स्वदत्तात् [225]द्विगुण-
386. म् पुण्यम् परदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्तापहारेणस्वदत्त-
387. न्निष्फलम् भवेत् ।[। १८८*] स्वदत्ताम् परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्ध-
388. राम् । षष्टि [226]वर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायाञ्जायते [227]क्रिमिः ।[। १८९*] एकै-
389. व भगिनी लोके सर्व्वेषामेव भूभुजाम् । न भोज्या न
390. करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुन्धरा ।[। १९० *][228] धर्म्मोयम् परिपाल्यता-
391. मवहितैर्य्युष्माभिरित्यादरान्नागाधीशविभूषणो न-
392. रपतीनागामिनो याचते । देवस्सुन्दरपाण्डय एष सकल-
393. क्षत्रैकवन्द्योपि सन् ज्यायानेव निशाकरान्वयभुवान्ध-
394. र्म्मोभिमानात् सताम् ।[। १९१*][229]श्रीगण[ा*] धिपतये नमः । शुभमस्तु । श्रीं ।[230]
395. अगस्त्यान्वयसम्भूत[ः*] श्रीमत्तिम्मरसात्मजः । बह्वृचश्श्रीदे—
396. मरसो वरतुंगमहीभुजा[231] ।[।१९२*] पूर्वदत्ता तु या भागद्व-
397. यी तस्यास्तु नूतनाम् । नञ्जैपुञ्जैमुखाशेषसमु-

221. Read **०वरतुङ्ग०**
222. Read **श्रीम्.**
223. Read **०च्छ्रे०.**
224. Metre of vv. 186½—187 **गीतिः.**
225. Read **०त्ताद्विगुणम्.**
226. Read **षष्टिं.**
227. Read **कृमिः.**
228. Metre of *vv.* 187—190. **अनुष्टुप्.**
229. Metre **शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.**
230. Read **श्रीम्.**

398. दायसमान्विताम् ।[। १९३*] त्रिपादवृत्तिमेतांह परिवर्त्तनरू-
399. पतः ।[। १९३॥*][232]

Seventh Plate: Second side.

400. सुगुणत्रीहिवृतीश्वरसूनोश्श्रीवल्लभाक्षितीन्द्रस्य । शास-
401. नमिदमतिशासनदुष्टविभाळस्य शिष्टपालस्य ।[। १९४॥*][233] श्रीवल्ल-
402. भनृपस्यापि श्रीमात्तिरुमलप्रभोः । यावन्मही शशी भा-
403. नुस्तावद्धर्म्मोभिवर्द्धताम् ।[। १९५॥*][234] आदिवर[ा*]हमुर्त्तये[a] [234] नमः । श्रीं ।[235]
404. तुल्यम् [॥ *]
405. कोडुमळूर् उडैयान् ऍழுத்து [॥*][236]

Eigth Plate : First side.

406. [ख्यात] श्रीवरतुंग[237] क्षितिपतिवर्य्यस्य कीर्तिधुर्य्यस्य । तदिदं शासनमति-
407. .र. नुमनोजस्य सूक्तिभोजस्य ।[। १९६॥*][238] वरतुंगनृपस्यापि-[239]
408. [वर्ण्यः] तिरुमलप्रभोः । अयन्धर्म्मः क्षितावास्तामाचन्द्ररवि-
409. [त]ारकम् । [।१९७॥*][240] आदिवराहमूर्त्तये नमः । श्रीसौन्देरश्वराय नमः ।
410. तुल्यम् [॥*]
411. कोडुमळूर उडैयान् ऍழுத்து [॥*][241]

231. Read **वरतुङ्ग०**.
232. Metre of vv. 192—193½, **अनुष्टुप्**.
233. Metre **गीतिः**.
234. Metre **अनुष्टुप्** .
234. (a) Read **०मूर्त्तये**.
235. Read **श्रीम्**.
236. Written in Tamil characters.
237. Read **०वरतुङ्ग०**.
238. Metre **गीतिः**
239. Read **वरतुङ्ग०**.
240. Metre **अनुष्टुप्**.
241. Written in Tamil characters.

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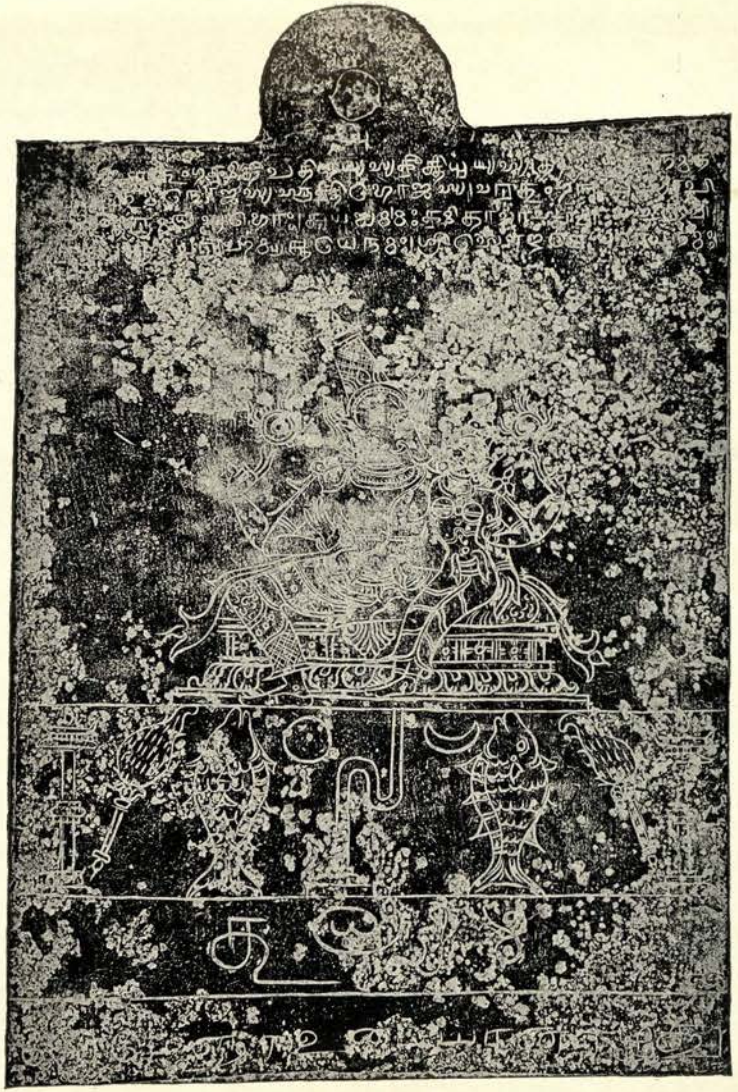

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T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0·44

HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Verse 1. Praise of Brahma.

V. 2. Praise of Vishṇu.

V. 3. Praise of Śiva.

V. 4. Praise of Kṛishṇa.

V. 5. Praise of Gaṇêśa.

V. 6. Gives the *paurânic* geneology; Vishṇu, his son Brahma, his son Atri, his son Chandra (the moon).

V. 7. Praises of the Pâṇḍya dynasty.

V. 8. Praise of that Pâṇḍya before whom the turbulent sea that swelled to destroy the kingdom became only knee deep.

V. 9. Praises of the Pâṇḍya who wrested from the lord of *dêvas*, Indra, one half of his throne.

V. 10. Praise of the Pâṇḍya who churned the sea with the Âdipurusha and of him who broke the crown of Indra.

V. 11. Praises of the Pâṇḍya, who proceeded against the lord of the *dêvas* for the help of the *asuras*, and of him who gave a thousand elephants to a woman who begged for them.

V. 12. Mentions Taṭâtaka and her husband, the god Śiva of Madura named Saundara Pâṇḍya. Their son Ugra Pâṇḍya.

V. 13. In this family were born two brothers Abhirâma and Ahavarâma. (For an abstract of the geneology detailed here, see the General Introduction).

V. 18. The son of Tirunelvêli-perumâḷ, Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya ruled the earth.

V. 19. Ativirarama Pândya having died Śrîvallabha was anointed king by the ministers,

Vv. 20-27. Praises of Śrîvallabha.

Vv. 28-30. Abhirâma Parâkâma. His praises. His son was Kulaśêkhara *alias* Parâkrâma. His praises.

V. 31. Parâkrâma's son was Guṇarâma. His praises.

V. 32-33. Guṇarâma's brother was Varatuṅgarâma. Among his praises are that he rooted out his enemies and was famous like Bhôja (in literary capacity.)

Vv. 34-41½. His praises.

Vv. 41½-61½. In the Śaka year 1505 (expressed by the faces of Śiva,. *vyôma*, *bhûtas*, and *indu*), which corresponded with the 21st year after the coronation of Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha-dêva and the cyclic year Subhânu, on a Tuesday, the Pañchami and the fifth day in the dark half of the month Chaitra, in the Vasanta-ṛitu, Uttarâyaṇa, in the Harshaṇa-yôga, Taitula-karaṇa and the Mûla nakshatra, the following villages were granted, in the presences of the gods Kuṟṟâlêśvara, and Karamarddêśvara to a number of Brâhmaṇas of various śâkhas, gôtras etc., by the kings Śrîvallabha and Varatuṅgarâma :—

(1). Iluppaiyaḍippaṭṭi, given by Śrîvallabha, situated in the Âdinâḍu in the Pâṇḍyarâjya.

(2). Contiguous with it, the villages of Valaṅgai-mîgâmaṉ and Śivakâḷaiyâkkuṟuchchi, given by Varatuṅgarâma

(3). Pudukkôṭṭai.

These were clubbed together under the name of Timmâpuram. The boundaries were as follows :—

On the north by Sevvalirappu; on the north-east, Kottaṇêri; on the east, the stone bearing the *Vâmana-mudra* in the village of Śeṅguḍi; on the south-east, Vellûr; on the south,

Periya Kâḷiyâkkuṟuchchi; on the south-west, Maṅgalagrâma and the *vâmana* stone set in the middle of the river, Arjuna-nadi; on the west, Kaḷagûr-sîma near the Arjuna-nadi and on the north-west, Kaḍambaṅguḷam *alias* Tirumalabhaṭṭa-grâmam.

Vv. 61½-67. Here Tirumalarâja is introduced. His grandfather was Râma Nâyaka; father, Timma Nâyaka. He was the chief of Chintalapaḷḷi, was a devout worshipper of the god Srî Raṅganâtha (of Śrîraṅgam), was a great supporter of the Brâhmaṇas etc., brave in war, generous, just and courteous. He employed in his wars against his enemies iron guns which he charged with leaden shots.

Vv. 68-77. Tirumalai Nâyaka, who was devoted to Vîrapparâja, having requested Śrîvallabharâja and Varatuṅgarâmarâja, who pay regard to the requests of Tirumalai, granted with all appurtenances such as gardens, tanks, channels, etc., with the eight kinds of enjoyments, by pouring of water, to a number of good Brâhmaṇas.

Vv. 78-83. State that Tirumalai Nâyaka moved in the matter of the grant under the religious teaching of Tammarasa, his *pradhâna* and religious teacher. This Tammarasa, who was instrumental in bringing into existence the *agrahâra* named Timmâpuram, built in it a temple of Brahma and a tank.

Vv. 84-159. Here follow the list of donees :—

V. 160. The *agrahâra* of Timmâpuram *alias* Chintalapaḷḷi which contains the temple of Brahma, was made by Tirumalairâja for the merit of his father Timma Nâyaka.

Vv. 161-164. When, in Vidyânagari the famous Aḷiya Râmarâja was killed by his enemies, Basavarâja who was, in the vast ocean of distressed human beings, took shelter under Tirumalai Nâyaka, the latter protected him from his enemies, Pâyati and Râchavîṭi and restored him to his native place.

But when the huge army of Veṅkaṭarâja was coming against him, he saw in it Basavarâja, the ungrateful man who was once saved by him. Tirumalairâja killed this Basavarâja forthwith.

When, in the battle that ensued at Vallaprâkâra, the armies of Vîrarâja were destroyed and that of Achyutarâja fled away, Tirumalairâja collected all the horses from the battle-field.

Vv. 165-183. Benedictions to Tirumalairâja, his sons, his nephews, his younger brother and his *pradhâna* and a number of officers whose names are given in the Introduction at the beginning of this inscription.

Vv. 184-185. The writer of this document was Abhirâma Sabhâpati Kâmâkshi.

V. 186. This was engraved on copper-plates by Nârâyaṇa.

Vv. 187-191. The usual final imprecatory and benedictory verses.

V. 192-193½. Dêmarasa, the son of Timmarasa, of the Agastya *gôtra* and of the Rigvêda enjoys the three-fourths share in the two that were granted formerly by Varatuṅgarâja.

Vv. 194½-197½. Benedictory verses.

LIST OF DISTRIBUTION OF SHARES AMONG THE BRAHMANAS

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gôtra.	Sûtra.	Vêda.	Shares
1	Tippâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Bhavâni Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	...	Yajus.	½
2	Chiṭṭi Bhaṭṭa ...	Maṇḍai Sarva Bhaṭṭa.	Kṛitsa ...	...	Do.	½
3	Kâyasam Bhaktaparâdhîna Prabhu.	Appâchchiyarasa ...	Kâśyapa ...	...	Do.	1
4	Nâgana Sômayâji ...	Râghava Bhaṭṭa ...	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Do.	½
5	Hari Tammarasa ...	Nâgâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Śâṇḍilya ...	...	Do.	1½
6	Kṛishṇaya ...	Kôrûr Timmappa ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Âpastam. bha.	Do.	½
7	Kâḷahasti ...	Kâḷahasti ...	Do. ...	Do.	Do.	½
8	Appayârya ...	Battulûr Timmayârya.	Kâmakâyana Viśvâmitra.	...	Rik ...	1
9	Venkaṭâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauśika ...	...	Yajus.	½
10	Kachchâlai (Bhaṭṭa) ...	Bhârati Tirumalai Bhaṭṭa.	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Rik ...	½
11	Râghava Bhaṭṭa ...	Do.	Do. ...	...	Do. ...	½
12	Anantaya ...	Akkala Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	...	Yajus.	½
13	Śokkam Bhaṭṭa ...	Nâgâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Do.	½
14	Vêdâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Lakshmaṇa Bhaṭṭa	Kâmakâyana Viśvâmitra.	...	Rik ...	½
15	Naishadham Râmakrishna.	Chiṭṭi Sarvâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Sâlâvata ...	...	...	½
16	Balabhadraya ...	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Âtrêya ...	...	Yajus.	½
17	Balabhadrârya ...	Tirumiḷḷa Nâraṇâchârya.	Do. ...	...	Rik ...	½
18	Veṅkaṭa Bhaṭṭa ...	Eṟa Timmaya ...	Vaśisbṭha ...	...	Do. ...	½
19	Narasam Bhaṭṭa ...	Koṇḍu Bhaṭṭa ...	Âtrêya ...	...	Do. ...	½
20	Akkârakkaṇṇi ...	Venkaṭattuṟavâr ...	Âtrêya ...	...	...	½
	Total number of shares carried over ...					12

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gôtra	Sûtra.	Vêda.	Shares
	Total brought forward ...	...	...	...	...	12
21	Lakshmaya ...	Kṛishṇamarasa ...	Kâśyapa ...	...	Rik ...	½
22	Timmarasa ...	Tirumalai ...	Bâdarâyaṇa ...	...	Do.	¼
23	Raṅgappayya ...	Virûpâkshayya ...	Mauna Bhârgava	...	Do.	1
24	Viśvanâtha ...	Nâgâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Yajus ...	½
25	Gaṅgâdhara ...	Vengaḷa Bhaṭṭa ...	Do.	...	Do.	½
26	Aubaḷayâchârya ...	Magatala Lakshmaṇâchârya	Bhâradvâja ...	...	Do.	1
27	Koṇḍaya ...	Kêśavaya ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Âpastambha	...	½
28	Râmaliṅga ...	Râmanâtha Bhaṭṭa ...	Jâmadagnêya Vatsa	...	Rik ...	½
29	Saptaṛishi ...	Paḍmanâbha Bhaṭṭa...	Kauśika ...	...	Do.	½
30	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	...	Śrîvatsa ...	Kâtyâyana	Śuklayajus	½
31	Timmarasa ...	Timmarasa ...	Kauśika Viśvâmitra	...	Rik ...	½
32	Nâgarasa ...	Tipparasa ...	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Yajus ...	¼
33	Râmânujâchârya ...	Koṇḍayârya ...	Do.	...	Do.	½
34	Nâgâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Vâdhûlasa ...	...	Do.	½
35	Timmaya ...	Liṅgam Bhaṭṭa ...	Vaśishṭha ...	...	Rik ...	½
36	Chiṭṭi Bhaṭṭa ..	Koṇḍu Bhaṭṭa ...	Maitrêya ...	Âpastambha	Yajus ...	½
37	Liṅgam Bhaṭṭa ...	Virûpâkshayya ...	Kauśika ...	...	Do.	½
38	Veṅkaṭâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Aṇṇâchchi Bhaṭṭa ...	Kâśyapa ...	...	Rik ...	½
39	Râmaya ...	Divâkara ...	Niddhruva Kâśyapa	...	Do.	½
40	Nâgappa ...	Tammappa ...	Śâṇḍilya ...	Âpastambha	...	½
41	Maṇiyappa ...	Mallayya ...	Harita ...	...	Yajus ...	½
	Total carried over ...					23

No.	Name of the donee	Father's name.	Gôtra.	Sûtra.	Vêda.	Shares
	Total brought forward ...	...	...	...	...	23
42	Nâgappa ...	Liṅgâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Harita ...	Âśvalâyana.	...	½
43	Veṅkaṭâdri ...	Kûcha Bhaṭṭa ...	Gautama ...	...	Yajus.	½
44	Kuppâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Dêvappa ...	Do. ...	Âpastambba.	...	½
45	Peddayârya ...	Tirumalâchârya ...	Kauśika ...	...	Yajus.	½
46	Sabhâpati Kâmâkshi ...	Abhirâmanâtha ...	Sâvarṇi ...	...	Sâma...	¼
47	Râmaya ...	Dhakkâ Sabhâpati ...	Kâśyapa ...	...	Yajus.	¼
48	Baṇadi Bhaṭṭa ...	Varadarâja ...	Bhâradvâja ...	...	Rik ...	½
49	Periya Perumaḷ Sômayâji.	Vîrarâghava ...	Gargya ...	...	Yajus.	½
50	Mallu Bhaṭṭa ...	Chennu Bhaṭṭa ...	Âtrêya ...	...	Do.	½
51	Aubaḷa Bhaṭṭa ...	Koṇḍi Bhaṭṭa ...	Gautama ...	...	...	½
52	Kêśava Bhaṭṭa ...	Bhârati Annam Bhaṭṭa	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Rik ...	½
53	Veṅkaṭâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Do.	Do. ...	...	Do. ...	½
54	Ellam Bhaṭṭa ...	Yajva Śatakritu Nâraṇabai.	Saunaka ...	...	Yajus.	½
55	Kuppâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Basava Bhaṭṭa ...	Bhâradvâja ...	...	Rik ...	½
56	Tiruvêṅgaḍamuḍaiyâr ...	Aḷaittu vâḻvittaperumâḷ	Do. ...	...	Do. ...	½
57	Teluṅgaya ...	Vêṅgaḷaya ...	Gautama ...	Kaṭyâyana.	Śukla Yajus.	¼
58	Kâḷamêghâchârya ...	Krishṇayâchârya ...	Âtrêya ...	...	Yajus.	½
59	Padmanâbha ...	Nârâyaṇa Bhishak ...	Kâśyapa ...	Bôdhâyana.	Do.	½
60	Veṅkaṭâdri ...	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Agastya ...	...	Rik ...	½
61	Raṅgayâchârya ...	Kandâḷa Śingarârya ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	...	Yajus.	½
62	Râmâyaṇam Anantârya.	Purushôttama ...	Kutsa ...	....	Do.	½
63	Raghunâthârya ...	Tirumalârya ...	Kâśyapa ...	...	Do.	½
	Total carried over ...					32¾

No.	Name of the donee.	Father's Name.	Gôtra.	Sûtra.	Vêda.	Shares
	Total brought forward	...	...	...	...	32¾
64	Sarvâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Viram Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Âpastambha	...	½
65	Tirumukham Lakshmarasa.	Timmarasa ...	Bhâradvâja ...	...	Rik.	½
66	Viṇâ Gôvinda ...	Timmayârya ...	Śrîvatsa ...	...	Yajus.	1
67	Veṅkaṭâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Ekkalûr Appalaya ...	Do. ...	...	Rik.	½
68	Kâmâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Kanakam Bhaṭṭa ...	Viśvâmitra ...	...	Do.	½
69	Veṅkaṭâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Ellam Bhaṭṭa Sômayâji.	Kauśika ...	...	Yajus.	½
70	Appâji Bhaṭṭa ...	Appilaya Sômayâji ...	Viśvâmitra ...	...	Rik.	½
71	Dêvaṅgaḷ-Perumâḷ ...	Devaśikhâmaṇi ...	Âṅgirasa ...	...	...	½
72	Pêraya ...	Nûtanakavi Sûrappa...	Kâśyapa ...	...	Yajus.	½
73	Śrîraṅgayârya ...	Bhaṭṭa Koṇḍayârya ...	Vaśishṭha ...	...	Do.	¼
74	Ôbaḷayârya ...	Timmayârya ...	Vâdhûla ...	...	Do.	½
75	Abhirâma-makhi ...	Râghava ...	Bhârgava ...	Jaiminî...	...	1½
76	Varatuṅgarâma-Nambi...	Saundararâja ...	...	...	Yajus.	1½
	Grand Total ...					41½

NO. II. TENKASI CENTRAL SHRINE INSCRIPTION OF ARIKESARI PARAKRAMA PANDYA.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west and south bases of the central shrine of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi. The preservation of the inscription is very good. On the south side where the *maṇḍapa* of the Dakshiṇâmûrtti shrine is built, a few letters are covered by the walls on either side of the *maṇḍapa* and consequently they are omitted in the transcript. The sense, however, could be easily made out in spite of this little disadvantage.

The language and the alphabet of the inscription are Tamiḷ; the introduction at the beginning of the document is in verse, while the grant portion is in plain prose. The record belongs to the reign of **Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva** *alias* **Arikesarideva**; it is dated the year opposite to the **twenty-eighth** of the king's reign. The introduction gives us some interesting details of the life of the king. It informs us that Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva was equally well versed in Tamiḷ (Teṇkalai) and Sanskṛit (Vaḍakalai) learning and that he was an adorer of the feet of Śaṅkara (Śiva). The king is reputed to have defeated his enemies in **Śingai, Aṉurai, Irâśai. Śenbai, Vindai, Aṟandai, Mudalai, Virai** and **Vaippâṟu**. Parâkrama created five *agrahâras* for brâhmans at five places beginning with **Vindai**. He built a *maṇḍapa* for each of the gods at Marudûr and Champakavana. To the god who once lied buried underneath a bamboo bush, he gave such munificent gifts as to enable his offerings to be offered in golden dishes. It is said that when the river and other sources of water supply once failed for celebrating the bathing ceremony (*puṇal-âḍal*), the god was pleased to send down a heavy rain for the purpose, on account of the earnestness of this pious king. He then built the large temple for **Viśvanâthasvâmin** at Teṇkâśi and made all arrangements for the *pûja*, offerings, etc.

The immediate object of the document is to record the grant of several villages the king made for the up-keep of the services of the temple. These are, Teṇkâśi, Vâyuḷâṉkuḍi-paṟṟu, Kuṟaikuḍi-paṟṟu, Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya-nallûr-paṟṟu, in the Teṉṉârinâḍu; Nallâṉ-piḷḷai-perṟâḷ and Viśvanâthappêrêri-paṟṟus belonging to the Paimboḷilpaṟṟu in the Vaḍavârinâḍu. Besides these, which were already granted, Râjakularâmanallûr *alias* Puliyûr-paṟṟu and Vîra-Pâṇḍya-nallûr-paṟṟu in the Teṉṉârinâḍu were granted in addition for the maintenance of the *pûja*, etc.

The record mentions incidentally the various structures Parâkrama Pâṇḍya put up in the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi. He built the central shrine from the base to the top, the *arddha maṇḍapa*, the *mahâmaṇḍapa*, the *sôpâna* and set up the images of the Viśvanâtha, the Paḷḷiyaṟai-nâchchiyâr, etc. It is said that he began the construction of the *gôpura* but did not evidently finish it.

The places mentioned in this inscription are :—Śiṅgai, Aṉurai, Irâśai, Śeṇbai or Seṇbagavaṇam, Aṟandai, Mudalai, Virai, Vaippâṟu, Marudûr, Teṉvârinâḍu, Teṇkâśi, Puliyûr, Kuṉṟakkuḍi, Vâyuḷâṉkuḍi, Tiruchchâlaikkuḍi, Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya-chaturvêdimaṅgalam, Tirukkuṟṟâlam, Śeṅgôṭṭai, Ilattûr, Vaḍavûr, Tañjâvûr, Vaḍavârinâḍu, Paimpoḷil-paṟṟu, Nallâṉ-piḷḷai-perṟâḷ,

Viśvanâthappêrêri, Râjakularâmanallûr, Pâṭṭakkuṟuchchi, and Vîra-pâṇḍya-nallûr. Of these the following are identified :—

No.	Place.	Mod. Name.	Taluka.	Remarks.
1	Irâśai. (1) ...	Śaṅkanâyanârkôyil. ...	Śaṅkaranâyanârkôyil...	
2	Śeṇbai or (2) ... Śeṇbagavanam.	Tirukkuttâlam ...	Teṇkâśi ...	
3	Vindai ...	Vindaṉûr ...	Shenkottah ...	
4	Vîrai ...	Vîrakêraḷampûdûr ...	Do. ...	
5	Marudûr ...	Tiruppuḍaimarudûr ...	Ambâsamudram ...	
6	Teṇkâśi ...	Teṇkâśi ...	Teṇkâśi ...	
7	Kuṟṟâlam ...	Kuṟṟâlam ...	Do.	
8	Śeṅgôṭṭai ...	Shenkottah ...	Shenkottah ...	
9	Puliyûr ...	Puliyûr ...	Teṇkâśi ...	
10	Mudalai ...	Mudalaikuḷam ...	Nâṅgunêri ...	
11	Pâṭṭakuṟuchchi ...	Pâṭṭâkuṟuchchi ...	Teṇkâśi ...	
12	Paimboḷil ...	Pampuḷi ...	Teṇkâśi ...	
13	Vîrapâṇḍyanallûr.	Vîrapâṇḍiyam ...	Nâṅgunêri ...	
14	Ilattûr ...	Elattûr ...	Shenkottah ...	
15	Parâkrama Pâṇḍya chaturvêdi maṅgalam (*alias* Vindaṉûr)(3) ...	Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai ...	Do. ...	

I am not able to identify the other places.

(1) In all the inscriptions belonging to the Śiva temple at Śankaranayinârkôyil, the place is called by the name of Râjapuram. One of the inscriptions begins thus :—

श्रीमत् वन्मीकनाथस्य शम्भोर्जयति शासनम् शाश्वतम् ।
हरिब्रह्माधिभिर्ध्यातम् । श्रीराजपुरवासिनम् । आदिचण्डेश्वराऽऽयम् ।

(2).....முதுகக்கைவர்தபுரஞ் செண்பகாரணியபுரம்...குறும்பலாவிசேடபுரமென விருபத்தொரு நாமம் பெற்றபதி திருக்குற்றாலம். Vv. 30-31. திருக்குற்றாலத்தல மகிமைச்சருக்கம், திருக்குற்றால புராணம்.

(3) This name is found in an inscription engraved on the west wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Śrîmûlanâthasvâmin temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*] பூமிசைவனிதை மார்பினிற்பொலிய நாமிசைகலைமகள் நலனுற-விளங்கப் புயவரைமீது சயமகள்புணரக் கயலிணையுலகின் கண்ணெனத்திகழச் சந்திர-குலத்து வந்தவத[ரி]த்து முந்தையோர் தவத்தின்முளையென வளர்ந்து தென்கலை வட-கலை தெளிவுறத்தெரிந்து மன்பதைபுரக்க மணிமுடி புனைந்து சங்கரசரணபங்கயஞ்சூடிச் செங்கோலோச்சி வெண்குடைநிழற்றி வானவாரியு மன்னருள் வாரியுந் தானவாரி-யுந்தப்பாதளித்து மறக்களைபறித்து நல்லறப்பயிர் விளைத்துச் சிங்கையி லனுரையி-லிராசையிற் செண்டையில் (2) விந்தையிலறந்தையில் முதலையில் வீரையில் வைப்பாற்-ெ.....ன்னரைவென் கண்டெப்பாற்றிசையு மிசைவிளக்கேற்றிப்பதினெண்.....கம் போற்றப் பதினெண்பாஷைப் பார்த்திபரனைவருந்திறையுஞ்சின்னமு முறைமுறை குண-ர்ந்து குறைபலவிரந்து குரைகழலிறைஞ்சவ வரவர் வேண்டியத வரவர்க்கருளி அந்தணர-னேகர் செந்தழலோம்ப விந்தைமுதல் அகரம் ஐந்திடத்தியற்றிச் சிவநெறியோங்கச்சிவாற்-சனை புரிந்து மருதூராற்கு மண்டபமமைத்து முன் ஒரு தூர் மூங்கிலுள் புக்கிருந்த சிற்பரர் தம்மைத்திருவத்த சாமத்துப் பொற்கலத்தமுது பொலிவித்தருளிச் சண்பகவனத்துச் சங்கரர் தமக்கு மண்டபமமைத்து மணிமுடி சூட்டி

2. விழாவணி நடாத்தி விரைப்புனலாடல் வழாவகை நடாத்த நின்மன்னருள்த-னால் வற்றாவருவியும் வற்றிவற்கடமுற்றவிக் காலத்துறுபுனல் நல்கெனவேண்டியப்பொழு-தே வேறிடத்தின்றிச் சேண்டருபுனலிற் செழும்புனலாட்டி மின்கால் வேணி விஶ்வநாதர்க் குத்தென்காசிப் பெருங்கோயில் செய்து நல்லாகம வழி நைமித்திகமுடன் எல்லாப்பூசையும் எக்கோயிலினும் பொருள் முதலனைத்தும் புரையற நடாத்தித் திருமலி செம்பொற்சிங்கா-சனமிசை உலகமுழுதும் உடையாருடனே இலகு கருணையிரண்டுருவென்ன அம்மையும் அப்பனு மாயனைத்துயிர்க்கும் இம்மைப்பயனு மறுமைக்குறுதியு மேம்படநல்கி வீற்றிருந்-தருளிய ஸ்ரீ சுரி.....தெவரான பராக்ரம பாண்ட்ய தெவற்கு யாண்டு இருபத்தெட்டாவதின் எதிராவது.....ற்று இருபத்தொன்றாந்திபதியும் பூர்ணையும் வெள்ளிக்கிழமையும் பெற்ற சோதிநாள் தென்வாரிநாட்டு சித்ரநதி உத்தரதீரத்தில் தக்ஷிணகாஶியிலே உடையார் விஶ்வநாதனுக்கு சுஸிநவமாக உபாநாதி ஸ்தூபிபயுஜமுந் திருப்பணிசெய்து உடையார் விஶ்வநாதனையும் ப்ரதிஷ்டித்து சுத்ரமண்டபம் இடைநாழிகை மஹாமண்டபம் ஸொபாநம் இவை-யுந்திருப்பணிசெய்து திருப்பள்ளிஅறைநாச்சியார் முதலாக உள்ள திருவுடம்புகளும் ஏறி அருளப்பண்ணுவித்து சூவரண மொபாரதிகளும் சூரமிஸித்து மேல்-

3. உடையார் விஶ்வநாதந் பூஜைக்கு அமுதுபடி சாத்துப்படி திருமாலைத் திருப்பரி-வட்டந்திருவிளக்கு உட்பட்டபல நித்யநியமங்களுக்கும் பல விஶெஷபூஜைதிருநாட் செலவுக்கும் முன்னாள் இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் இருபத்து மூன்றாவது முதலுக்கு நாம் தேவ-தானமாக விட்ட பற்றுகளில் தென்வாரிநாட்டுத் தென்காசிக்குப் பெருநான்கெல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை புலியூற்பற்றான காராண் குளத்தில் நீர்நக்கலுக்கும் பரிம்புக்கும் புலியூர் அக-ரப்பற்றில் புஞ்சைக்கும் நாராயண ஸ்ரீபாதங்கள் மடப்புறத்தில் மேல் எல்கைக்கு மேற்கும் தென் எல்கை சித்ரநதிக்கு வடக்கு மேல்எல்கை குன்றக்குடிப்பரிம்புக்குக் கிழக்கும் வ.....சென்னாய்ப்பொற்றைக்கும் குத்துக்கல்லுக்கும் தெற்கும்ஆக இன்னான்கெல்.....

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Read செண்பை :o

(3) Metre அகவல்.

ட்டபற்றும் இந்த நஞ்சை தெற்கு தென்னீரத்தில் வாயுளான்குடிப்பற்றுக்குப் பெருநான்கெல்கை-யாவது கீழ் எல்கை புலியூர் அணைக்கும் திருச்சாலைக்குடிப் பற்றுக்கும் ஆழங்காலுக்கு மேற்கும் தென் எல்கை திருச்சாலைக்குடிப்பற்றுக்கும் வாகூரவாணூ வதூ-வெஞ்சுங்கல-த்து ஊட்டகள் சுகாப்பற்றில் வடவெல்கைக்கும் உடையார் திருக்குற்றாலமுடைய நாயனார் பழந்தேவதானத்துக்கு வடக்கும் மேல் எல்கை வாயுளான்குடி அணைக்குக்கிழக்கும் வட எல்கை விருநஞ்சைக்குத்தெற்கும் ஆக இன்னன் கெல்கைக்குட்பட்டபற்றும் குன்றக்குடி பற்றுக்குப்பெருநான்-

4. கெல்கையாவது கீழ்எல்கை இடைமலைப்பரிம்புக்கு மேற்கும் தென்எல்கை விருநஞ்சைக்கு வடக்கும் மேல்எல்கை செங்கோட்டை பிடாரியார் கோயிலுக்கும் இலத்தூற்குப் போகிற பெருவழிக்கு [க்கிழக்கு] வடஎல்லை கடமர்குளத்துக்குத்தெற்கு ஆக இன்னன்கெல்-லைக்குட்பட்டபற்றில் உடையார் திருக்குற்றாலமுடைய நாயனார் தேவதானமான நிலம் ஒன்-பதுமா முந்திரிகையின் மூன்றுமா முக்காணியும் நீங்கலாக உள்ளபற்றும் பராக்கிரம பாண்-டிய நல்லூற் பற்றுக்குப் பெருநான்கெல்கையாவது கீழ் எல்கை இலுப்பைத்தொண்டிப்-பெருவழிக்கு மேற்கும் தென்எல்கை இக்குளத்தில நீர்நக்கலுக்கு வடக்கும் மேல்எல்கை உடையார் திருக்குற்றாலமுடை.....பழந்தேவதானமான திருச்சாலைக்குடிப்பற்றுக்குக்-கிழக்கும் வடஎல்கை விரு..... ..தெற்கும் ஆக இன்னன்கெல்கைக்குட்பட்டபற்றில் இரு-ங்கிண்டி ஸ்ரீவதூரபன் தூத இறையிலி நிலமிரண்டுமாவும் நீங்கலாக உள்ள பற்று நல்லூற் பற்றில் வள்ளமுட்டமும் இக்குளத்தில் நீர்பாயும் நிலமாய் வடவூற்பற்றில் நின்றுங் கூட்டின நிலம் மூன்றுமா அரையும் ஆக இப்பற்றுக்குப் பெருநான்கெல்கையாவது கீழ்எல்கை காடேற்றிப் பற்றுக்கு மேற்கும் தென்எல்கை வடவூற்பற்றிற் செங்குளத்தில் நீர்பாயுநிலத்-துக்கும் தஞ்சாவூற் பெருங்காலுக்கும் அணுபோகமழகியான் குளத்தில் நீர்பாயும் பற்றுக்கு வடக்கும் மேல் எல்லை

5. இக்குளத்தில் நீர்நக்கலுக்கும் தவணைப்பற்றுக்குங் கிழக்கு வடஎல்கை தஞ்சா-வூரில் நின்றும் தவணைக்குப்போகிற பெருவழிக்குத்தெற்கும் ஆக இன்னன்கெல்கைக்குட்-பட்ட பற்றும் வடவாரிநாட்டுப் பைம்பொழிற் பற்றில் நல்லாண்பிள்ளைப் பெற்றாளுக்கும் விஷ்ணுதத்தப் பேரேரிக்கும் பெருநான்கெல்கையாவது கீழ்எல்கை செங்கோட்டைப் பிடாரி யார் கோயிலுக்கும் இவ்வூரில் நின்றும் இலத்தூற்குப்போகிற பெருவழிக்கு மேற்கு தென்-எல்கை ஆற்றுக்கு வடக்கு மேல்எல்கை பைம்பொழிலில்நின்றும் நல்லூற்குப்போகிற பெருவழிக்கும் முழங்கால்முட்டிப்பாறைக்குங்கிழக்கு வடஎல்கை தேனிடு பொற்றைக்-குத்தெற்கு ஆ.....ன் கெல்கைக்குட்பட்ட பற்றும் **முப்பதாவது மேஷ ஞாயிற்று இருபத்-தே.....தியதியும் வெஹவ்வகூத்து பஞ்மியும் திங்கட்கிழமையும் பெற்ற புணர்பூசத்து நாள்** நாம் முன்புவிட்ட பற்றுக்கள் நீங்கலாக நாளது பூஜைச்சிலவுக்குவிட்ட தென்வாரி-நாட்டு இராசகுலராமநல்லூரான புலியூர்பற்றுக்கும் வீரபாண்டியநல்லூர்ப்பற்றுக்கும் பெரு நான்கெல்கையாவது புலியூர்பற்றுக்குப் பெருநான்கெல்கைக் கீழ்எல்கை திருவெண்காட்டு முதலியார் மடப்புறமான பாட்டக்குறிச் சிப்பற்றுக்குமேற்கு தென்எல்கைச் சிற்றூற்றுக்கு வடக்கு மேல்எல்கை பழந்தேவதானமான

6. தென்காசிப்பற்றுக்குக்கிழக்கு வட எல்கை ஆயக்குடிபற்றுக்குத்தெற்கு ஆக இன்-னன்கெல்கைக் குட்பட்டபற்றில் உடையார் திருக்குற்றாலமுடைய நாயனார் தேவதானமும் உடையார் விரூபாக்ஷீஸ்வரமுடைய நாயனார் தேவதானமும் நயினார் திருவிருந்த பெரு-

மாள் திருவிடையாட்டமும் ஸ்ரீக்ருஷ்ணந் திருவிடையாட்டமும் பராக்ரமபாண்ட்ய நல்லூரில் நயினார் திருவேங்கடநாதன் திருவிடையாட்டமும் முகந்தானத்து(1) நாராயண ஸ்ரீபாதங்கள் மடப்புறமும் அகரப்பற்றும் நீங்கலாக இன்னான்கெல்கைக்குட்பட்டபற்றும் வீரபாண்ட்ய நல்லூருக்குப்பெருநான்கெல்கையாவது கீழெல்கை தட்டான்குளத்துப் பரிம்புக்கு மேற்கு தென் எல்கை திருச்சிற்றம்பலத்துக்காலான இராசகுலரா.....காலுக்கும் நயினார் திருவிருந்த பெருமாள் திருவிடையாட்டமான ஆகவரா[ம]... ...துக்கும் வடக்கு மேல் எல்கை திருவெண்காட்டு முதலியார் மடப்புறமான பாட்டக்குறிச்சிப்பற்றுக்குக்கிழக்கு வட எல்கை விந்தனூர்ப்பெருவழிக்குத்தெற்கு ஆக இன்னான்கெல்கைக்குட்பட்டபற்றும் ஆக இப்பற்றுக்களில் ப்பெருநான்கெல்கைக்குட்பட்ட பற்றும் ஆக இப்பற்றுக்களில் ப்பெருநான்கெல்கைக்குட்பட்ட நஞ்செய் புஞ்சை மாவடை மரவடை பட்டடை கொடித்தோட்டம் செக்கிறை மற்றுமுள்ள ஸமஸ்த ப்ராஸ்திகளும் முப்பதாவது பசான முதலுக்குத் தேவதானமாகவிட்ட அளவுக்கு இம்மரியாதியிலே இவ்வோலை பிடிபாடாகக்கொண்டு ஆசகுதாரவசு இவ்வாலையம் உள்ள அளவும்

7. கையாண்டு கல்லிலுஞ் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிப் பூசையுந்தாழ்வற நடத்திப்போதவும் பாற்க[||*] இவை கிடாரத்தூருடையான் எழுத்து உ தூலு௰.

Translation

Be it well! The year .... opposite the **twenty-eighth** of the reign of **Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva** *alias* **Ari ....deva,**—who was born in the *chandra-kula* so that the damsel seated on the (lotus) flower (Lakshmi) might glow on his chest; the lady of learning (Sarasvati) might shine resplendent on his tongue and the goddess of victory might embrace his mountain-like shoulders; while the dual carps were bright like the (two) eyes of the world; who grew as though he were the seedling of the virtue of (all) his ancestors; who had understood clearly the Southern (Tamiḻ) and the Northern (Sanskṛit) sciences; who was crowned with a jewelled crown for the purpose of protecting humanity; who wore the lotus feet of Śaṅkara; who was wielding the just sceptre and making his white umbrella shelter (the world); who gave (his people without failure the water of the rain, the flood of his favour and the water of libations (poured on the occasion of making of gifts); who rooted out the weeds of sin and raised the crop of virtue; who saw the backs of kings ..... at Sṅgai, Aṉurai, Irâśai, Śeṇbai, Vindai, Arandai Mudalai, Vîrai, Vaippâṟu and established the lamps of his fame in all directions; who ..... to be praised by the eighteen ..... who granted all the boons to the kings of (the eighteen countries in which) eighteen (different) languages (are spoken), who carry in regular order their tributes and gold and beg for what they want and praise the feet which emit sound (from the anklets he wears on them); who set up *agrahâras* in five places beginning with Vindai in order that numerous Brahmins might therein tend the sacred fire; who performed *pûjâs* to Śiva so that the Śaiva faith might grow; who built a *maṇḍapa* for Him of Marudûr; who presented the midnight offering in golden vessels to the Chitpara who once resided in a bamboo (bush); who constructed a *maṇḍapa* to the Śaṅkara (Śiva) of Champakavana; who having decorated (the image of the god of Champakavana) with a jewelled crown and celebrated a festival (at the end of which) wished to bathe the image in fragrant water (fresh water); at that time even the perennial stream had dried up and there was a very bad drought; the king prayed for water which, he, by the grace of the Pure, secured from no less a place than the distant one (the sky; that is, there was a heavy rain) and he bathed the image in it; who erected the big temple for Viśvanâtha of

(1) Is it முகுந்தானந்த ?

resplendent *jaṭâ*, at Teṇkâśi and endowed (it with lands) for the celebrations, in a more perfect manner than in other temples, of the occasional and all other *pûjas* mentioned in the good *âgamas* ; and who was pleased to be seated on the prosperous golden throne with the possessor of the whole world (his queen),—the two figures appearing as though they were the embodiment of grace, as though they were the father and mother promising heavenly bliss :—

Having newly built in Dakshiṇa Kâśi on the north bank of the river Chitranadi in the Teṉṉâri-nâḍu, a temple for Viśvanâtha from the base to the top ; set up the god Viśvanâtha ; finished the *arddhamaṇḍapa*, the middle verandah, the *mahâmaṇḍapa* and the *sôpâna* ; set up the images beginning with the Paḷḷiyaṟai-nâchchiyâr ; and having begun the circuiting walls, *gôpuras*, &c., we granted as *dêvadâna* the following villages **formerly in the twenty-third year opposite the second, on a Friday the** *Svâti* **nakshatra and the Paurnima** *tithi* **of the month**.....for the god Viśvanâtha's *pûjas*, offerings, sandal, flower garlands, clothes, lamps, etc., and for various special *pûjas* and festivals :—(1) Teṇkâśi in the Teṉṉâri-nâḍu ; its four great boundaries are ; on the east, the *nîrnakkal and parimbu* in Kârâṇkuḷam *alias* Puliyûrparṟu, the *puñjai* belonging to the Brahman village of Puliyûr and the *maṭha* lands belonging to Nârâyaṇa Śrîpâdaṅgaḷ ; on the south, the *parimbu* of Kuṉṟakkuḍi ..... ; on the north,.....Śeṉṉâyporṟai and the boundary stone ; thus the village contained within these four great boundaries. (2) The four great boundaries of Vâyuḷâṉpâḍi-paṟṟu, situated on the south bank of this river, are : on the east, the Puliyûr anicut, the village of Tiruchchâlaikkuḍi, and Aḷaṅgâl ; on the south, the village of Tiruchchâlaikkuḍi, the northern boundary of the Brâhman village of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya chaturvêdimaṅgalam, as also the old *dêvadâna* lands of the god of Tirukuṟṟâlam ; on the west, the anicut of Vâyuḷâṉkuḍi and on the north, the river Chitranadi. Thus the village contained within these four great boundaries. (3) The four great boundaries of the village of Kuṉṟakkuḍi are : on the east, Iḍaimalaipparimbu ; on the south, the river Chitranadi ; on the west, the Piḍâri temple of Śeṅgôṭṭai and the grand road which leads to Ilattûr ; and on the north, Kaḍamaṅguḷam ; thus within the village contained within the four great boundaries, all lands excepting the one of nine *mâs* and a *mundirigai* and three *mâs* and a *mundirigai*, which are the *dêvadâna* lands belonging to the god of Tirukkuṟṟâlam. (4) The four great boundaries of the village of Parâkrama Pâṇḍyanallûr are :—on the east, the great way leading to the (tank) Iluppaittoṇḍil ; on the south the *nîrnakkal* of this tank; on the west, the old *dêvadâna* village of Tiruchchâlaikkuḍi belonging to the god of Tirukkuṟṟâlam and on the north, the river Chitranadi .....The village within the four great boundaries, the two *mâs* of tax-free land belonging to Iruṅgiṇḍi Śri Padmanâbha, and which was obtained by him by gift, are excepted. (5) The four great boundaries of the plots of land called Vaḷḷaimuṭṭam in the Nallûrparṟu and the three and half *mâs* of land taken from the Vaḍavûrparṟu and added on to the above mentioned plot and which is watered by this tank, are :—On the east, Kâḍêrripparṟu ; on the south, the land in the Vaḍavûrparṟu, watered by the (tank) Śeṅguḷam, the large channel of Tañjâvûr and the lands watered by the (tank) Aṉubhôgam-aḷagiyâṉ ; on the west, the *nîrnakkal* belonging to this tank and the (village) Tavaṇaipparṟu and on the north, the great way leading from Tañjâvûr to Tavaṇai ; thus the village contained within these four great boundaries. (6) The four great boundaries of Nallâṉpiḷḷai-perṟâḷ, Viśvanâthappêrêri belonging to the Paimboḷil-paṟṟu of the Vaḍavârinâḍu are : on the east, the Piḍâriyâr temple of Seṅgôṭṭai and the large path leading from this village to Ilattûr ; on the south, the river ; on the west, the great way leading from Paimboḷil to Nallûr, and Muḷaṅgâlmuṭṭi-ppâṟai : and on the north, the Têṉ-iḍu-poṟṟai ; thus the village contained within these four great boundaries :

In addition to these villages, we have already granted, the following are granted for the expenses of the daily *pûjas*, etc., **this day, Monday, the Pañchami of the bright fortnight of the month of Mesham, Punarvasu nakshatra :**—(1) The four great boundaries of the

villages of Puliyûr *alias* Râjakularâmanallûr in the Teṇvâri-nâḍu are: on the east, the village of Pâṭṭak which is the *maṭha* land belonging to Tiruveṇkâṭṭu Mudaliyâr; on the south, the river Sirṟâṟu; kuṟichchi, on the west, Teṇkâśi the old *dêvadânas* village and on the north . . . . thus in the village contained within these four great boundaries with the exception of the *dêvadânas* belonging to the gods of Tirukuṟṟâlam and Vikrama Pâṇḍyêśvara, the *tiruviḍaiyâṭṭam* lands of the gods Tiruvirunda-perumâḷ and Tiruvêngaḍanâtha of Parâkrama Pâṇḍyanallûr; the *maṭha* lands belonging to Mukundânanda Nârâyaṇa Śrîpâdangaḷ and the *agrahârâs*. (2) The four great boundaries of Vîra Pâṇḍyanallûr also in the Teṇvârinâḍu are: on the east, the Taṭṭâṇkuḷam; on the south, the channel called the Râjakularâman-kâl *alias* Tiruchchiṟṟambalattukkâl, Âhavarâma . . . . . the *tiruviḍaiyâṭṭam* land of the god Tiruvirundaperumâḷ; on the west, Pâṭṭakkuṟichchi, the *maṭha* land belonging to Tiruveṇkâṭṭu Mudaliyâr and on the north, the great road leading to Vindaṇûr; thus the village contained within these four great boundaries.

Thus the *nañjai* and *puñjai* lands, *mâvaḍai*, *muravaḍai*, *paṭṭaḍai* the betel gardens, the tax on oil-mills and other items of income accruing from the villages above mentioned as granted as *dêvadâna* lands, shall be enjoyed on the authority of this deed and according to the conditions (above recorded), from the *paśânam* crop of **the thirtieth year**, as long as the moon and the stars endure and as long as this temple exists. May this (document) be engraved on stone and copper and the *pûjas* be performed without any shortcomings.

This is the signature of Kiḍârattûr-uḍaiyâṇ. Tulyam (the sign manual of the king).

No. III. TENKASI GOPURAM INSCRIPTIONS OF ARIKESARI PARAKRAMADEVA.

The verses edited below are all engraved on the walls of the ruined *gôpura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi, and are tolerably well preserved. The language is Tamiḷ; the records are all in the Tamiḷ alphabet of the period to which they belong.

V. 1. The first verse records the date of the beginning of the construction of the temple.

V. 2. This verse records the date of setting up of the image of Viśvanâthasvâmin.

Vv. 3-4. Record the date of the beginning of the construction of the front *gôpuram* of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple.

Vv. 5-7. Exhortations of king Parâkrama to the public and other princes to protect and improve the arrangements about the management etc., of the temple.

V. 8. States that king Parâkrama Pâṇḍya died six years after the beginning of the *gôpura* and after the stone work was finished.

Vv. 9-12. Once more the king exhorts in a similar strain as in verses 5-7 above.

V. 13. Records the date of death of Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya.

V. 14. This verse is what might be called a *charama ślôka* and laments the death of the king.

Vv. 15-16. Praises of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya.

It is quite plain that all the verses above described belong to the reign and a little after the death of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya. We know from various other records that this sovereign ruled from Ś 1344-1385. In the Śaka year 1368, on a Friday, the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Vaigâsi, the fifteenth day of that month on the Uttara nakshatra and mîna râśi, Parâkrama began to build the temple; and in the year 1369, on a Saturday, the 17th or 18th, the image of the god was set up in the temple. In the year 1379 corresponding to the Kali year 4558, on a Thursday, the fifth of the month Kârttigai, in the Simha muhûrtta and Mṛigaśîrsha nakshatra the *gôpura* was begun to be built. Six years after; in the year 1385, king Parâkrama Pâṇḍya died with the satisfaction that at least the stone basement of the *gôpura* was finished.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தஸ்ரீ உ அன்பினுடன் சகாத்தமாயிரத்து முன்னூற்றறுபத்(2)-
2. தெட்டதன் மேல் வைய்காசித் திங்கள் (3) மன்தியதியீரைந்திற் பூறு(4)-
3. வபக்கமருவு தெசமியில் வெள்ளி வாரந்தன்னில் (5) மின்திகழுத்திரநாள் (6)
4. மீனத்தில் வாகை வேலரிகேசரி பராக்கிறம (7) மகீபன் தென் திசையிற் கா-
5. சிநகர் க்கோயில்காணச் சென்று நின்று கர்ழ்சணை (8) தான் செய்வித்-
6. தானே உ [1 || *] அடைவுதிகழ் சகாத்தமாயிரத்து முன்னூற்றறு(2)பத்-
7. தொன்பதின் மேற் செல் (9) மிதுன ஞாயற்றிடைமருவு தியதிபதி[ன]-
8. . . . . விற் சனிவார[மதனில் மீனத்தில் மன . . .
9. . . . . ,
10. டையவரைத் தென்காசிச் சிவாலயத்தினுள்ளமைத்துத் தெள்ளமுதமூட்-
11. டினனே உ [|| 2 *]
12. பன்னு கலியுக நாலாயிரத் தைஞ்ஞுற் றைம்பத்தெட்டின் மேலெவரும் பணிந்து போற்ற[ச்]-
13. சென்னெல் வயற் (11) தென்காசி நகரில் (12) நற்காத்திகைத்திங்கள் த்தியதி (13) யைந்திற் செம்பொன் வாரம-
14. ன்னிய மார்கழிநாளில் (14)மதுரை வேந்தன் வடிவெழுதொணுத பராக்கிறம மகீபன் சொன்னவரை-
15. போற் (15)திருக்கோபுரமுங்காணத் துடியிடையாயுபானமுதல் துடக்கினனே உ [|| 3*] ஏராருஞ் சகா-
16. த்தமாயிரத்து முன்னூற்றெழுபத் (18) தொன்பதின்மேற் காத்திகை மாதத்திற் சீராருந்-
17. தியதியைந்திற் குருவாரத்திற் சிங்க முகுற்த்தத்தில் மிறுகசிரிழ்சத்- (17)
18. தன்னில ரனருளால் வழுத (18) பராக்கிறம மகீபன் கூரா(19)-
19. பான முதல் கோட்டினனே உ [|| 4*] (20)
20. சேலேறிய வயற்(21)தென்காசி யாலியந் தெய்வசெயலாலே சமைந்தநிங்கென்-
21. செயலல்ல வதனையின்ன மேலே விரிவுசெய்தே புரப்பாரடி வீழ்ந்தவர்-
22. தம்பாலேவல்செய்து பணிவன் பராக்கிறம பாண்டியனே உ [|| 5*] மனத்த[ர]ல்
23. வருக்கவுமெட்டாத கோயில் வருக்க முன்[னி]ன்றெனைத்தான் பணிகொண்ட-
24. நாதன் தென்காசியை யென்று மண்மேல் நினைத்தாதரஞ்செய்து தங்காவல்
25. பூண்ட நிருபர் பதந்தனைத் தாழ்ந்திறைஞ்சித் தலைமீதியானுந் தரித்தனனே உ [|| 6*]

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(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read மூந்நூற்றறு०
(3) Read திங்கண்०
(4) Read பூர்வ०
(5) Read தன்னின்०
(6) Read நாண்०
(7) Read பராக்கிரம०. This spelling must be adopted throughout this inscription.
(8) Read கர்ஷணை
(9) Read சென்०
(10) Metre of verses 1 and 2, எண்சீர்க்கழி நெடிலடி யாசிரிய விருத்தம்.
(11) Read செந்நெல் வயற்றென்०
(12) Read நகரினற்०
(13) Read திங்கட்டியதி०
(14) Read நாளின்०
(15) Read போற்றிருக்கோபுர०
(16) Read மூந்நூற்றெழு०
(17) Read மிருகசிரிஷ०
(18) Read வழுதி
(19) Read கூருபான०
(20) Metre of versus 3-4, the same as 1 and 2.
(21) Read வயற்றென்காசி

26. பூந்தண்பொழில் புடைசூழ்ந்தென்[காசியை] பூதலத்திற் (22)தாந்தங்கோயுட-
27. னே புரப்பார்கள் செந்தாமரை[யாள் காந்]தன் பராக்கிறமக்கை[ப்]த-
28. வன் மானகவசன் கொற்கை வேந்தன் பணிபவராகி யென்னுரும் (23) விளங்கு-
29. வரே ஒ [|| 7*] காண்டகு சீர்பூணை தென்காசிக்கோபுரக் கற்பணியாருண்டில் முடி-
30. த்துக்கயிலை சென்றுனகிலேசர் பதம் பூண்டுறை சிந்தை யரிகேசரி விந்தை-
31. ப் போர்கடந்த பாண்டியன் பொன்னின் பெருமாள் பராக்கிறம.பாண்டியனே ஒ[|| 8*]
32. ஆராயினு மிந்தத் தென்காசி[மேவும்] பொன்னுலயத்து வாரா-
33. தீதார் குற்றம் வந்தாலப் போதங்கு வந்ததனை நேராகவே-
34. யொழித்துப் புரப்பார்களை நீதியுடன் பாராரறியப் பணிந்தேதன்
35. பராக்கிறம பாண்டியனே ஒ [|| 9*] அரிகேசரிமன் பராக்கிறம மாறனரனருளால்
36. வரிசேர் பொழிலணி தென்காசிக்கோயில் வகுத்து வலம்புரிசேர் கடற்புவி-
37. போற்ற வைத்தேனன்பு பூண்டிதனைத் திரிசேர் விளக்கெனக் காப்பார் பொற்-
38. பாதமென் சென்னியதே ஒ [|| 10*] சாத்திரம் பார்த்திங்கியான் கண்ட பூசை-
39. கள்தாம் நடாத்தியேத்தியன்பால் வீசுவ(24)நாதன் பொற்கோயிலெ-
40. ன்றும் புரக்கப் பா[ர்]த்திபன் கொற்கைப் பராக்கிறம மாறன் பரிவு-
41. டனங் கோத்திரந்தன்னிலுள்ளார்க்கு படைக்கலங் கூறினனே ஒ [|| 11*]
42. மென்காசை மாமலரன்ன மெய்யோர்க்கும் விரிஞ்சனுக்கு-
43. ம் வன்காசுதீர்த்திடும் விச்சுவநாதன் மகிழ்ந்திருக்கப்-
44. பொன்காசை மெய்யெ[ன்று தொட்] டகைக்கு மிப்பூதல-
45. த்துத் [தி]தன்காசி [கண்ட பெருமாள் பராக்கிற]மத் தென்னவனே ஒ [|| 12*]
46. [ஏ]ரார் சகாத்த முன்னூற்று (25)டனுபிரத்தி[தண்பத்] தஞ்சிற் சீராருமார்கழி-
47. [சி]த் [திரை ஈர]ளிற் [சிறந்து குற்றம்வாராத பூரணையி]னிற் பராக்கிறம மாறனை-
48. .....ரா...ரகயிலாயத்தான் .....கண்டனனே ஒ [|| 13*]
49. கோதற்ற பத்தி யறுபத்துமூவர்தங் கூட்டத்திலோ தீதற்[ற] வெள்ளிச் [சி]லம்-
50. பகத்தோ செம்பொனம் பலத்தோ வேதத்திலோ சிவலோகத்திலோ (26)
51. விசுவநாதனிரு பாதத்திலோ சென்றுபுக்கான் பராக்[கி]றம பாண்டியனே ஒ [|| 14*] (27)
52. ஓங்குநிலை யொன்பதுற்ற திருக்கோபுரமும்
53. பாங்கு பதினொன்று பயில் தூணுந்தேங்கு பு-
54. கழ் மன்னர்பெருமான் வழுதிகண்டதென்-
55. காசிதன்னி லன்றியுண்டோ தலத்து ஒ [|| 15*] (28)
56. அணிகொண்ட விந்த வணங்குமோ-
57. ன்றை யடியேற்குனக்கு மணி-
58. கொண்ட வாசல் பணியும்
59. ஒன்றை பகை மன்னரை-
60. யும் பிணிகொண்ட காரை[யு]-
61. முன்னீரையும் (29) பெரும்பூதத்-
62. தையும் பணிகொண்ட செண்ப-
63. க[த்*]தென்னு பராக்கிறம பாண்டியனே ஒ [|| 16*] (30).

(22) Read பூதலசதிற்றுந்தம்
(23) Read யென்னோரும்
(24) Read விசுவநாதன்.
(25) Read முன்நூற்றும்
(26) Read சிவலோகத்திலோ
(27) Metre of verses 5 to 14, கட்டளைக்கலித்துறை.
(28) Metre வெண்பா.
(29) Read முன்னீரையும்.
(30) Metre, கட்டளைக்கலித்துறை.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

V. 1. After the Śaka year one thousand three hundred and sixty-eight had expired on the tenth of the month of Vaigâśi, the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight, Friday, in the Uttara nakshatra and Mîna *râśi*, the king Arikêsari Parâkrama began the *karshâṇa* ceremony preparatory to the building of the temple at Teṉkâśi.

V. 2. After the Śaka year one thousand three hundred and sixty-nine had expired, on the seventeenth (or the eighteenth) of the month in which the sun stood in the constellation Mithuna.....Saturday, he set up the image of the God in the temple and presented offerings to it.

Vv. 3-4. In the Kali year four thousand five hundred and fifty-five expired, on the fifth of the month Kârttigai, Thursday, Mârgasîrśha nakshatra, the king began building the *gôpura* resembling the golden mountain (Mêru), from its foundation.

After one thousand three hundred and seventy-nine years of the Śaka era had elapsed, on the fifth day of the month Kârttigai, Thursday in the Simha *muhûrta*, Mṛigaśîrsha nakshatra, the king Parâkrama Pâṇḍya began building the *gôpura* from the *upâna* (basement).

V. 5. The temple at the fertile town of Teṉkâśi came into existence only by the will of Providence; it is not actually my work. I, Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, shall prostrate before the feet of and serve those, who extend and protect it.

V. 6. I bow before, praise and wear on my head the feet of those sovereigns who tenderly protect the temple at Teṉkâśi, the construction of which could not even be conceived mentally but which was, however, accomplished by the Lord, through me as his agent.

V. 7. All those who, themselves with their relatives, afford protection to the temple at Teṉkâśi, shall, being respected by the king Parâkrama Pâṇḍya *alias* Mânakavacha, the lord of Koṟkai, shine for ever.

V. 8. The king Parâkrama Pâṇḍya *alias* Arikêsari the victor in the battle of Vindai, the worshipper of the feet of Akhilêśa, went to Kailâsa (heaven, i. e., died), finishing the stone work of the *gôpura* at Teṉkâśi, six years after its commencement.

V. 9. I, Parâkrama Pâṇḍya bow before those who, when anything pertaining to the temple affairs goes wrong, attend to it personally and set it right.

V. 10. The beautiful feet of those who maintain the temple affairs as tenderly as one watching a burning lamp, shall be worn by me, Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, on my head.

V. 11. The king Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, the lord of Koṟkai, exhorts the princes of the Pâṇḍya, family to keep up the various *pûjas* which, he after consulting the *śâstras* established in the temple at Teṉkâśi.

V. 12. Praises Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, the builder of the temple at Teṉkâśi.

V. 13. Records that the king died on the Chitra nakshatra which occurred on the Paurṇima of the month Mṛigaśîrsha of the year one thousand three hundred and eighty-five.

V. 14. The poet, lamenting on the death of the king, asks if he went away to join the crowd of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees, took abode in the silver anklet of Śiva, the Golden Hall (Chidambaram), the Vêdas, the Śivalôka or the two feet of Viśvanâtha.

V. 15. Is it possible, the poet asks to find anywhere else but at Teṉkâśi, the like of the tall nine storeyed *gôpura* and the eleven pillared *maṇḍapa* built by the lord of kings, the Pâṇḍya.

V. 16. The poet praises the prowess of king Parâkrama.

No. IV. THE TENKASI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF ARIKÊSARI PARAKRAMA PAṆDYA.

The following inscription is engraved on the four faces of a pillar set up in front of the ruined *gôpura* of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkâśi. It recounts the circumstances under which this temple came to be built. It states that **Arikesari Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva** dreamt a dream, in which the god Viśvanâtha of Kâśi, (Benares), appeared to command him to build for Him a temple on the north bank of the Chitra-nadi in the Teṉṉâri-nâḍu, for the one at Kâśî became ruined. The king began the work; the preparation of the ground was begun in the year, Ś. 1368, and the whole work of construction etc., lasted *seventeen years*, during which the following were built :—The temple of Viśvanâthasvâmin containing the central shrine, the *arddha maṇḍapa*, the *mahâ maṇḍapa*, *sôpâna*, and *âvaraṇas*. A temple for the goddess, Ulaga-muḻuduḍaiya Nâchchiyâr with *âvaraṇas* etc; a shrine for Sahasra-liṅga, one for Śakti-pîṭha, and another for a Piḍâri named Arikêsari-naṅgai were also built. A shrine for a Gaṇêśa named Arikêsari-Piḷḷaiyâr was constructed in the west fifth street. Besides these the king constructed the kitchen, the *âṛâṭṭu maṇḍapa* and all other minor works connected with the main temple. The *parivâras*, beginning with Rishabhadêva, were all set up. Then the large *gôpura* was begun. It took from the month of Vaigâśi of the 2+22nd year to the 31+9th year of the reign of the king to complete all the above mentioned works. Considering the magnitude of the work and the shortness of time taken in its completion, the world began to believe it was due more to Providential than human exertion.

The king ordered that, on the Makhâ nakshatra in the month of Mâśi, the image of Viśvanâthasvâmin should be taken to the river in procession for the bathing ceremony.

Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva granted several villages for the up-keep of the services, of the temple. They are :—Teṉkâśi and Ilañji in the Teṉṉâri-nâḍu ; Kuṉṟakkuḍi, Puliyûr. Pâṭṭâkkurichchi Vîrapâṇḍiyanallûr ; Tañjâvûr in the Nallûr-paṟṟu, Kâḍêrivaḷḷaimuṭṭam, Paṉṟi-muṭṭam, Taṇṇa...pai, Kâṟṟuchcheṟṟai ; Tuvaraṅgâḍu in the Kuṟumaṟai-nâḍu, Iḍaitavaṇai in the same *nâḍu* ; Mânanilainallûr, Kâraikkuṟuchchi and Piḷḷaiyârkuḷam etc. Of these, I am able to identify Teṉkâśi, Ilañji, Puliyûr and Kuṉṟâkkuḍi, all of which still retain the same names.

Text

East face.

1. ஶிவமஸ்து [॥*] ஸந்தாயுர் தெதக் ஸததம் ஸமஸ்து
2. ஸுரதௌஶிஹிஃ । ஶாஸநம் விஶ்வநாதஸ்ய ஶம்
3. [ஹோ] ஜ்ஜயதி ஶாஶ்வதம் । ஶகாப்தம் ஆயிரத்து முன்-
4. னூற்று எண்பத்துநாலின்மேற் செல்லாநின்ற
5. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கொஜடிஶவமஹாராந த்ரிபுவநசக்ரவ
6. ர்த்திகள் பெருமாள் ஸரிகெஸரிதெவர் என்று திரு-
7. நாமம் உடைய பொன்னின் பெருமாள்
8. பராக்ரம பாண்ட்யதெவர் இருந்தருளிய இடத்-
9. துக்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்து ஒன்றாவதின் எதிர் ஒன்-
10. பதாவது மிதுந நாயற்று இருபத்தெட்டாந்திய-
11. தியும் ஸபரபக்ஷத்து த்ரயொதஶியும் ஶுக்ரவாரமும்
12. பெற்ற நம்முடைய இருந்தருளிய இடத்தின் திருநாள்-
13. ஆன ஶ்ரமஶீர்ஷத்து நாள் ஜநமும் பதினெட்டுநாட்டு வெ-
14. ள்ளாழரும் இரண்டு பத்திரிவழியும் மற்றும் அஞ்சு வகை-

15. ப்பட்ட பரிகரமுங்கூடி [க்] கற்பித்த காரியமாவது உடையா[ர்*].
16. விஶ்வநாதங் உத்தரகாசியிலெழுந்தருளி இருந்-
17. த சிவாலயம் ஜீர்ணமாகையாலே தென்னாரி-
18. நாட்டு ஸ்ரீத்ரநதீ உத்தரதீரத்திலே நமக்கு தக்ஷி
19. ணகாசியாக ஆலையஞ்செய்து தரவேணும்-
20. என்று எங்களுடைய கர்த்தர் பேருமாள் அரிகேஸரி-
21. தெவர் என்று திருநாமமுடைய பொன்னின் பெரு-
22. மாள் பராக்ரம பாண்ட்யதெவர் இருந்தருளிய இட-
23. த்தின் உடனே [ஸ்வ] ப்நத்திலே திருவுள்ளம்பற்றி அ-
24. ருளுகையாலே முன்னாள் ஶகாப்தம் ஆயிரத்து முன்-
25. னூற்று அறுபத்தெட்டின்மேல் ஜஷஹ ஞாயற்று-
26. ப்பத்தாந்தியதியும் பூர்வபக்ஷத்து தஶமியும் ஶுக்ர
27. வாரமும் பெற்ற உத்திரத்து நாள் மீனமுஹூர்த்தமா-
28. ககர்ஷணையும் செய்து தக்ஷிணகாசியாகத் தி-
29. ருப்படைவீடும் உண்டு ஆக்கி உடையா[ர்]
30. விஶ்வநாதனையும் நாச்சியார் உலகமுழுது-
31. முடைய நாச்சியாரையும் ப்ரதிஷ்டித்து இன்னாய-
32. னார்க்குத் திருக்கோயில் உபாநாதி ஸ்தூப்ய
33. ஜமாகவும் அர்த்தமண்டபம் இடைநாழிகை
34. மஹாமண்டபம் ஸொ [பா] நம் ஆவரணமொ-
35. புராதிகளுந் திருப்பணிசெய்து நாச்சியார்
36. உலகமுழுதுடைய நாச்சியார்க்குந்தி-
37. ருக்கோயிலும் ஆவரணமுங் குறைவற திரு-
38. ப்பணியுஞ் செய்து மோபுரமுமாரடிஹித்து
39. ஸஹஸ்ர லிம்மாலயமும் ஶக்தி பீமாலயமும்
40. செய்து ஜஷஹதெவர் முதலாக உள்ள பரி-
41. வார நாயன்மாரையும் ப்ரதிஷ்டித்து ஸஹஸ்ர
42. லிம்மமும் ஶக்தி பீமமும் ப்ரதிஷ்டித்து அரிகேஸரி-
43. நங்கை என்று திருநாமமுடைய பிடாரியை-
44. யும் ப்ரதிஷ்டித்து பிடாரி கோயிலும் மேலை அஞ்-
45. சாந்திருவீதியில் அரிகேஸரிப் பிள்ளையார் திரு-

North face

46. க்கோயிலும் ஆறாட்டு மண்டபமும்
47. வெச்சமுது மண்டமும் மற்றுமிக்-
48. கோயில்களிலுள்ள திருப்பணிகளும்
49. மஹாமோபுரமும் எங்கள் கர்த்தர் இரு-
50. ந்தருளிய இடம் முன்னாள் இரண்டா-
51. வதின் எதிர் இருபத்திரண்டாவது வை-
52. காசிமாதந் துடங்கி முப்பத்து ஒன்று-

53. வதின் எதிர் ஒன்பதாவதுவரை பதினே-
54. ழுவஷத்துக்குள்ளுத்திருப்பணி செய்து நி-
55. றைவேற்றின இது மானுஷமல்ல தெ
56. வீகமென்று எல்லாரும [றி]ந்து கொள்-
57. ளவும் எங்களுடைய கத்ஷர் இருந்தருளி-
58. ய இடம் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றியருள நாங்க-
59. ளும் கஷ்ணைதுடங்கி இந்தத்திருப்ப
60. ணி யெல்லாங்கூடச் செய்கையுஞ்-
61. செய்து எங்கள் இருந்தருளிய இடம் இ-
62. ன்னபனுர்க்கும் நாச்சிமார்க்கும் மற்று-
63. ள்ள [ந]ாயன்மார்க்கும் பூஜாங்கத்து-
64. க்கு வேண்டும் அணைத்துக் கொத்தி-
65. லுள்ளரையுங் கற்பித்து திருவாபர-
66. ணமும் பரிகல பரிஷ்ஹ்ஹமுங் குடுத்து
67. பூஜையு குறைவுற நடத்தி மாசிமா-
68. தத்தில் உஹத்துநாள் தீர்ஷமாக நடந்து-
69. போதுகிற திருநாளுநடத்தி பூஜை-
70. க்கு வேண்டும் அமுதுபடி கறியமுது
71. சாத்துப்படி கற்பூரம் குங்குமம் பன்-
72. நீர் திருமாலை திருப்பரிவட்டம் திருவி-
73. ளக்கு உட்பட்ட பலவகைக்கும் மற்று-
74. ம் வேண்டும் கிது நெமித்திகங்களுக்-
75. கும் தேவதானமாக விட்ட தென்னரி-
76. நாட்டுத் தென்காசியும் இலஞ்சி குன்ற-
77. க்குடி புலியூர் பாட்டக்குறுச்சி வீரபா-
78. ண்டிய நல்லூர் உள்ளிட்ட பற்றும் நல்-
79. லூர்ப்பற்றில் தஞ்சாவூர் காடேற்றிவள்-
80. [ள]முட்டம் பன்றிமுட்டம் தண்ண-
81. பை கற்றுச்செற்றை உள்ளிட்டமற்றும்
82. குறுமறை நாட்டுத்துவங்காடும் இடை-
83. தவணையும் காக்குடிநாட்டு மானநிலை-
84. ல்லூரில் அகவயலில் நடுவில்த்தலை கூ-
85. ற்றில் விட்ட பற்றும் இப்பற்றில் தென்கரை-
86. காரிகுறிச்சி பிள்ளையார்குளம் உள்ளிட்ட ப-
87. ற்றும் ஆக இப்பற்றுக்களும் விட்டு இவைநீ-
88. ங்கலாக இதுக்கு முன்பு குளமுங்காவும்
89. அணையும் அன்றி வன்காடாய்க்கிடந்-
90. த காடுகளிலே பல இடத்திலும் வர்வை-

(*The rest of the inscription is omitted in the transcript, as it is not of great importance to the history attempted in the earlier pages*).

1484—16

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ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

(*ll.* 1—3.) This is the śâsana of Viśvanâtha (the god at Teṇkâśi).

(*ll.* 3—15.) After the Saka year **one thousand three hundred and eighty-four** had expired, in the ninth year opposite the thirty-first of the reign of the benign king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarttin Perumâḷ **Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva** *alias* **Arikesarideva,** on a Friday, the twenty-eighth of the month Mithuna, which corresponded with the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight, Mṛigaśîrsha *nakshatra* the natal star of the king, the people, the Veḷḷâḷas of the eighteen provinces and *pattiri* of the two countries as also the five kinds of *parigaram* (artisans ?), were assembled and the following business was done :—

(*ll.* 15—24.) The god Viśvanâtha, having appeared in the dream of the king Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva was pleased to express his desire thus :—"Our temple in the northern Kâśi has become dilapidated. We desire that a temple for us should be built under the name of Dakshiṇa Kâśi on the north bank of the river Chitranadi."

(*ll.* 25—31. (Upon hearing this) the king began the *karshaṇa* ceremony on a Friday, the tenth of the month of Rishabha, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Uttara *nakshatra* and the Mîna mihûrta in the Śaka year, **one thousand three hundred and sixty-eight;** built the temple of Teṇkâśi and set up in it the god Viśvanâtha and the goddess Ulagamuḷudu-ḍaiya-Nâchchiyâr.

(*ll.* 32—35.) He built the temple for the god from the base to the top, with the *arddha maṇḍapa*, the central passage, the *mahâmaṇḍapa*, the *sôpâna* and the *gôpuras* and the circuiting walls.

(*ll.* 36—38.) So also he built for the goddess a temple and its *prâkâra* walls and began a *gôpura* for it.

(*ll.* 38—57.) He also built the Sahasra-liṅgâlaya, the Sakti-piṭhâlaya and set up the lesser deities beginning with Rishabhadêva, as also the Sahasra-liṅga, the Śakti-piṭhâlaya and the shrine for a *piḍâri* named Arikêsari-naṅgai was also built ; the king constructed a shrine for (a Gaṇêśa named) Arikêsari-ppiḷḷaiyâr in the fifth street on the west side (of the temple), and set up the image in it. The king built a *maṇḍapa* (on the river bank) for the *ârâṭṭu* (bathing) festival, the kitchen and all other structures in connection with this temple. He began the construction of the *mahâgôpura*. Thus the temple works that took **seventeen years** to complete, beginning from the month of Vaigâśi of the second year opposite the twenty-second and continued till the ninth opposite the thirty-first, must not be considered a human but a divine undertaking.

ll. 52—75. We all stayed till the completion of the works from the *karshaṇa* downwards ; afterwards the king appointed servants for the various services, granted jewels and paraphernalia and performed the *pûjas* regularly. He established a festival which ended on the Makhâ *nakshatra* in the month of Mâśi, when the image of the god was bathed in the river. He granted several villages for the supply of rice, vegetables, sandal, camphor, saffron, rose-water, garlands, cloths, lamps, etc.

ll. 75 to the end. The rest of the record gives a list of villages, with their boundaries, granted by the king.

No. V. TENKASI GOPURAM INSCRIPTION OF ALAGAN KULASEKHARA.

The subjoined verse is engraved on the north wall of the ruined *gopura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi. It records that the king **Aḷagaṇ-perumâḷ Kulaśekhara**, who calls Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya his brother (or cousin, *aṇṇâḷvi*) seeing that the work undertaken by the latter remained incomplete, caused the superstructure of the *gôpura* to be finished with brick.

This prince Kulaśêkhara has been taken as brother or cousin, of Arikêsari, in the General Introduction.

Text (1)

1. விண்ணுடார் போற்றுந் தென்காசி
2. பொற்கோபுரமீதி. லெங்களண்ணுழ்வி
3. செய்த பணியிப்படி குறையாய்க்கிட-
4. க்கவொண்ணுதெனக் கண்டுயர்ந்த
5. தட்டோடெங்கு மூன்றுவித்தான்
6. மண்ணுரு மாலழகன் குலசேகர மன்னனே (2)

Translation.

The king **Aḷagaṇ Kulaśekhara**, the ruler of the earth, deciding that the work done by his elder brother on the beautiful *gôpura*, which is praised even by the celestials, should not remain thus incomplete, finished it fully with brick.

No. VI. SENGOTTAI INSCRIPTION OR KULASEKHARADEVA *ALIAS* PARAKRAMA PANDYA.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śeṅgôṭṭai. It records the grant of land to the temple by the king. It is dated the Śaka year 1467, which was also the third year of the reign of **Kulaśekharadeva**. The grant was made on a Friday, the Êkdâdaśi *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Arpaśi of the year Viśvâvasu. This king is the paternal uncle of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya and father of Varatuṅgarâma Pâṇḍya. From this record we learn that the initial year of the reign of this king is Ś. 1464.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி [॥ *] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] ஸ்வதெகவீர
2. சஜகஸ்ய வஸீவ கொஜபியவதத [கீ]-
3. ஸ்வரதஸ்துவதி கொநேரின்மைகொண்டான்
4. பெருமாள் சஹிராதவாரதவாண்டு தேவர் நகநரான
5. ஸ்ரீ வெரதரா சகஸ்யொகஸ்தேவரரண வாரதவாண்டு-
6. தேவற்கு யாண்டு ஸகாஷ்டி தசாகஸ்ய ல் மூன்றுவது விஸ்வாவ-
7. ஸ்ய வஷம் அற்பசி தாஸி முப்பதாந்தியதியும் சுவாவ-
8. சுத்து வளாதஸியும் ஸ்ரதுவாரமும் வையதியொத[மு]-
9. ம் ஸிஂஹகாணமும் பெற்ற உத்திரத்துநாள் தென்ன[ரீ]-
10. நாட்டு செங்கோட்டையில் உடையார் குலசே-
11. கரமுடைய நயினுற்கு தேவதானம் பாட்டமாக

(1) From inked impression.

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Metre, கட்டளைக் கலித்துறை.

12. குடித்த நிலம் அரைமாவுக்கு நாம் சேத்துக்குடித்த [2]
13. நிலமாவது மேற்படிநாட்டு மேற்படியூரில்
14. மேற்படியார் அஞ்சாலியில் மேல்வாரம் தவிர்த்து-
15. க்குடித்த குளப்புரவு பதினொன்றுங் கண்ணுறுதடி
16. ஆறு நிலம் அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகை பன்னிரண்-
17. டாங்கண்ணுறு தடி எட்டு நிலம் அரைக்காணி மு-
18. ந்திரிகை பதின்மூன்றுங் கண்ணுறுதடி அஞ்சு
19. நிலம் அரைக்காணி இதுவும் ஆகநிலம் அரைமாவும்
20. நாளது முதலுக்கு நாங்கொள்ளும் முறைபாடு எற்பேற்- [3]
21. பட்டதும் நம்வரியிலார் கணக்கிலும் தவிர்த்து சூவ-
22. ூதாவற் செம்பிலும் சிலையிலும் வெட்டிகை-
23. ய்யாண்டு கொள்ளவும் [॥*] தூயடி [॥*] பாற்க [॥*] இவை
24. . . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Be it well. Hail! Prosperity! In the Śaka year **1467** expired, which was the third year of the reign of **Perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva** *alias* **Kulaśekharadeva**,—the unrivalled hero of the world, the light of the *chandra-kula*, the king Jaṭilavaraman, the lord of the three worlds, Kôṉêriṉmaikoṇḍâṉ,—the son of Perumâḷ Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva; on a Friday corresponding to Êkâdaśi in the dark half and the thirtieth of the month of Arpaśi in the year Viśvâsu, in the Vaidhṛiti *yôga*, Siṁha *karaṇa* and the *Uttarâ-nakshatra*, the king added further grant of lands to those already made to the God Kulaśêkharam-uḍaiyâr of Śeṅgôṭṭai in the Teṉṉâri-nâḍu; they are the tank fed lands (1) of six *taḍis* measuring *araikkâṇi-mundiri*, and situated near the eleventh channel, (2) of eight *taḍis* measuring *araikkâṇi-mundiri*, and situated near the twelfth channel and (3) of five *taḍis* measuring *araikkaṇi*; total, half a *mâ*. The revenue accountants are ordered by the king to note that all taxes due to him from those lands have been abolished. The donee might get this document engraved on stone and copper and enjoy it as long as the moon and stars endure. The word *tulyam*, the royal signature is here engraved. Be it noted: this is the signature of .....

No. VII. TENKASI GOPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION OF NELVELI-MARAN.

The following inscription consists of two verses and is engraved on the south wall of the *gôpura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkâśi. The first verses records the date of the coronation of the king **Vîra-veḷ** *alias* **Nelveli-mâṟaṉ** under the name of **Kulaśekhara Pâṇḍya**. The second states that he wore, (that is received in praise of himself), the garland of *veṇbâs* (a kind of metre) sung by poets, for fear that flower garlands would fade away in the course of time.

On a Monday, the 29th of Chittirai, on the dark half, in the year Paridâpi, **Ś 1474**, in the Mithuna lagna, Rôhiṇi nakshatra, the king was crowned under the name of Kulaśêkhara Pâṇḍya. The prince mentioned in this record is the son of Abhirâma Parâkrama and father of Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha. It was in the name of this king that Ativîrarâma built the temples of Kulaśêkharamuḍaiyâr and of Vishṇu west of the former.

[2] Read சேர்த்துக்கொடுத்த.

[3] Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.

Text (1)

1. ஏறிய சகாத்த மாயிரத்து நாணூற்றெ-
2. ழுபத்தின்ஞலில் (2) வரிழ்சம் பரி-
3. தாபிதனில் (3) மாதங்தேரிய சித்திரை-
4. யிருபத்தொன்பதாகுந்தேதி யிரண்-
5. டாம் பக்கந்திங்களு ரோகணி நாள்
6. வீறுயர்ந்த மிதுனத்து நெல்வேலி-
7. மாறன் வீரவேள் குலசேகரச்செழிய-
8. னென்று சுராராபுனை யகிலேசர்
9. காசியிலே விளங்கவணிமவுலி த-
10. ரித்தனன் பராசர் பணிந்தனரே [|| 1*] (4)
11. ஏடியல் (5) மாலையணிந்தாலும் வாடுமெ-
12. னப்புலவோர் பாடிய வீரவெண்பாமாலை-
13. யைப்பொன்னின் பாண்டியன் போர்தே-
14. டிய வேற்செழியன் குலசேகரத் தென்னனை-
15. ப்போற் சூடிய வேந்தருண்டோ வொருவேந்-
16. தரைச்சொல்லுகிலே [|| 2*] (6) நன்றுக வ

Translation

Verse 1. **Nelveli Mâraṇ** *alias* **Viravel** wore the beautiful crown under the name of **Kulaśekhara Pâṇḍya**, in the presence of the lord of the Universe at Teṇkâśi, on the twenty-ninth of the month Chittirai with the Rôhiṇi nakshatra in the dark half of the same month, in the year Paridâpi, which corresponded with the Śaka year **one thousand four hundred and seventy-four** ; the kings of other countries showed their respect to him on this occasion.

V. 2. Is it possible to mention another king who wore the crown in the manner in which it was done by the king of rare qualities. Kulaśêkhara Pâṇḍya, the wielder of the spear which seeks battles, who, feeling that flower garlands would all fade away, put on a garland of verses in the *veṇbâ* metre sung in praise of him by the poets ? Be it well.

No. VIII. THE TENKASI GOPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION OF SRIVALLABHA.

This single verse is also engraved on the door-post on the south side of the *gôpura*, and records the date of the coronation of **Aḷagaṇ Śivala-veḷ**. It took place on Monday, the 20th of Chittirai of the year Raktâkshi, **Ś 1486.** This day corresponded with the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of that month, the nakshatra being Punarvasu. The king is the well known Ativirarâma Pâṇḍya of literary fame.

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(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Read ○ ழுபத்து நாலில், வருஷம்

(3) Read ○ தன்னில்

(4) Metre, எண்சீர்க்கழி நெடிலடியாசிரியவிருத்தம்

(5) Read ஏடியன்○

(6) Metre, கட்டளைகலித்துறை.

Text (1)

1. சகன்கால மாயிரத்து நாணூற்றெ-
2. ண்பத்தாறிற் சலதிசூழ்ந்த செக-
3. ங்காண விரத்தாக்கி சித்திரை-
4. யிலிருபதாந் தேதி வேந்தர்
5. புகழ்ந்தேவல் செயப்பூறுவ-
6. திதியாறில் முதல் வாரம் புணர்-
7. பூசத்திற் சுகந்தாதி புனையழகன்
8. சீவலவேளென மகுடஞ்சூடினனே (2)

Translation.

Aḷagaṉ who revels in perfumes etc., wore the crown in the presence, of all the people under the name of **Śivalavel**, on the first day of the week, the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight and the twentieth of the month of Chittirai, in the year Raktâkshin corresponding to the Śaka year **one thousand four hundred and eighty-six.**

No. IX. ŚRÎVILLIPUTTÛR PLATES OF ABHIRAMA PÂṆḌYA ŚAKA SAMVAT 1474.

This copper-plate document belongs to a Śrîvaishṇava Brâhmaṇa of *pûrva śikha* sect residing at Śrîvilliputtûr in the Tinnevelly District. During my visit to that place four years ago he presented it to me for publication and from the impressions of the plates prepared under my supervision, I now edit the inscription.

The record is engraved on a set of three copper plates. Though each of them has a hole on its top, the plates are not bound together by a ring. The rims are neither raised nor thickened, but still the inscription on the plates is in an excellent state of preservation. The letters are cut deeply and neatly on both sides of the plates and on the top of the first side of the second and third plates the Tamil numerals *two* and *three* are engraved. At the end of the record is found the single word *tulyam* written in a rather bigger type than the rest of the writing.

The alphabet employed is throughout *granṭha* of the period to which the document belongs. Excepting a few short prose passages such as *tebruvan* in *l.* 33, from *adhi* in *l.* 55 to *agrahâra-makarôt* in *l.* 67, &c., the rest of the record is written in Sanskrit verse.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities which deserve to be noted. The *visarga* is represented in most cases by what resembles a final *m*. In fact it is only from the context one has to make out that it is the symbol of *visarga* and not of the final *m*: e. g., in *pravîṇaḥ* occurring in *l.* 11, in *vikhaṇḍitârih* in *l.* 13, in *kîrttih* in *l.* 20, in *babhûvuh* in *l.* 23, in *vibhuh* in *l.* 32; Compare these *visarga* symbols with the final *m* in *dharmmâṇâm* in *l.* 19. The letter *pa* and some of its secondary forms resemble *cha* and its secondary forms, e. g., in *prâpta*° occurring in *l.* 8, *prachaṇḍa*° in *l.* 11, *vidvân* in *l.* 73. Other minor peculiarities are noted in footnotes attached to the text.

The record belongs to the reign of a Pâṇḍya king named **Abhirâma Pâṇḍya.** He is said to be the son and grandson respectively of **Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya** and **Abhirâma Pâṇḍya.** In the Śaka year **1474** denoted by the chronogram *Vâsivandya*, corresponding to the cyclic year *Virôdhakṛit*, in the *Uttarâyana*, in the *Hêmantaṛitu*, when the sun was in *Makara*, in the dark fortnight, on a new-moon *tithi*, combined with *Nâga-karaṇa* and *Vyatîpâta*, when the moon was in the constellation of *Śṛavaṇa*, on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse, king Abhirâma

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Metre, அறுசீர்க்கழிநெடிலடியாசிரிய விருத்தம்.

Pâṇḍya made the village of **Kshirârjunapura** into an *agrahâra* named **Parâkrama Pâṇḍya-pura.** The new name seems to have been conferred on it after the name of the king's father and would appear to have been already granted to the *brâhmaṇas* by one of his predecessors.

The three kings mentioned in this document, Abhirâma, his son Parâkrama and his son Abhirâma are identical with Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, the brother of Âhavarâma; his son Parâkrama; and his son was Varatuṅgarâma, who we know from other records (No. XII) was known before his coronation by the names Abhirâma and Abhirâma-Sundarêśvara.

I am not able to identify Kshîrâjunapura regranted by this king. Evidently it is the translation of some Tamil name such as Pâlmarudu, &c., and it is very difficult to guess the original name from its translation. Malli is the same as Malli in the Śrîvilliputtûr Tâlûka of the Tinnevelly District.

TEXT.[1]

First Plate: First Side.

1. शुभमस्तु[॥*]
2. विबुधमकुटरत्नप्रोल्लसत्-
3. पंकजाघ्रि[2] र्ब्विधिसुरशतमन्युस्तू-[3]
4. यमानप्रतापः। जलदविमलनी-
5. लो जन्हु[4]कन्याधरेशो जय-
6. तु जगतीं[5] जेता जानकि[6] जानिरे-
7. षः ।[। १*][7] बन्तीकृता[8] येन वलाह-
8. काश्च संस्थापितम[9] मीनयुगं
9. सुमेरौ। प्राप्तम्मघोनः क-
10. नाकासनार्द्धं स पाण्ड्यराजो
11. जयतु प्रवीणः ।[। २*][10] शशास पा-
12. ण्ड्ये[11] ष्वभीरामपाण्डचः[12] प्रचण्ड-
13. दोर्द्दण्डविखण्डितारिः [।*] मत्स्य-
14. ध्वजो मन्मथ येव[13] भूमीम् वसुन्ध-
15. रा भूरपि येन सार्त्था ।[। ३*][14] अज-

1. From inked impressions prepared by me.
2. Read ०जाङ्घि०.
3. स्तू looks like स्त्र.
4. More correctly हु.
5. Read जगति.
6. Read ०कीजा०
7. Metre मालिनी.
8. Read बन्दी०.
9. Read ०स्थापितं०.
10. Metre उपजातिः.
11. The secondary e of ण्ड्ये is in the previous line.
12. Read ०भिरा०.
13. Read एव भूमिं.
14. Metre उपजातिः.

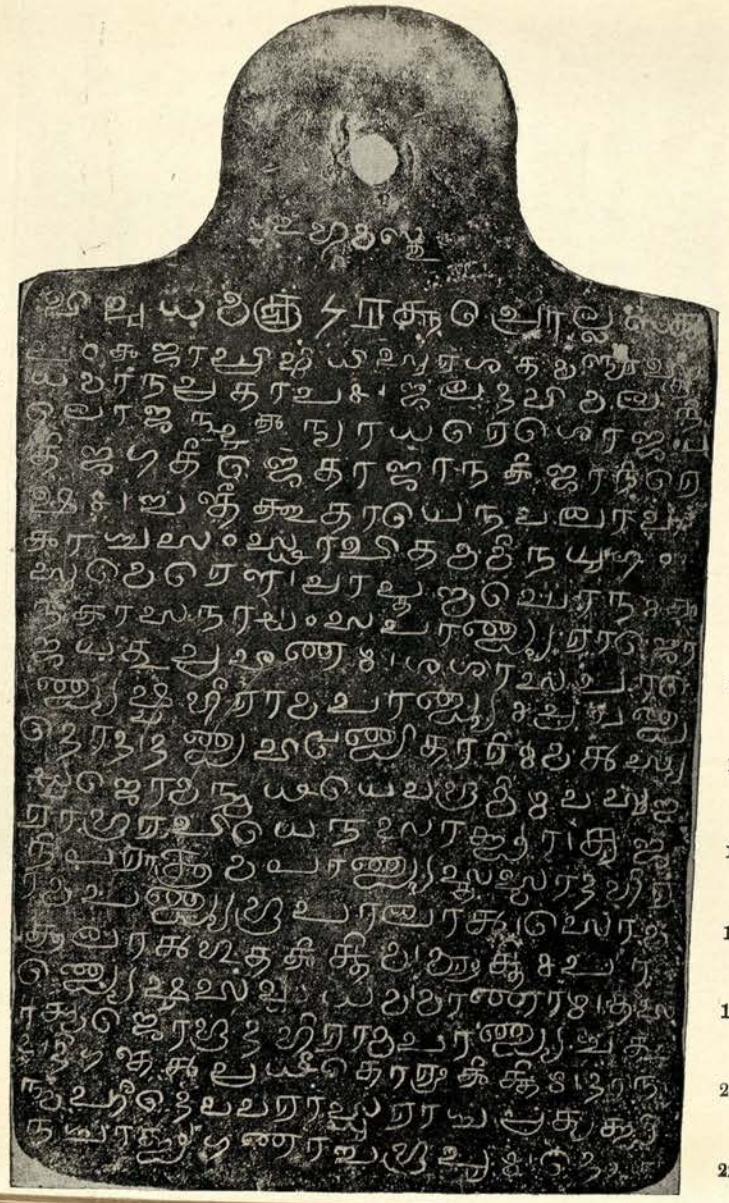
16. नि पराक्रमपाण्ड्यस्तस्मादभिरा-[15]
17. मप[ा*]ण्ड्यभूपालात् । सोम-
18. कुलात्[16] भुतकिर्त्तिमंमूर्त्तिः पा-
19. ण्ड्येषु सर्व्वधर्म्माणाम् ।[। ४*][17] तसा[18]
20. त्मजोभूदभिरामपाण्ड्यश्चतु-
21. र्दिगन्त(त्) प्रथीतोरुकीर्त्तिः[19] । दाना-
22. न्महीदेववरास्सुराश्च प्रत्य[र्थि]-
23. नश्चर्त्थगणा बभुवुः ।[। ५*][20] दे[वा·].

First Plate: Second Side.

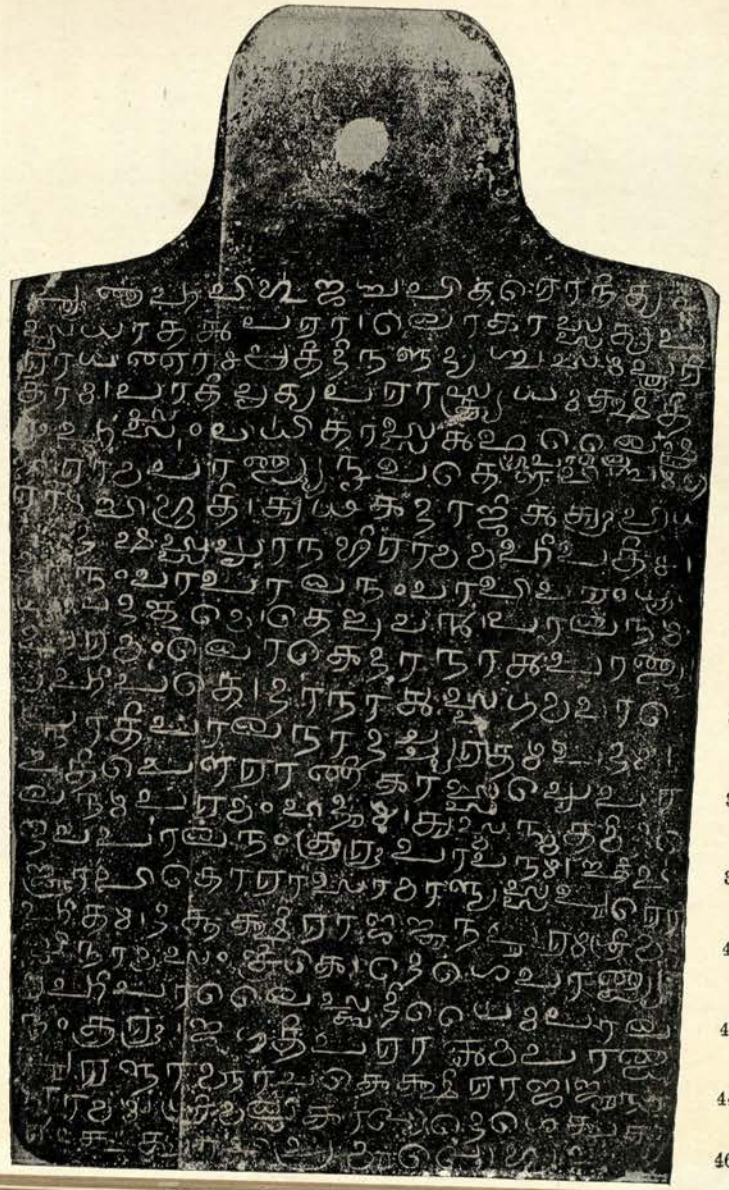
24. पूर्णहविर्भुजश्च पितरो नीत्यं
25. स्फधातत्परा[21](।) लोकास्सत्यप-
26. रायणाः प्रतिदिनन्नद्यश्च सम्पूरि-
27. ताः । पातिवृत्यपरास्त्र्ययः[22] क्षिति-
28. [रु]हस्संवर्धितास्सत्पलै [23]भूपाले [24]प्व-
29. [भि]रामपाण्ड्यनृपतौ विश्वम्भ
30. राम् बिभ्रति ।[। ६*][25] अथ कदाजित्[26] आहू-
31. य[विदु]षस्सर्व्वानभिरामम्महीपतिः ।
32. [दा]नं वा पालनं वापि वरं यू-
33. [यं]वदन्तु मे ।[। ७*][27] ते[ब्रु]वन् । पालनं
34. परमं लोके दानात् पाण्ड्य-
35. महीपते । दानात् स्वर्गमवा-
36. प्नोति[28] पालनाद्च्युतं[29] पदम् ।[। ८*][30]
37. इति पौराणिकास्सर्व्वे पा-
38. लनम् परमं विदुः । अस्मन्मतमिद-

15. The secondary *a* of राम is in the next line.
16. Read ०द्भुतकीर्त्तिर्म्मू०.
17. Metre आर्या.
18. Read तस्या०. The secondary *a* of सा is the next line.
19. Read ०प्रथितो०.
20. Read ०र्त्थिगणा०. Metre उपजातिः.
21. Read ०नित्यं स्वधा०.
22. Read ०व्रत्यपरास्त्रिय ०.
23. Read ०फलैर्भू०.
24. The letters भूपाले० are engraved below the line.
25. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
26. Read कदाचित्.
27. From आहूय the Metre is श्लोक.
28. The secondary *e* symbol of प्रो is in the previous line.
29. च्यु is written like च्चर.
30. From पालनं the Metre is श्लोक.

I. a.



I. b.



Srivilliputtur Plates of Abhirama Pandya

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0·8

HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

39. न्देव[31] पालनं कुरु पावनम् ।[। ९*][32] इति वि
40. ज्ञापितो रा[जा*]सामान्यस्सपुरो·[33]
41. हितः । दत्तक्षीरार्जुनपुरम्[34] श्रीम-
42. ह्लीनाम[35] संन्त्रिके ।[। १०*][36] देशे पाण्ड्य-
43. महीपालैस्त्वदीयैः पाल-
44. नं कुरु ।[। ११*][37] जगति पराक्रमपाण्डच-
45. पुरन्नाम्ना चक्रे[38] क्षीरार्ज्जुनग्रा[39]
46. (ा)मम् । श्रीमल्लिकारूयदेशे त्वक
47. रं कृत्वा विप्रमुख्येभ्य[:] ।[। १२*][40]

Second Plate: First Side.

48. मधुरामार्गप[र्य्य]न्तम् प्राच्याम्
49. सीमाविनिर्ण्णयः । काळीमद्धचत-
50. टाकान्तं याम्ये सीमाविनीर्ण्ण[य]: ।[। १३*][41]
51. त(त्)त्तटाकाम्बुगमनम् प्रति [42]
52. च्यान्देशनीर्ण्णयः[43] श्रीदेविवा-
53. रिनील[44] यमुदीच्यान्देशनिर्ण्णयः ।[। १४*][45]
54. एवं सीमासमो पेतमग्रहा-[46]
55. रं प्रकल्पितम् [१९*][47] अधि[48] [49]कदाचिदा-[50]
56. त्रेयगोत्रोत्[51]भवश्चन्द्र-
57. कुलप्रदीपः पराक्रमपा[ण्ड्य]-
58. नन्दनोयमभिरामपाण्ड्यनृ-
59. पतिर्व्वासिवन्ध्यशकाब्दे विरो-[52]

31. The secondary *e* of **देव** in the previous line.
32. Metre **श्लोक**.
33. Read **सामान्य०**.
34. Read **०र्ज्जुन०**.
35. Read **संज्ञके**.
36. Metre **श्लोक**.
37. Metre **श्लोक**. This is a half verse.
38. Read **चक्रे**.
39. The secondary *a* of **ग्रा** is in the next line.
40. Metre, irregular, resembling **आर्या**.
41. Read **०विनिर्ण्ण०**. Metre **श्लोक**.
42. Read **प्रतीच्यां**.
43. Read **निर्ण्णयः**.
44. Read **०निलय०**.
45. Metre **श्लोक**.
46. The secondary *a* of **हा** is in the previous line.
47. A half **श्लोक**.
48. Read **अथ**
49. The letters **०चिदा०** are engraved over **०त्रे०**.
50. The secondary *a* of the letter **दा** is in the next line.
51. Read **०द्भव०**.
52. The secondary *a* of the letter **रो** is in the next line.

60. धकृत्संवत्मरे चोत्त-
61. रायने[53] हेमन्तर्त्तौ मकरं ग-
62. ते पतंगेप्यपरपक्षे(त्)
63. त्वमावास्यायां नागकरणव्य
64. तदीपात[54]संयुक्ते श्रीविष्णुभे
65 सुर्य्य[55]ग्रहणपुण्यकाले क्षी-
66. राजुनु[56]पुरप्रतिनामपराक्रम-
67. पाण्ड्यपुरमग्रहा[57]रमकरोत्-[58]
68. कौण्डिन्यगोत्रजस्तत्रत्यापस्त [59]
69. बी च तिम्मय[:*](ा)[।*] अनन्ताचा[र्य्य]तनये[60] वृ-
70. त्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ।[। १६*][61]

Second Plate: Second Side.

71. श्रीबोधायनसूत्री च शालाव
72. तकुलोत्भवः । मालादायिसु-
73. तोप्येकां सुन्दरो वृत्तिमश्नु-
74. ते ।[। १७*][62] गविष्ठरगोत्र च [63]विद्वान् बो-
75. ध[।*]यनसूत्री वटमहद्धामा मालादा-[64]
76. यिसुतोयम् वृत्तिञ्चैकामिहा-[65]
77. श्नुते नित्यम् ।[। १८*][66] श्रीबोधायनसू-
78. [त्री*] च वाच्यजो वनशैलकः । श-
79. टकोपात्मज[67]श्रीमा[न्*] वृत्तिमेकामि-
80. हाश्नुते ।[। १९*][68] आश्वलायनसुत्री च-[69]
81. कप्यांगीरसगोत्रजः । सुन्दरां-
82. स सुन्दरजो वृत्तिद्वयमिहाश्नुते ।[। २०*][70]

53. Read ०त्तरायणे.
54. Read व्यतीपात०.
55. Read सूर्य०.
56. Read ०र्जुन०.
57. र of पुर is engraved below the line.
58. Prose passage begins from अधि in line 55 and end here.
59. Read ०स्तम्बी०.
60. Read ०तनयो.
61. Metre श्लोक.
62. Metre श्लोक.
63. Read ०गोत्री०.
64. The secondary *a* of दा is in the next line.
65. The secondary *a* of हा is in the next line.
66. Metre irregular: resembles आर्या.
67. Read शठको पात्मजः.
68. Metre श्लोक.
69. Read सूत्री.
70. Metre श्लोक. The vertical line is at the beginning of the next line.

83. श्रीबोधायनसुत्री[71] शाल[।*]वतकु-
84. ल श्रीनिवासोयम् । नारायणसु-
85. तोयम् वृत्तिश्चैकामिहा[श्नु]-
86. ते नित्यम् ।[। २१*][72] अ[।*]श्वलायनसुत्रीच[73] का-
87. श्यपी भूसुरोत्तमः । मालादा[यि]
88. [सु]तो रामो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नु-
89. ते ।[। २२*][74] [आ]श्वलायनसूत्री च कण्यं[।*] गिर-
90. सगो(।)त्रजः । सुन्दरेशो नन्द-
91. पुत्रो वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ।[। २३*][75]
92. भारद्वाजकुलोत्भूतो जयि[76]
93. मिनीरणरंगजः । ईश्वरो विप्र[मु]-
94. ख्यश्च वृत्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते ।[। २४*][77]

Third Plate: First Side.

95. आश्वलायनसूत्री च हरितान्व-[78]
96. यसम्भवः । [79]अनतात्मजरंगेशो[80]
97. वृत्तिद्वयमिहाश्नुते ।[। २५*][81] आश्वलाय-
98. नसूत्री च विश्वामित्रकुलोत्भवः
99. नारायणः कृष्णसुतो वृत्ति-
100. [82]मेकामिहाश्नुते । [। २६*][83] आश्वलायन
101. सूत्री च काश्यपी तिम्मयात्मजः ।
102. अन्नमरस इति श्रीमान्वृत्तिद्वयमिहा[84]
103. श्नुते । [। २७*][85] कौण्डिन्न्यगोत्रजः
104. स्तत्रत्यापरस्तम्बी[86]प्यनन्तय [:।] ति-
105. म्मयार्य्यसुतो विद्वान्वृत्तिमे

71. Read ०सूत्री
72. Metre आर्या.
73. Read ०सूत्री०.
74. Metre श्लोक.
75. Metre श्लोक.
76. Read जैमिनी०.
77. Metre श्लोक.
78. The letter न्व looks like श्व.
79. Read अनन्ता०.
80. The secondary *a* of शो is in the next line.
81. Metre श्लोक.
82. The secondary *e* of मे is in the previous line.
83. Metre श्लोक.
84. The secondary *a* of हा s in the next line.
85. Metre श्लोक.
86. Read ०ऽप्य०.

106. कामिहाश्नुते । [। २८*][87] काश्यपान्व[य]-
107. सम्भूतः श्रीकात्यायनसूत्रवान् ।[88]
108. नागयात्मजनृसय्यो वृत्तिमेका-
109. मिहाश्नुते । [। २९*][89] कौण्डिन्न्यान्न्वय-
110. सञ्जातः निबोधायनसूत्रवान् ।
111. कुलशेखरः[90]पत्मजोसौ बृ
112. त्तिमेकामिहाश्नुते[91] । [। ३०*] आ[श्व]ला-[92]
113. यनसूत्री च कश्यपस्य च गोत्र-
114. जः । वृत्तिमेकां वनाद्रीशपुत्रो-
115. नारायणा[93]श्रते । [। ३१*][94] आश्वलायन-
116. सूत्रि च[95] गामगायनगोत्रजः । सौ-[96]
117. म्यपुत्रो वेंकटेशो वृत्ति
118. द्वयम् [97] हाश्नुते[98] । [। ३२*]

Third Plate : Second Side.

119. दानपालनयोर्म्मध्ये
120. दानात् श्रेयोनुपालन-
121. म् । दा[ना*]त् सर्गम[99]वाप्नोति पा-
122. लनाद्च्च[100]तम् पटम्[101] । [। ३३*] स्वदत्त[ा*]त्
123. द्वि[102] क्रणम् पण्ण्यम्[103] परदत्ता-
124. नुपालनम् [।*] परदत्तापहा-
125. रेण स्वदत्तम् निष्फलम् भवे-
126. त्[104]। [। ३४*] मञ्जुपुं । [। ॥][105] उदयदिवाकरनामा मु-

87. Metre श्लोक.
88. The vertical line inserted here is in the beginning of the next line.
89. Metre श्लोक.
90. Read पद्म०.
91. Metre श्लोक.
92. The secondary *a* of ला is at the beginning of the next line.
93. Read ०णोश्नुते.
94. Metre श्लोक.
95. Read सूत्री च.
96. The secondary *au* of सौ is in the next line.
97. Read ०मिहा०.
98. Metre श्लोक.
99. Read स्वर्ग०.
100. Read ०दच्यु०.
101. Read पदम्. Metre श्लोक.
102. Read ०गुणम्.
103. Read पुण्यम्.
104. Metre श्लोक.
105. Written in Tamil characters.

III. a.

III. b.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0.8

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127. [106] तृगलगोत्र्याश्वलायनसूत्री च [।*]

128. यज्ञनारायण सुतो वृत्तिमिहै[107]-

129. कां समश्नुते ग्रामे[108] ।[। ३९*]

130. तुल्यम.

Abridged Translation.

May happiness be!

Supreme is this victorious (Râma) in the world, whose wife is Jânaki, who is the lord of the bearer of Jahnu's daughter (Śiva) and of the earth, pure blue in complexion like a cloud, whose lotus-like feet are illuminated by the gems in the diadems of the gods and whose glory is praised by Brahman, Śiva and Indra.

May that able Pâṇḍya king by whom even the clouds were imprisoned, by whom the two fish were set on the holy Mêru, and by whom was obtained a half of the golden seat of Indra, be supreme.

Among the Pâṇḍyas, there ruled over the earth (the king) Abhîrâma Pâṇḍya, vanquisher of his foes by the prowess of his stalwart arms, (1) fish-bannered and therefore appearing like the god of love, by whom the appellation, "bearer of wealth," of the earth was rendered significant.

From that king Abhîrâma Pâṇḍya was born Parâkrâma-Pâṇḍya, of unique fame in the lunar race, the embodiment of all the virtues of the Pâṇḍyas.

His son was Abhîrâma Pâṇḍya whose great fame spread to the farthest ends of the four quarters of the globe, and by whose munificence, the best *Brâhmaṇas*, and gods, and even enemies became hosts of mendicants.

While, among kings, king Abhîrâma Pâṇḍya was ruling the earth, the gods ate oblations in full, the *manes* were always busy with the funeral offerings (made to them), the people were devoted to truth, the rivers were on all days in flood, women were devoted to chastity and trees abounded in good fruits.

Then, at one time:

Summoning all the wise men, the king Abhîrâma (said): "Tell me whether gift or protection is the better."

They said:

"Protection is better in this world, O Pâṇḍya-king, than gift. By gift, one attains heaven, (but) by protection the imperishable (immortal) state."

"Thus all the men versed in the *purâṇas* have declared protection to be supreme. This, O king, is our view. Render thou protection which is purifying."

Being exhorted as follows, in the company of his ministers and priests: "Do thou protect the town of Kshîrârjuna in the country named Śrî-Malli, granted by your ancestors, the Pâṇḍya kings," he made the village of Kshîrârjuna in the country of Śrî-Malli, known in the world by the name of Parâkrâma-Pâṇḍya-pura, having granted it free of tax to the chief *Brâhmaṇas*.

The road to Madura was fixed as the boundary on the east. The middle tank of Kâḷî was fixed as the boundary on the south. The channel of that tank was fixed as the boundary on the west. The tank of Śrî Dêvî was fixed as the boundary on the north. Thus was the *agrahâra*

106. Read मुद्गल०.

107. The secondary *ai* symbols of है are in this line, and है is at the beginning of the next line.

108. Metre आर्या.

(1) Literally 'club-like arms'.

settled with (these) boundaries. Then at one time, this king Abhîrâma Pâṇḍya, son of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, born of the Atrêya *gôtra*, the light of the lunar race, made into an *agrahâra* this Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya-pura otherwise known as Kshîrârjunapura, in the Śaka year (1474) denoted by (the chronogram) *Vâsivandya*, corresponding to the (cyclic) year Virôdhakrit, in the Uttarâyaṇa, in the *hêmanta-ṛitu*, when the sun was in *capricornus*, in the dark fortnight, on a new-moon day combined with *nâga-karaṇa* and *vyatîpâta*, (when the moon was) in the constellation of Vishṇu's star (Śravaṇa), on the auspicious occasion of a solar eclipse.

(Here follows the distribution of shares) :—

No.	Names of the Donees	Father's Names	Gôtras	Sûtras	Shares
1	Timmayya ...	Anantâchârya ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Âpastambha ...	1
2	Sundara ...	Mâlâdâyi (2) ...	Sâlâvata ...	Bôdhâyana ...	1
3	Vaṭamahaddhâmâ (3) ...	Mâlâdâyi ...	Gavishṭra ...	Do. ...	1
4	Sundarâmsa (4) ...	Sundara ...	Kapyâṅgîrasa...	Âśvalâyana ...	2
5	Vanaśailaka ...	Śaṭhakôpa ...	Vâchya ...	Bôdhâyana ...	1
6	Śrînivâsa ...	Nârâyaṇa ...	Śâlâvata ...	Do. ...	1
7	Râma ...	Mâlâdâyi ...	Kâśyapa ...	Âśvalâyana ...	1
8	Sundarêsâ ...	Nanda ...	Kapyâṅgîrasa...	Do. ...	1
9	Îśvara ...	Raṇaraṅga ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Jaimini ...	1
10	Raṅgêśa ...	Ananta ...	Harita ...	Âśvalâyana ...	2
11	Nârâyaṇa ...	Kṛishṇa ...	Viśvâmitra ...	Do. ...	1
12	Annamarasa ...	Timmaya ...	Kâśyapa ...	Do. ...	2
13	Anantaya ...	Timmayârya ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Âpastambha ...	1
14	Nṛisayya ...	Nâgaya ...	Kâśyapa ...	Kâtyâyaṇa ...	1
15	Kulaśêkhara ...	Padma ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Ni-Bôdhâyana(5)	1
16	Nârâyaṇa ...	Vanâdrîśa ...	Kâśyapa ...	Âśvalâyana ...	1
17	Vêṅkaṭêśa ...	Saumya ...	Gâmagâyana ...	Do. ...	2
18	Udayadivâkara ...	Yajñanârâyaṇa ...	Mudgala ...	Do. ...	1
			Total number of shares ...		22

Here follow the usual imprecatory verses and the word *tulyam* at the end of the plate.

(2) Malâdâyi is the same as Tirumâlaiyaṇdâṇ, a surname of Periyâlvâr.

(3) This is the Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil name Vaḍaperuṇ = kôyil = uḍaiyâṇ, the name of the deity a Śrivilliputtûr.

(4) This is the Sanskrit equivalent of Sundarattôluḍaiyân, the name of the god of Alagarkôyil.

(5) Apparently *bôdhâyana*, but the syllable *ni* is necessary for the metre.

NO. X. THE TENKAŚI GOPURAM INSCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION OF VIRA PAṆḌYA.

This inscription consisting of five verses is engraved on the door-post on the north side of the ruined *gôpura* in front of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi. The first verse says that **Abhirâma** crowned himself under the name of **Vira Pâṇḍya.** The second verse is what is called *kuḍai-maṅgalam* in Tamiḷ literature ; it is the praise of the king's umbrella. The third is *vâḷ-maṅgalam*, the praise of the king's sword. The fourth verse gives the date of the coronation of the king as the **Kali** year **4689.** The last verse gives us the name of the poet who composed these verses ; he was Kaliyaṇ-kavirâyaṇ of Kâśi (Teṇkâśi). The king mentioned in this record is Varatuṅgarâma. See Ext. 25. in the General Introduction.

Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstri misreading the last verse, states that the king Abhirâma granted the three villages Âṇamaṅgalam, Kuḍaimaṅgalam and Vâṇamaṅgalam to Kâśikkaliyaṇ Kavirâyaṇ. From a study of Tolkâppiyam, Poruḷ-adigâram, Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, Sûtra 68 and the commentary thereon, it will become quite patent to any one that these are not the names of villages, as Mr. Śâstri has taken them to be, but praises of the day of coronation, the umbrella and the sword of the king. Again the name of the person whom Mr. Sâstri has taken to be the donee is not Kâśikkaliyaṇ Kavirâyaṇ ; it is a compound meaning Kaliyaṇ, a poet of Kâśi (Teṇkâśi).

Text [1]

1. சீர்கொண்ட செங்கமலை-
2. வாழத்திரையாடைப்-
3. பார்கொண்ட வாள்-
4. வீரபாண்டிய னென்-
5. றேர்கொண்ட காணுலா-
6. மாலைக்கனக மகுடம்
7. பூணைந்தான் மானவேலா-
8. னபிராமன் ஒ [|| 1*] சேணுலவு-
9. வெண்டிங்கட் செல்வ-
10. னெனத்தண்ணென்று நீணில-
11. மோரேழுநிழற்றுமே பேணி-
12. வந்து பூவேந்த ரேத்தும்
13. புகழ் வீரபாண்டியனங்-
14. கோவேந்தன் கொற்றக்குடை [|| 2*]
15. பற்றலர் மண் கொள்ளும்
16. பணிந்தார்க்கரசளிக்கு-
17. ங்கொற்ற முயர்க்கும் வில்-
18. லவனி வென்றுகொண்ட
19. வீரமாறன் செழியன் வல்ல-
20. மெறிந்தானெந்து வாள் ஒ [|| 3*]

[1] From inked impressions.

21. நண்புற்றெதிர்ந்த கலி நாலாயிரத்தறு நூற்-
22. றெண்பத்தொன்பானிலிருங்கடல் சூழ்மண்-
23. பெற்று மின்னு மகுடம் புனைந்தான் வேல்-
24. வீரமாறனென மன்னவர் கோமானபிராமன் [|| 4*]
25. கற்றுணர்ந்தோன் காசிக்கலியன் கவிராயன்
26. மற்றடந்தோள் வேல்வீரமாறனுக்குச் சொற்-
27. புனைந்தாணண் மங்கலமுரைத்து குடை-
28. மங்கலமும் வாண்மங்கலமும் வகுத்து [|| 5*] (2)

Translation.

Verse. I. The wielder of the noble spear, **Abhirâma**, wore the superior garland of (forest) flowers and the golden crown under the name of **Vira Pâṇḍya**, who took the ocean-girt earth, in order that the dweller in the red lotus flower (the goddess Lakshmi) of great splendour, might flourish.

V. 2. The victorious umbrella of the king of kings, the famous Vîra Pâṇḍya, who is praised by the kings of this earth who desirously come (for this purpose), casts its cool shade on the seven worlds, like the dear white Moon, who wanders in the sky.

V. 3. The sword borne by the Pâṇḍya, Vîra-Mâṟaṉ, who conquered the **Villavaṉ** (the Chêra) and fought a battle at **Vallam**, would take away the kingdom of his enemies and restore them to those who bow before him.

V. 4. The king of kings, Abhirâma, having got the earth surrounded by the vast sea, wore the resplendent crown, under the name of Vîra Mâṟaṉ, the wielder of the spear, in the auspicious Kali year **four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine.**

V. 5. The learned Kaliyaṉ the poet of Kâśi composed for Vîra Mâṟaṉ of strong and broad shoulders, the *nâṉ-maṅgalam*, the praiseworthy *kuḍai-maṅgalam* and *vâṉ-maṅgalam* separately.

(2). About *nâḷ-maṅgalam*, *kuḍai-maṅgalam* and *vâḷ-maṅgalam*, see Tolkâppiyam, Poruḷadigâram, Puṟattiṇaiyiyal, sûtra 68;

"*Kuḍaiyum vâḷum nâḷ-kôḷaṉṟi* ... ... " is the sûtra: the commentary on this gives much valuable information. Also compare Puṟapporuḷ-Veṇbâmâlai, Vañjippaḍalam, sûtras 3-4 and their illustrative verses. Metre of verses 1-5, வெண்பா.

NO. XI. DALAVÂY AGRAHÂRAM PLATES OF VARATUṆGARÂMA PÂṆḌYA, ŚAKA SAMVAT 1504.

This set of copper plates as also others belong to one Anantâchârya of the Daḷavây-agrahâram street, Madura, and they were kindly secured for me by Mr. Kuppa Rao of Dâḍikkombu. From the excellent impressions prepared under the supervision of my friend Mr. M. K. Nârâyaṇasâmi Ayyar, B.A., B.L., High Court Vakil, Madras, I now edit them.

In this set of copper plates the legendary genealogy is first begun as usual. Pâṇḍya was the first of the race of kings who went by that name ; he engraved the *makara-dhvaja*, which became the family banner in later times, on the mount Mêru. Malayadhvaja is next mentioned ; for his sake, Gaṅga (the Ganges) flowed near Vṛishâchala (Aḷagarmalai near Madura). In this lineage was born Sundara Pâṇḍya, who took the crowns of the Chêra and Chôḷa and covered the temple (of Raṅganâtha) at Śrîraṅgam with gold. To this line belonged Ugra. He broke the crown of Indra. Thus far the legendary history. It might be observed that even the historical king Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya whose inscription recording the fact of his having covered with gold the central shrine of the Raṅganâtha temple at Srîraṅgam is engraved in the temple, has become a legendary personality at the time of this record. It is also curious that Ugra the earliest Pâṇḍya is mentioned after Sundara Pâṇḍya.

In the regular pedigree of the later Pâṇḍyas the first to be mentioned is Śrîvallabha who saw the '*tâmra rêkha*' in the sea. The next is Abhîrâma Pâṇḍya. His son was Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya. This latter had two sons, Guṇarâma and Varatuṅgarâma. The latter is reputed to have made several *dânas* and made gifts to a number of temples.

On Wednesday, the Chaturdaśi of the dark half of the month Mâgha in the year Chitrabhânu, **Śaka 1504**, expressed by the chronogram **'bhanurmanya,'** the king **Varatungarama** granted, in the presence of the god Vâmadêva, in the temple of Karamarddêśvara, the village of Muruganêri, to Chandraśêkhara, son of Chokkappa Paṇḍita, a medical doctor.

The names of places mentioned in the inscription are, Muruganêri, Śeṅguḷam, Naḍayanêri, Gôpînâthagiri and Śâlâlappaṭṭi, and Śeṅguḍinâḍu. Naḍayanêri and Seṅguḷam are in the Śrîvilliputtûr Tâlûka of the Tinnevelly district. The other places are not identifiable.

Text.[1]

First Plate: Second Side.

1. हरिः ओम् [॥*] शुभमस्तु [॥*] गोपाये-
2. दनिशञ्चगान्त कुहनापोत्री प-
3. वित्रीकृतब्रह्माण्डम्[2] प्रळयो[3]
4. र्म्मिघोषगुरुभिर्घोणा[4]-
5. रवैर्बुधैः । यद्-
6. ष्ट्रांकुर[5] कोटिगाढघटनानि-
7. ष्कम्पनित्यस्थिति ब्रह्मस्तम्ब-

1. From impressions supplied by Mr. M. K. Narayanasami Ayyar, B.A., B.L.
2. Read ब्रह्माण्डं.
3. The third member of यो is at the beginning of the next line.
4. Read प्रळयोर्मिघोषगुरुभिर्घोणारवै०.
5. Read ०ष्ट्राङ्कुर०.

8. मसौ दसौ भगवती मस्ते-
9. व[6] विश्वम्भरा[7] ।[।१*][7a] श्रियः पतिः पा-
10. तुवराहमूर्त्तीं [:*] श्रियन्द्विती-
11. यामिव मेदिनीन्ताम् । निजांकमा[8]-
12. रोप्य तया प्रसन्न[:*] श्रियं
13. समग्रा[9] मनिशन्ददन्नः [॥ २*][10] हरे-
14. ह्लीला[11] वराहस्य दंष्ट्रा-
15. दण्डस्स पातु नः । हेमा-
16. द्रिकलशा यत्र धात्रीश्छ-[12]
17. त्रश्रियन्दधौ ।[। ३*] कल्याणाया-
18. स्तु तद्धाम प्रत्यूहतिमिरापः-
19. हम् । यदनुग्रहभाजेदं हरि-
20. णा रक्ष्यते जगत् ।[। ४*][13] अस्ति प्रश-
21. स्तो भुवने शशीति राजा द्वि-
22. जानामपि चौषधीनाम् [।*]
23. जीवन्ति जीवप्रमुखामराद्या-
24. स्सुधामग्राद्यस्य करप्रभा-
25. वात् ।[। ५*] (तदन्वते पा)-

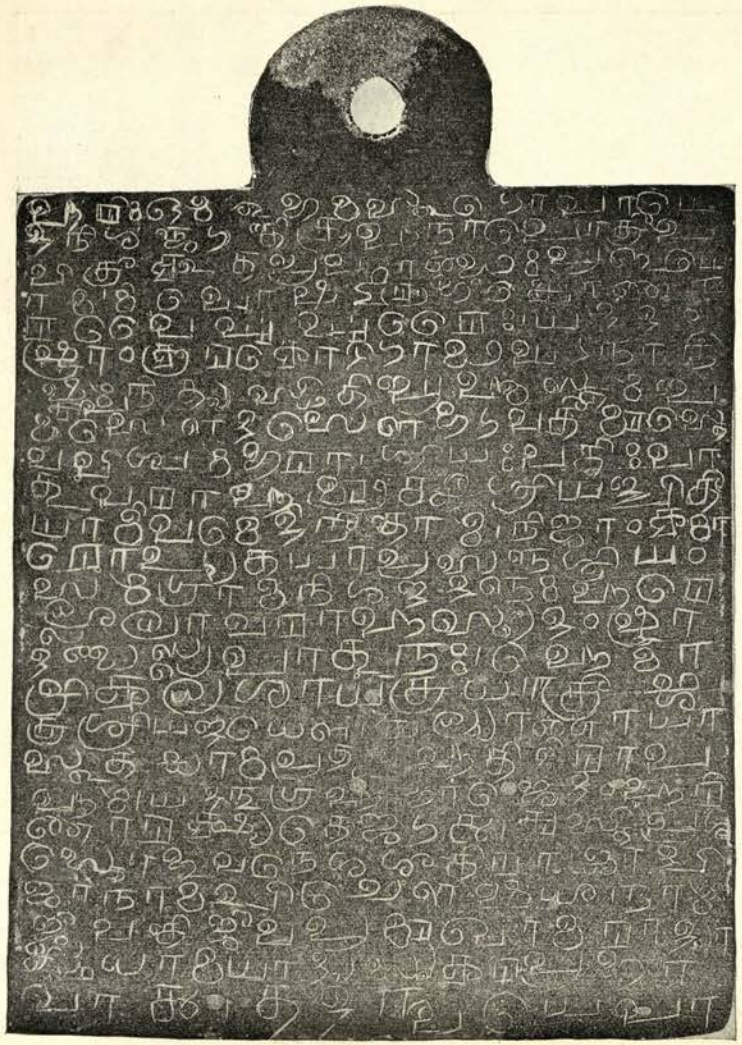
Second Plate : First Side.

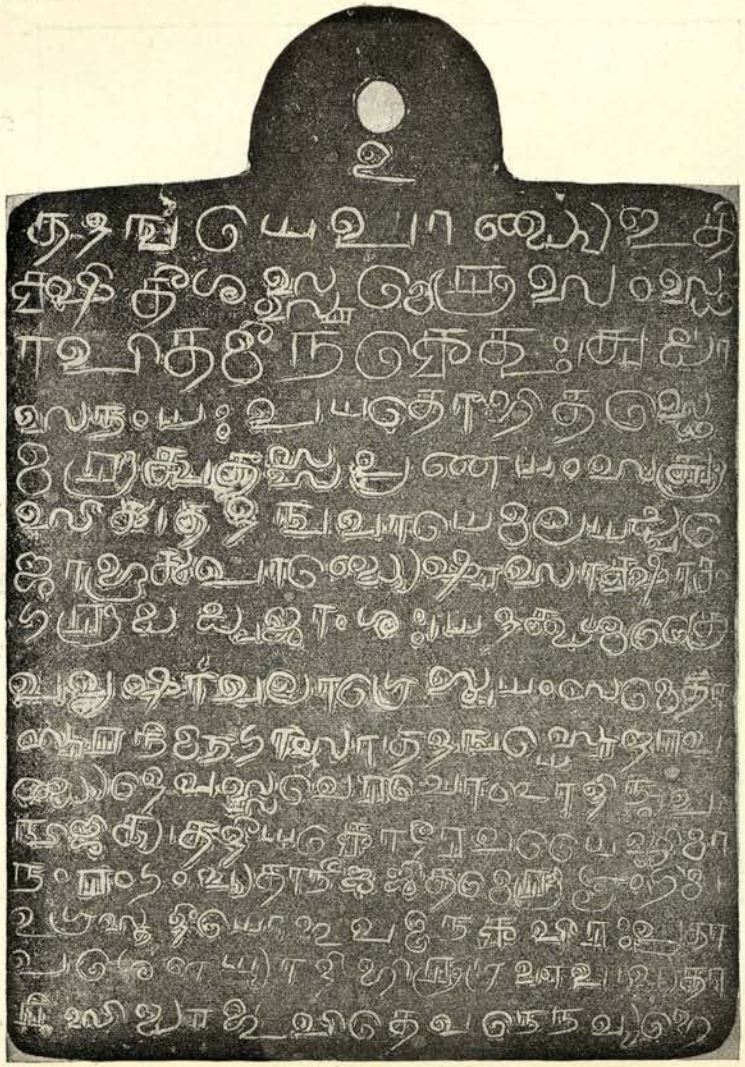
26. तदन्वये पाण्ड्य इति
27. क्षितीशस्सुमेरुसंस्था-[14]
28. पितमीनकेतुः । अर्द्धा-
29. सनं[15]यः पयतो[16]भितस्थे
30. मरुत्वतस्सप्रणयं स आ-
31. सीत् ।[। ६*] तदन्ववाये मलयध्व-

6. Read मुस्तेव.
7. Read विश्वंभरा.
7a. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
8. Read निजाङ्कमा०.
9. Read समग्रा०.
10. Metre उपेन्द्रवज्रा.
11. Read हरेर्लीला०.
12. Read ०च्छत्र०.
13. Metre of v. v. 3-4. अनुष्टुप्.
14. The secondary *a* of स्था is at the biginning of the next line.
15. Read अर्धासनं.
16. Read प्रयतो०.

I. b.

II. a.





Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Varatungarama Pandya (No. I)

T. GOPINATHA RAO

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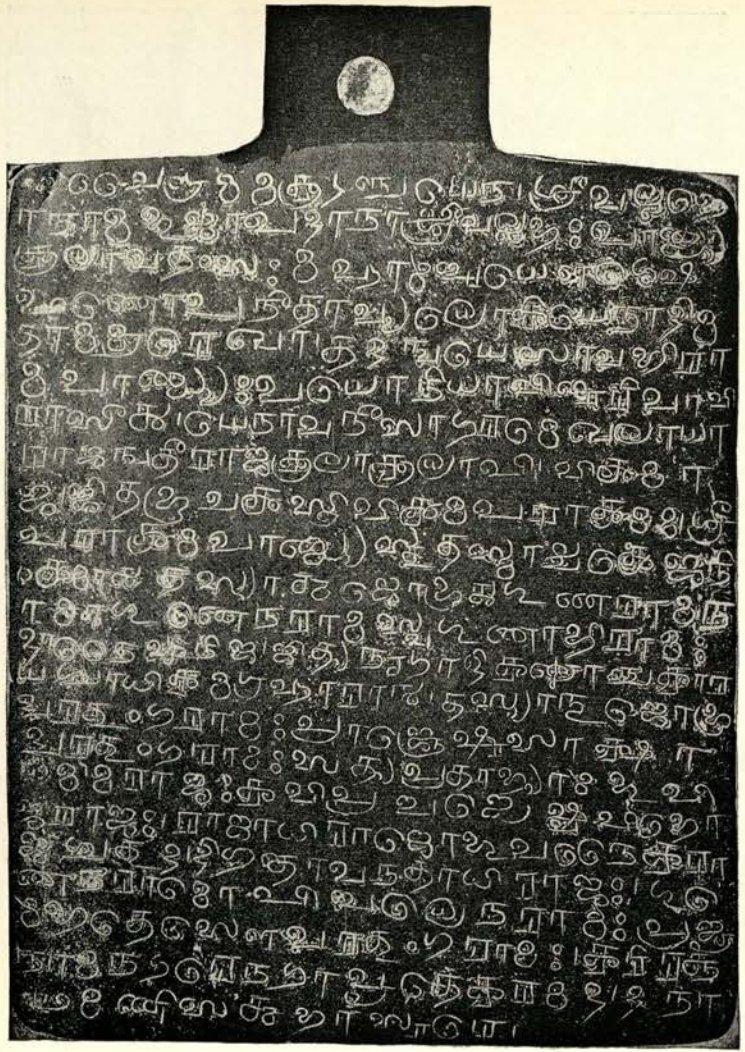
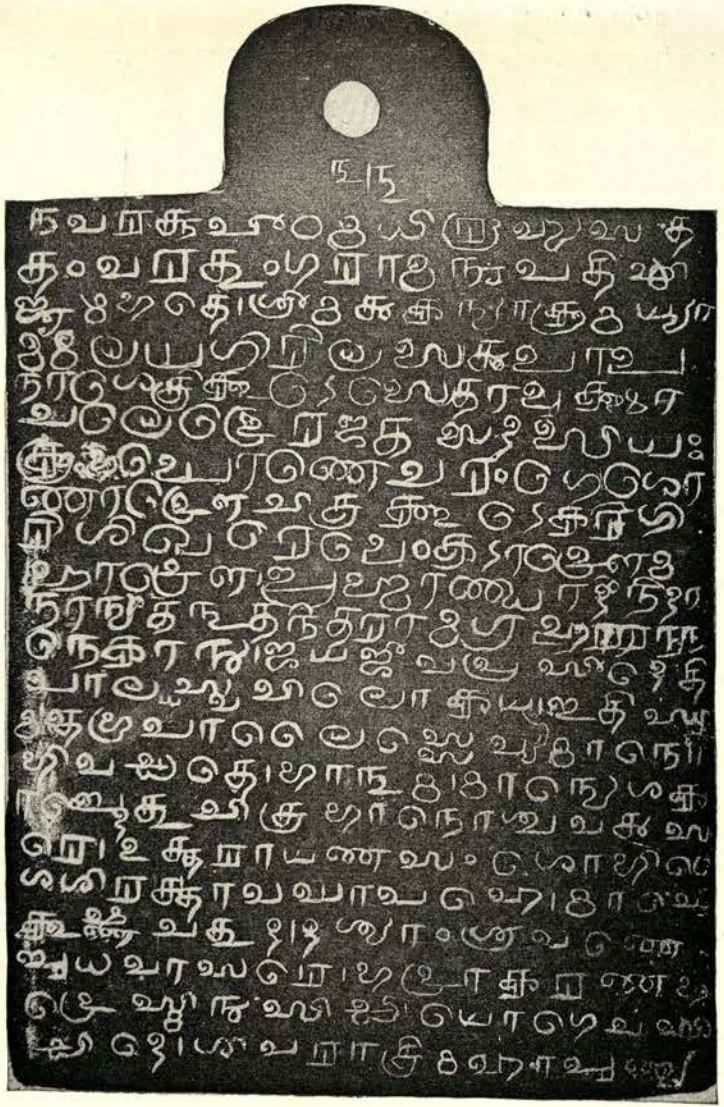
II. b.

III. a.





T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

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32. जो[17]भूत् पाण्ड्येषु साक्षात्[18]
33. गरुडध्वजांशः ।[19] यदर्थमत्रै[20]-
34. व वृषाचलाग्रे स्वयं समेता
35. सुरनिम्नगा सा ।[। ७*]तदन्वये[21]सुन्दरपा-
36. ण्ड्यदेवस्स चेरचोळादिनृपा-
37. न्विजित्य । तदीयकोटीरचयैर्व्विमा-[22]
38. नं रंगं[23]व्यतानीज्जितमेरुशृंगम्[24] ।[। ८*]
39. उग्रस्तदीयो भुवनैकवीरः प्रता-
40. तशौर्य्यादिभिरुग्र[24a] एव । व्यता-
41. रि सिन्धुर्भुवि तेवनेन व्यभे-

Second Plate: Second Side.

42. दि चैन्द्रम मकुटञ्च[25] येज ।[। ९*] श्रीवल्लभो[26]-
43. नाम भुजापदानाच्छ्री[27] वल्लभः पाण्ड्य-
44. कुलावतंसः [।*] महाम्बुधै शेष-
45. फणोपनीता व्यलोकि येनादिम-
46. तामम्रेरेखा[28] ।[। १०*] तदन्वये सावभिरा-
47. मपाण्ड्यः पयोनिधाविन्दुरिवावि-
48. रासीत् । येनावनी सागरमेखला या
49. राजन्वती राजकुलाकुलापि ।[। ११*][29] विक्रमा-
50. र्ज्जितभूचक्रस्त्रिविक्रमपराक्रमः । श्री-
51. पराक्रमपाण्ड्यस्तु तस्माच्चक्रे जनिं[30]
52. क्रमात् ।[। १२*][31] तस्यात्मजोभूत्गुणरामना[32]-
53. मा गुणेन राम[ः*]स्वगुणाभिरामः [।*]

17. Read मलयध्वजोभूत् second and the third member of जो are at the beginning of this line.
18. Read द्रुरुड०.
19. Read ध्वजांशः.
20. Read यदर्थ०.
21. The consonant *y* of ye is engraved below.
22. Read रङ्गं०.
23. Read ०यैर्विमान०.
24. Read शृङ्गम्.
24a. Read ०पशौर्या०.
25. Read ०न्द्रं मकुटं च.
26. The third member of भो is at beginning of the next line.
27. Read ०च्छ्री०.
28. Read ०ताम्ररेखा.
29. Metre vv. 5–11, उपजातिः.
30. The anusvara is at the beginning of the next line.
31. Metre अनुष्टुप्.
32. The secondary *a* symbol of ना is at the beginning of the next line.

54. दानैर्विनिर्ज्जित्य नृगादिकर्ण्णा ञ्चकार
55. यश्चाधिकमग्रहारान् ।[। १३*] तस्यानुजो भू-
56. द्वरतुंग[33] रामः प्राज्ञेषु साक्षा-
57. द्वरतुंगराम[34]:[।*] सत्यवृताभ्याम्[35]भुवि
58. धर्म्मराजः कविप्रबन्धेष्वपि भो-
59. जराजः ।[। १८*] राजाधिराजो भुवनैकरा-
60. जश्च[36] तुर्द्दिगन्तावनतावनताधिराजः । गुणे-
61. नरामोपि वलेन[37]रामः प्रजृ[38]-
62. म्भतेसौ वरतुंग[39]रामः ।[। १९*][40] करिरत्न-
63. नामनगरे नगावृते करमर्द्दना[41]-
64. थमणिसत्म[42]भासुरे ।

Third Plate: First Side.

65. नवरत्नपीठमधिरुह्य सन्त-
66. तं वरतुंगराम[43]नृपतिर्व्वि[44]-
67. जृम्भते ।[। १६*][45] श्रीमत्कन्याकुलमां[ग्या[46]]-
68. ममलयगिरिलसत् पाप-
69. नाशे त्रिकूटे सतावुक्षो-
70. चलेन्द्रे रजतदसि यः
71. कुंभघोणे च रंगे । शो-
72. णाद्रो चित्रकूटे करिगि-
73. रिशिखरे वेंकटा[47]द्रौ म-
74. हाद्रौ(।) ब्रह्माण्डदानि दा-
75. नान्यतनुत नितरामग्रहारान-
76. नेकान् ।[। १७*] जय जीव प्रसीदेति

33. Read ०द्वरतुङ्गरामः.
34. Do.
35. Read सत्यव्रता०यां.
36. Read ०र्दिगन्ता०.
37. Read बलेन.
38. Read प्रजृम्भते.
39. Read ०तुङ्ग०.
40. Metre, of vv. 13–15, उपजातिः.
41. Read करमर्दना०.
42. Read रुद्र.
43. Read ०तुङ्ग०.
44. Read नृपतिर्वि०.
45. Metre, मञ्जुभाषिणी.
46. Read कन्यकुमार्यां मलय०.
47. Read वेङ्कटाद्रौ.
48. Metre, स्रग्धरा.

77. पालयस्व[49] विलोकय । इति सा-
78. मन्तभूपालै स्सेव्यमानो
79 हि वर्द्धते ।[। १८*][50] भानुर्म्मान्ये[51] शका-[52]
80. ब्दे तु चित्रभानोश्च वत्सु-
81. रे । उत्तरानणसंशाभि-
82. शैशि रर्त्तावघापहे[53]।[। १९*] माघे-
83. कृष्णचतुर्द्द[54]श्यां श्रवणे
84. बुधवासरे । भद्राकरणभ-
85. द्रे स्मिन् सिद्धियोगे च सि-
86. द्धिदे ।[। २०*] शिवरात्रिमहापुण्य-

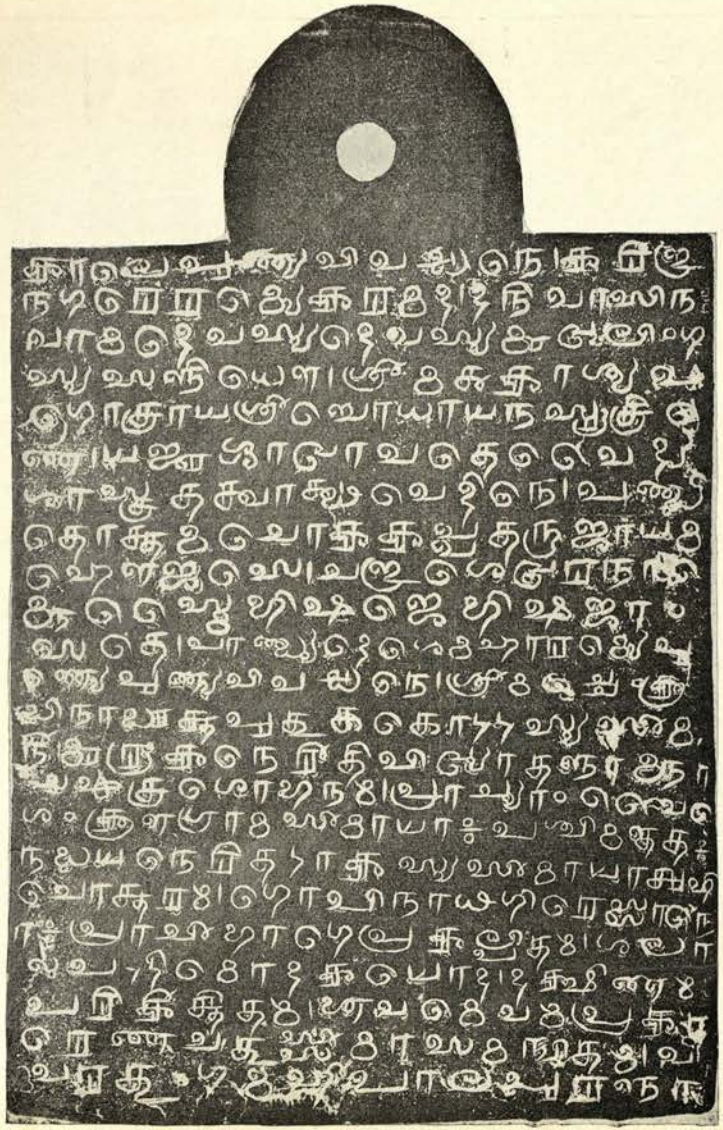
Third Plate: Second Side.

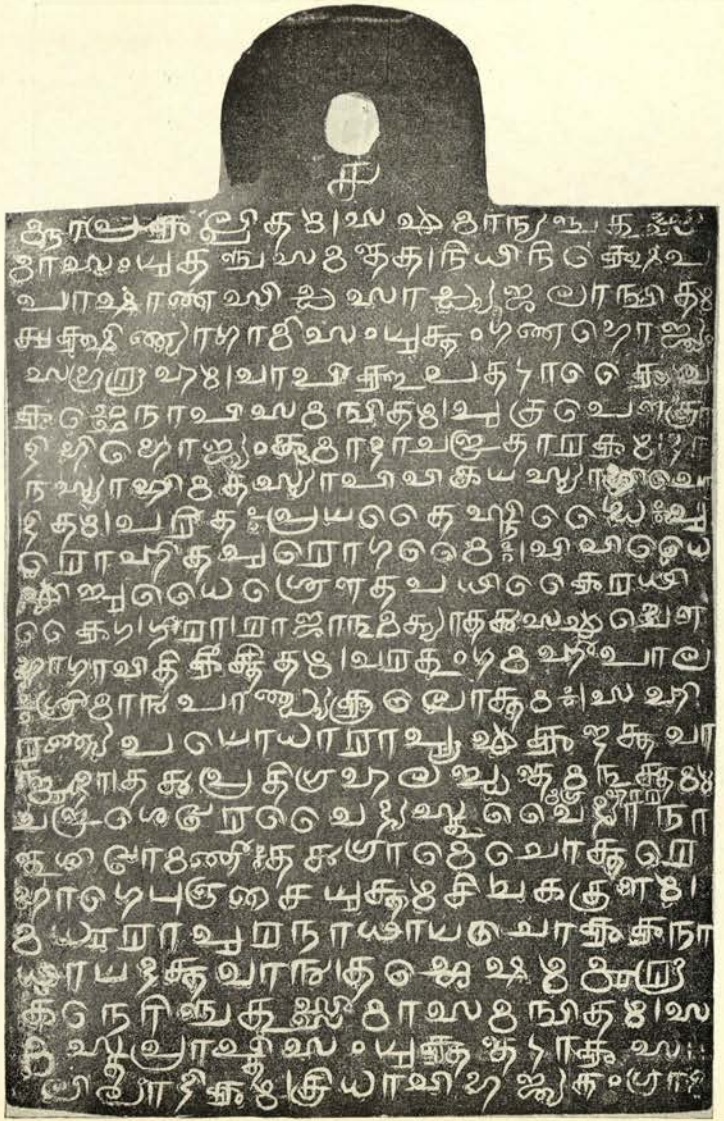
87. काले पुण्य विवर्द्धने[55] । करीन्द्र
88. नगरेरम्ये करमर्द्द[56]निवासिनः [॥ २१*]
89. वामदेवस्य देवस्य मुखलिंग-[57]
90. स्य सन्निधौ श्रीमत्काश्यप
91. गोत्राय श्रीबोधायनसूत्रिणे[58] ।[। २२*]
92. यजुश्शाखावते वैद्य-
93. शास्त्रतत्वार्थ[59] वेदिने । पाण्डि-
94. त्तोत्तमचोक्कप्प तनुजाय म-
95. हीजसे ।[। २३*] चन्द्रशेखर ना-
96. म्ने[60] स्म भिषजे भिषजां
97. सते । पाण्ड्यदेशे महारम्ये पु-
98. ण्ये पुण्यविवर्द्धने[61] ।[। २४*] श्रीमच्चेंकु-
99. डिनाडुक्क पुनुक्कोट्टस्य सीम-

49. The consonant *ya* in पालय is engraved below the line.
50. Read वर्धते.
51. Read. भानुर्मान्ये.
52. The secondary *a* of का is at the beginning of the next line.
53. Read ०शैशिरर्ता०.
54. Read चतुर्दश्यां.
55. Read विवर्धने.
56. Read करमर्दनिवासिनः.
57. Read ०लिङ्गस्य.
58. The second member *na* of णे begins the next line.
59. Read तत्वार्थ.
60. The letter *mna* of म्ने begins this line.
61. Read विवर्धने.

100. नी[62] । मुरुकनेरीति विख्यातन्नाम्ना[63]
101. सर्वत्र शोभनम् ।[। २९*] प्राच्यांवै
102. शेंकुळग्रामसीमायाः पश्चिमन्ततः
103. नडयनेरि तटाकस्य सीमाया अभि-[64]
104. चोत्तरम् ।[। २६*] गोपिथनागिरे[65] स्सानोः[66]
105. प्राचीभागे प्रकल्पितम् । शला-
106. लपट्टिमोदकयोर्द्दक्षिणम्[67]
107. परिकीत्तितम्[68] ।[। २७*] एवमेवम्[69] प्रका-
108. रेण चतुस्सीमा समन्वितम् । (वि)
109. वरतुंग[70] महीपालपुरन्ना-
110. म्ना प्रकल्पितम् ।[। २८*] सर्व्वमान्य[71]ञ्चतुस्सी-
111. मासंयुतञ्च समन्तत [:*] । निधिनिक्षेप-
112. पाषाणसिद्धसाद्धच[72] जलान्वितम् [॥ २९*]
113. अक्षिण्यागामि संयुत्तं गणभोज्यं
114. सभूरुहम् । वापीकूपतटाकैश्च
115. कच्छेनापि[73] समन्वितम् ।[। ३०*] पुत्रपौत्रा-
116. दिभिर्भोज्यं क्रमादाचन्द्रतारकम् । दा-
117. नस्याहि[74] मतस्यापि विक्रयस्यामि[75] चो-
118. दितम् ।[। ३१*] परितः[76] प्रयतै[77] स्निग्धैः पु-
119. रोहित पुरोगमैः । विविधै-
120. र्व्वि[78] बुधै श्रौतपथिकैरथि-[79]
121. कैर्गिरा ।[। ३२*] राजानुमत्या तत् सर्व्वन्द्यौ-

62. Read सीमनि.
63. Read विख्यातं नाम्ना.
64. Read अपि०.
65. Read गोपीनाथ०.
66. The first two symbols of नो are in this line and secondary *a* symbol and the visarga are in the next line.
67. Read ०योर्दक्षिणं.
68. Read ०कीर्तितम्.
69. Read एवमेवं.
70. Read वरतुङ्ग.
71. Read सर्व०.
72. Read साध्य.
73. Read कच्छेनापि.
74. This letter हि appears to have been corrected into भि which is what is wanted.
75. Read विक्रयापिचोचितम्.
76. Read परीतः
77. Read प्रयतैः.
78. Read ०र्विबुधैः.
79. Read ०रधिकैर्गिरा.





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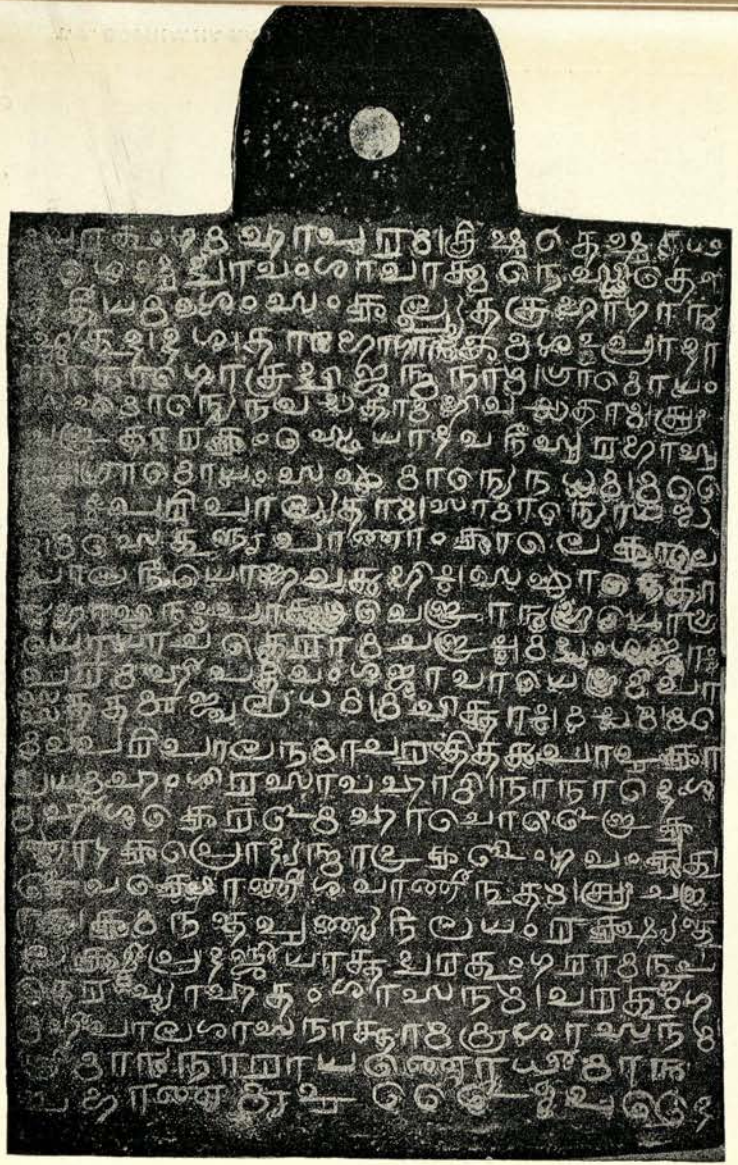

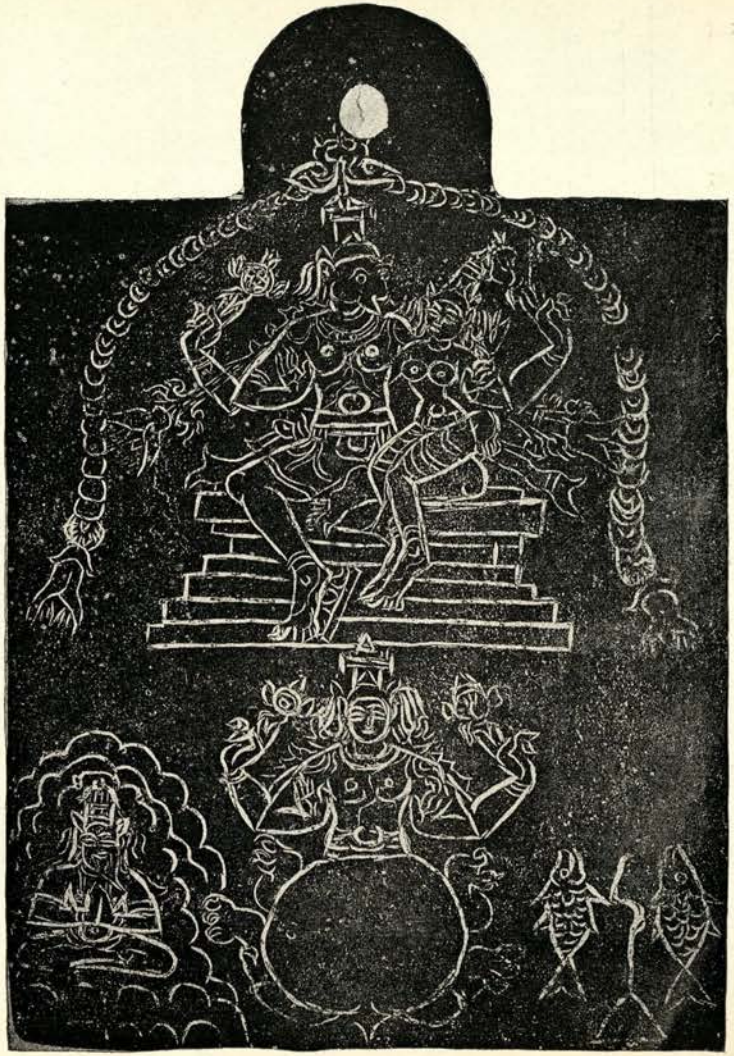

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122. भागाविति कीर्त्तितम् ।[। ३३*] वरतुंगमहीपालः-[80]
123. श्रीमान् पाण्ड्यकुलोत्तमः ।[। ३४*] सहि-
124. रण्य पयोधारापूर्व्वं[81] कन्दत्तवा-
125. न्मुदा । तत् प्रतिग्रहलब्धन्त[मग्रहा[82] र]मनुत्तमम् [॥ ३५*]
126. चन्द्रशेखरवैद्यस्तु वैद्याना-
127. न्तु शिखाम[83] णीः [।*] तत्[84] ग्रामेचोत्तरे-
128. भागे पञ्जैयुक्तम[85] शि॰क्कुळम् ।[। ३६*]
129. मधुरापुरनाथाय चोक्कना-
130. थाय दत्तवान् । तच्छे[86] षम् मुरु-
131. [87]गनेरिञ्चतुस्सीमा समन्वितम् ।[। ३७*] स
132. मस्त प्राप्ति संयुक्तन्तटाक स-[88]
133. लिलादिकम् । त्रिधा विभज्य तं ग्रामं[89]

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

134. वरतुंग[90] महापुरम् ।[। ३७*] त्रिषु तेषु तथा[91]
135. शेषुद्भावंशावात्मने स्थितौ [।*]
136. त्रितीयमंशं[92] संकल्प्य[93] तत्र भागान्-
137. छशतुर्दश[94] ।[। ३८*] ता[न्] भागान् क्रमशः प्रादा-
138. न्नानागोत्राद्विजन्मनाम् । ग्रामो यं
139. सर्व्वमान्येन[95] वर्द्धतामभिवर्द्धताम्[96] ।[। ३९*] आ-
140. चन्द्रतारकं स्थेयादवनीसुर भासु-
141. रः । ग्रामो यं सर्व्वमान्येन[97] धर्म्म-[98]
142. ज्ञैः परिपाल्यताम् ।[। ४०*][99] सामान्यो यन्ध-

80. Read वरतुङ्ग॰. The visarga of पाल: is at the beginning of the next line.
81. Read पूर्वकं.
82. The letters मग्रहार are engraved below the line.
83. Read शिखामणिः.
84. Read तद्ग्रामे.
85. Read युक्तं.
86. Read तच्छेषं.
87. This letter is, in the original, the Tamil consonant क, but for euphony it is transcribed as ग.
88. Immediately following स are two vertical strokes which are unnecessary.
89. The anusvara is at the beginning of the next line.
90. Read वरतुङ्ग.
91. The secondary *a* and anusvara of थां are in the next line.
92. Read तृती॰.
93. Read सङ्कल्प्य.
94. Read भागांश्चतुर्दश.
95. Read वर्धतां.
96. Do.
97. Read सर्व.
98. Read धर्म. The two secondary *ai* symbols of ज्ञैः are in this line and *uh* are in the next line.
99. Metre of vv. 18–40, अनुष्टुप्.

143. र्म्मसेतुन्नृपाणां[100] काले काले

144. पालनीयो भवत्भिः[101] । सर्व्वानेता[102]-

145. न् भाविनः पार्त्थवेन्द्रान्[103] भूयो भू-

146. यो याचते रामचन्द्रः ।[। ४१*][104] मद्वंशजाः

147. परमहीपति वंशजा वा ये भूमिपा-

148. स्सततमुज्वलधम्मीचर्त्ताः[105][।*] मद्धर्म्ममे-[106]

149. व परिपालनमाचारन्ति तत् पादुका

150. द्वयमहं शिरसा वहामि ।[। ४२*][107] नानादेश-

151. महीशकेरळ महाचोळेन्द्र क-

152. र्णाटक प्रोद्यन्माद्र कळिंग वंक[108] तु-

153. ळुव क्षोणीश वाणीनुतम् । आचन्द्रा-[109]

154. क्कमनन्त पुण्यनिलयं रक्ष्यन्तु[110]

155. लक्ष्मी प्रदज्ञीयात्तद्वरतुंगरामनृप-[111]

156. तेरव्याहतं शासनम् ।[। ४३*][112] वरतुंग-[113]

157. महीपालशासनात्ताम्रशासनम् ।

158. श्रीमान् नारायणो धीमान्

159. बभाण मृदुळैः पदै[ ] [॥ ४४][114 & 115]

100. Read धर्मसेतुनृपाणां.

101. Read भवद्भिः.

102. Read सर्वा०.

103. Read पार्थि०.

104. Metre शालिनी.

105. Read धर्म.

106. Read मद्धर्म. The secondary *e* symbol of मे is in this line and म the next line.

107. Metre, वसन्ततिलकम्.

108. Read काळङ्ग and वङ्ग.

109. The secondary *a* of न्द्रा is in the next line. Read आचन्द्रार्क.

110. Read रक्षन्तु.

111. Read ०नुङ्ग०.

112. Metre of v. 43, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

113. Read वरतुङ्ग.

114. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.

115. On the first side of the fifth plate are the following figures :—

1. Varahasvami with Lakshmi seated on a pedestal underneath a flower wreath which is secured at the top in the mouth of a mythical lion.

2. Below No. 1, is Vishnu's Kurmavatara (tortoise).

3. On the proper right of No. 2, is the figure of Agastya, the patron saint of the Pandyas, seated under a canopy on the Malaya mountain.

4. On the proper left of No. 2, is the family crest of the Pandyas, consisting of two carps with, between them, a crook fixed in a stand.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Vv. 1—3. Invocation to Varâhamûrtti.

V. 4. Do. to Parañjôti.

V 5. Praises of Chandra, (the moon).

V. 6. In the lunar race was born a king named Pâṇḍya: He set his *makara-dhvaja* on the mountain Mêru and wrested from Indra one-half of the seat on his throne.

V.7. In this family was born Malayadhvaja. He is considered to be an *aṁśa* of Vishṇu. For his sake the Gaṅga (Ganges) is said to have flown near the Vṛishâchala mountain.

V.8. In his lineage was born Sundara Pâṇḍya who taking the crown of the Chêra and Chôḷa, covered the *vimâna* of the temple (of Raṅganâtha) at Śrîraṅgam with gold. (1)

V. 9. To this line belonged Ugra. He broke the crown of Indra. (2)

V. 10. A Śrîvallabha is next mentioned as having seen '*tâmra-rêkhâ*' in the sea.

V. 11. In the family to which this king belonged was born Abhirâma Pâṇḍya.

Vv. 12—18. His son was Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya: his son was Guṇarâma; he is said to be a good man and is described as having set up a number of *agraharâs*. Guṇarâma's younger brother was **Varatungarâma.** He was ruling the kingdom with **Kariratnanagara** and his capital, in which was the god Karamarddanâthasvâmin. He performed several *dânas* beginning with Brahmâṇḍa, in the following places :—Kanyâkumâri; Pâpanâśa, in the Malayagiri, Trikûṭa, Sêtu, Vṛishâchala, Rajatasadas, Kumbhaghôṇam, Raṅgam, Śôṇâdri, Chitrakûṭam, Hastigiri and Veṅkaṭâdri. His praises.

Vv. 19—28. On a Wednesday, the Chaturdaśi of the dark fortnight of the month Mâgha of the year Chitrabhânu, in the Uttarâyaṇa, Śaśi-ṛitu, in the Śravaṇa nakshatra, Bhadra-karaṇa and Siddhiyôga, on the auspicious day of Śivarâtri, the king Varatuṅgarâma granted, in the presence of Vâmadêva, represented by a Mukhaliṅga, in the temple of Karamarddanâthasvâmin, to Chandraśêkhara, son of Chokkappa Paṇḍita, of the Kâśyapa gôtra, Bôdhâyana sûtra and Yajuśśâkha, the village of Muruganêri in the Pudukkôṭṭai *sîmai* of the Śeṅguḍi-nâḍu. The donee was a medical doctor. The Śaka year in which this grant was made is 1504, expressed by the chronogram **Bhânurmânya.**

The boundaries of the village granted are :—

On the east, Śeṅguḷam.

On the south, Naḍayanêri.

On the west, Gôpînâthagiri and

On the north, Śalâlapaṭṭi and the Môdaka-sîma (?).

Vv. 29—32. Give the privileges accompanying the grant.

Vv. 33—38. It was granted by the king into two parts. The donee gave away the northern half called Śiṛukuḷam to Chokkanâtha, the god of Madhurâpura. The other half, Muruganêri, was divided into three parts, of which the donee took two for himself and divided the third into 14 shares and granted it to Brâhmaṇas of various gôtras.

Vv. 39.—42. The usual imprecatory verses.

V. 43. Wishes permanency to the grant.

V. 44. Nârâyaṇa was the composer of this śâśana.

(1) This is one of the later Pâṇḍyas and he was called Jaṭavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya, who extended his conquests as far as Cuttack and from the spoils of war covered the central shrine &c., of the Raṅganâthasvâmin temple at Śrîraṅgam with gold. He lived in the 13th century. His inscription recording the covering with gold of the central shrine of the Raṅganâthasvâmin temple is engraved on the east wall of the first *prâkâra* of the same temple and edited by Dr. Hultzsch in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 7—17.

(2) Ugra one of the earliest Pâṇḍyas is mentioned next to Jaṭâvarman Sundra Pâṇḍyas. Compare, "உக்ரன்—றிஞ்சியதிர் திந்திரன் போர் சாயமுடிசிதை சயம்போற்றி" போற்றிக்கலிவெண்பா. *ll.* 37—38.

NO. XII. DALAVAY AGRAHARAM PLATES OF VARATUNGARAMA PAṆḌYA, SAKA SAMVAT 1510.

As usual with the copper plates of the later Pâṇḍyas, this one also begins with the legendary geneology, in which the eponym is said to be Pâṇḍya. The *kula-guru* of the family was Agastya. Sundarêśa married the daughter of the Pâṇḍya king and came to Madura and took his abode in the temple with his consort Mînâkshi. To these was born Ugra Pâṇḍya. In the regular historical geneology which follows the legendary one, a Parâkrama Pâṇḍya is said to have been born and to have fought with the king of Kêraḷa. He is also described as the builder of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Dakshiṇa Kâśi. In the Pâṇḍya family was born a king named Abhirâma Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya; his son was Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya who had two sons, Guṇarâma and Varatuṅgarâma *alias* Vîra Pâṇḍya. The latter went by the several names **Abhirâma Sundarvêśa Varatuṅgarâma, Vira Pâṇḍya.** The later Pâṇḍyas all claim to belong to the Atrêya gôtra because they trace their descent from Atri; Varatuṅgarâma also calls himself an Âtrêya gôtraja. In this document the king is said to have been born in the Pushya nakshatra, whereas in No. XIII, edited below, it is stated that he was born in the Dhanishṭha nakshatra. On the 30th of the month Âshâḍha of the year Sarvadhârin, **Śaka 1510** the king **Vîra Pâṇḍya** granted the village of Śilârippaṭṭi to Gôvinda-bhaṭṭa, son of Uḍayam-bhaṭṭa.

The king Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya who is said to have fought with the Kêraḷa king and to have built the temple of Viśvanâtha, is Arikêsari Parâkrâma.

The following are the names of places that occur in this inscription :—Silârippaṭṭi, Tiṇaimâr-Pudukkôṭṭai, Nallamâttûr, Vêḷamban-vishayam, Murugaṇêri, Śeṅguḷam and Narikkuḍi-vishayam. Of these Narikkuḍi appears to be the same as Nadikkuḍi; this and Pudukkôṭṭai and Śeṅguḷam are in the Śrîvilliputtûr tâlûka of the Tinnevelly district. The other places I am not able to identify.

Text.[1]

First Plate: First Side.

1. ॐ स्वस्ति श्री÷[1a] [॥*] गण्डप्रोत्[2]गतदा-
2. नवारिविलसत्[3] गन्धप्रवाहागतप्रे-[4]
3. खत् स्वर्द्रुम भृंगझंकृतिमिळत्-[5]
4. गर्ज्जारवोन्मिश्रितै÷ । इक्षवम्-
5. भोधितरंग घोषपटहैरुत्-
6. सारयन् सेविनां विघ्नान्विघ्नतरं
7. क्षणेन विपदां विघ्नेश्वरः पा-

1. From impressions supplied by Mr. M. Narayanasami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
1a. The *visarga* symbol in this document is written like the arithmetical symbol for division, thus÷.
2. Read ०प्रोद्गत०.
3. Read ०द्गन्ध०.
4. The secondary े of प्रे alone is at the end of this line.
5. Read ०भृङ्गझङ्कृतिमिळद्गत०

8. तु व÷ ।[। १*] लक्ष्मीवल्लभनाभिजन्मनळिनं[7]
9. यस्योचिता जन्मभूस्संकल्पस्सचाराच-
10. रञ्जगदिदं वार्णीच साक्षात्त्रयी । आकल्पः कल-
11. शी जटाः कमलिनी बीजावली वल्कलज्योतिः पु
12. ष्यतु विष्वगाननमिदम् भद्राणि भूयांसि वः ।[। २*] शे-
13. षोरस्थलशायि दारितमहानीलाश्यरश्मिच्छवि[8] क्षी-
14. [रो]द प्रतिबिम्बिताम्बरतल श्रीहारि यद्राज-
15. ते । स्वेच्छशा[9]मात्रविकल्पितत्रिभुवनस्थनो-
16. पसर्गोदयन्तेजस्तद[10]द्युमणीन्दुनेत्रमनिशम्भ-
17. द्राणि पुष्णातुवः ।[। ३*] धत्ते यस्य जटाकलापकलि-
18. तो रेखामयश्चन्द्रमा दुग्धाम्भोधिविरू-
19. ढ विद्रुमवनव्या[11] संगिहंसश्रियम् । पृथ्वीवा-
20. रिहुताशहोतृहिमरु[क्][12] भास्वद्रियन्मारुतस्वा-
21. त्माधीनचरचरास्थितिरसौ शर्व्वशिवायास्तु-
22. वः ।[। ४*][13] आदावाद्यस्व पुंसो मुनिरजनिजग-
23. त्कारणन्नाभि पत्मादेत[14] स्मादत्रिनाम त्रिभु-
24. वनमहितज्ज्योतिरविर्बभूव । जन्म प्रापात्रिने-
25. त्रात्रि पुरहरशिरश्शेखरश्शीतरश्मिस्तेज-
26. स्त्रैलो[15] क्यरक्षाव्यसनिहिमरुचः पाण्ड्य-
27. नामाविरासीत् ।[। ५][16] आस्वादितोत्[17] गर्ण्णमहाम्-
28. बुराशिः पादाग्रविन्यासनिमग्नविन्ध्यः [।*] वा
29. तापिदाहोज्वलजाटराग्निः कुम्भोत्भ-[18]
30. वो यस्य मुनिः पुरोधाः ।[। ६*][19] क्षितितलशिवलो-[20]
31. के गृण्हतायेन पाणिम् भव[ह्व]ति तनुजायां

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6. Read तरङ्ग०.
7. The *anusvara* of नं is at the beginning of the next line.
8. Read ०च्छवि०
9. Read स्वेच्छा०.
10. Read ०तद्द्युमणी०.
11. Read ०सङ्गि०.
12. Read ०हिमरुग्भा०.
13. Metre of vv. 1–4, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
14. Read पद्मा०.
15. The two secondary *e* symbols belonging त्रै are at the end of the last line.
16. Metre स्रग्धरा.
17. Read ०द्गीत०.
18. Read ०द्भव०.
19. Metre इन्द्रवज्रा.
20. The secondary *e* of the letter लो is only half formed.

First Plate : Second Side.

32. पाण्ड्यभूपालकस्य । समजनि कुलमु-
33. च्चैस्समृपदा चाभिवृध्या स जयति शशिमौ-
34. लिस्सौन्दरेशाभिधानः ।[। ७*][21] तस्मादुग्रोजनिष्ट
35. क्षितिपति तिलको दातुमादायमेरोरर्त्थिभ्य[:*]
36. स्वर्ण्णमर्ण्णो निधिजलमनलमृयत्पदाशिष्टपं[22]-
37 कम् । इत्येवं येन सो यं किल निजमकरी मु-
38. द्रया मुद्रितो भूच्चक्रप्रोत्[23]भिन्नशक्रस्फुर-
39. दुरुमकुटख्यातविक्रान्ति भाजा ।[। ८*][24] ततः क्षिती
40. शा भुवि तत् प्रतापायशस्समुत्सारि[त]या[25]
41. [तु]धानाः । आलंकमाद्रीन्द्रमलंघिताज्ञाः[26] कृ-
42. ताश्वमेधाः कृतिनो भवूवुः ।[। ९*][27] अजनि परा-
43. क्रमपाण्ड्यः पाण्ड्यकुलरामपारिजात-
44. श्रीः । यः केरळावनीन्द्रांश्चमृपक्कवनना-
45. थशासनादजयत् ।[। १०*] स्वप्ने स्वालयकूप्त्यै
46. विरचितरूपेण विश्वनाथेन । दत्तानुग्र-
47. हशाली दक्षिणकाशीति यः पुरीमकरो-
48. त् ।[। ११*][28] अजनिष्ट तदन्वयवारिनिधावभिरा-
49. मपराक्रमपाण्ड्यशशी । युधि[29] यत्करवाळ-
50. लता महसा परभूपतमांसि भिनत्तितराम् ।[। १२*][30]
51. तस्यात्मजस्तरणिमण्डल तुल्यतेजाः पा-
52. ता भुवो जनि पराक्रममाण्ड्यदेवः । यस्या[31]-
53. ननेन्दुमवलोक्य जयेन्दिरा [या] श्चित्रमृमुखा-
54. मृबुजमभूदनिशम् प्रफुल्लम् ।[। १३*] तस्मात्त्रभूव[32] गु-
55. णरामधरावलारिर्य्यस्य प्रतापतरणिर्ज्ज-
56. न विस्मयाय । वैरिक्षितीशकरवारिजयुग्म-

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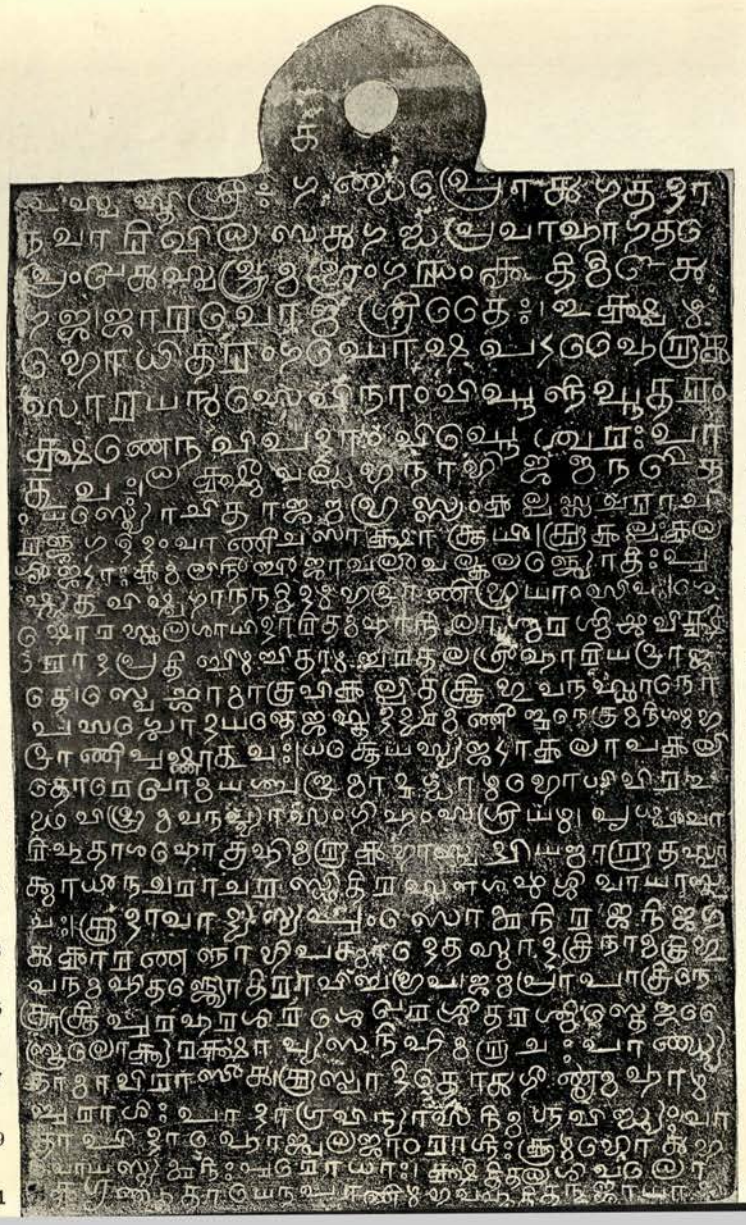
21. Metre मालिनी
22. Read श्लिष्ट०.
23. Read ०द्भि०.
24. Metre स्रग्धार.
25. The letter त is engraved below the line.
26.
27. Metre उपजातिः.
28. Metre of vv. 10–11, आर्या.
29. Read युधि.
30. Metre तोटकम्.
31. The secondary *a* symbol of या is in the next line.
32. Read ०द्बभूव.

Ia.



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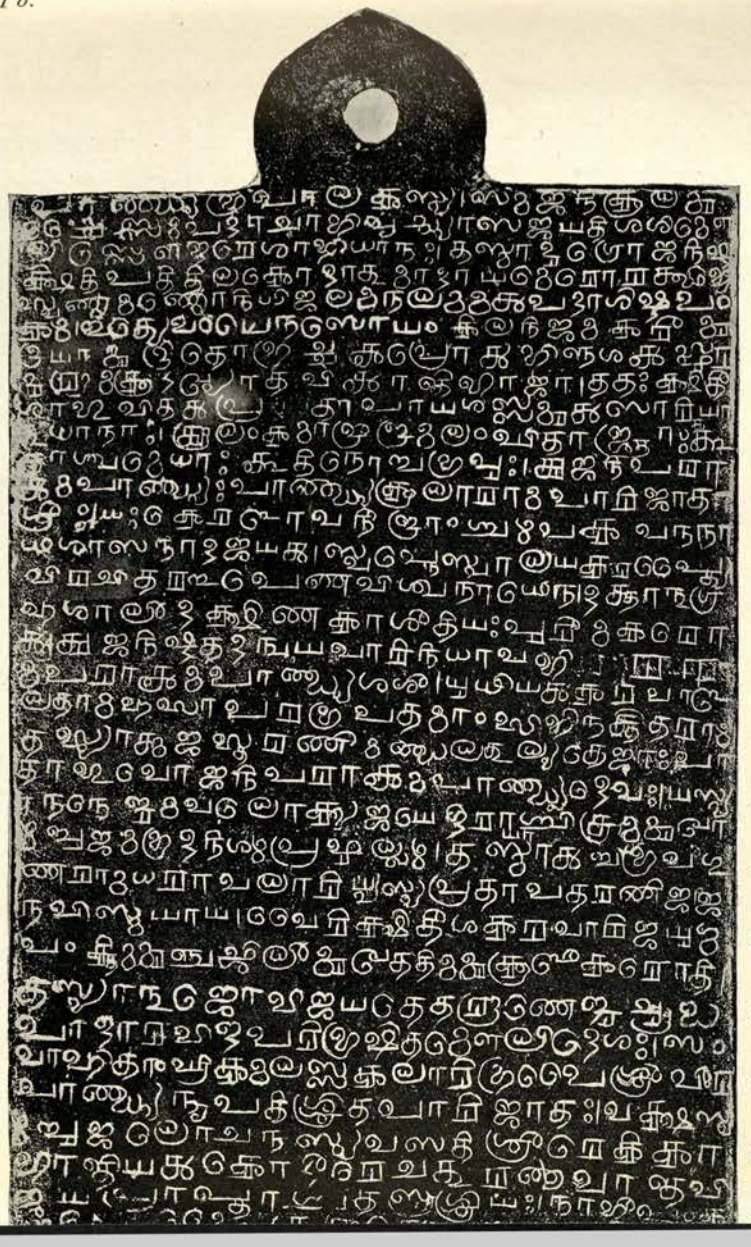

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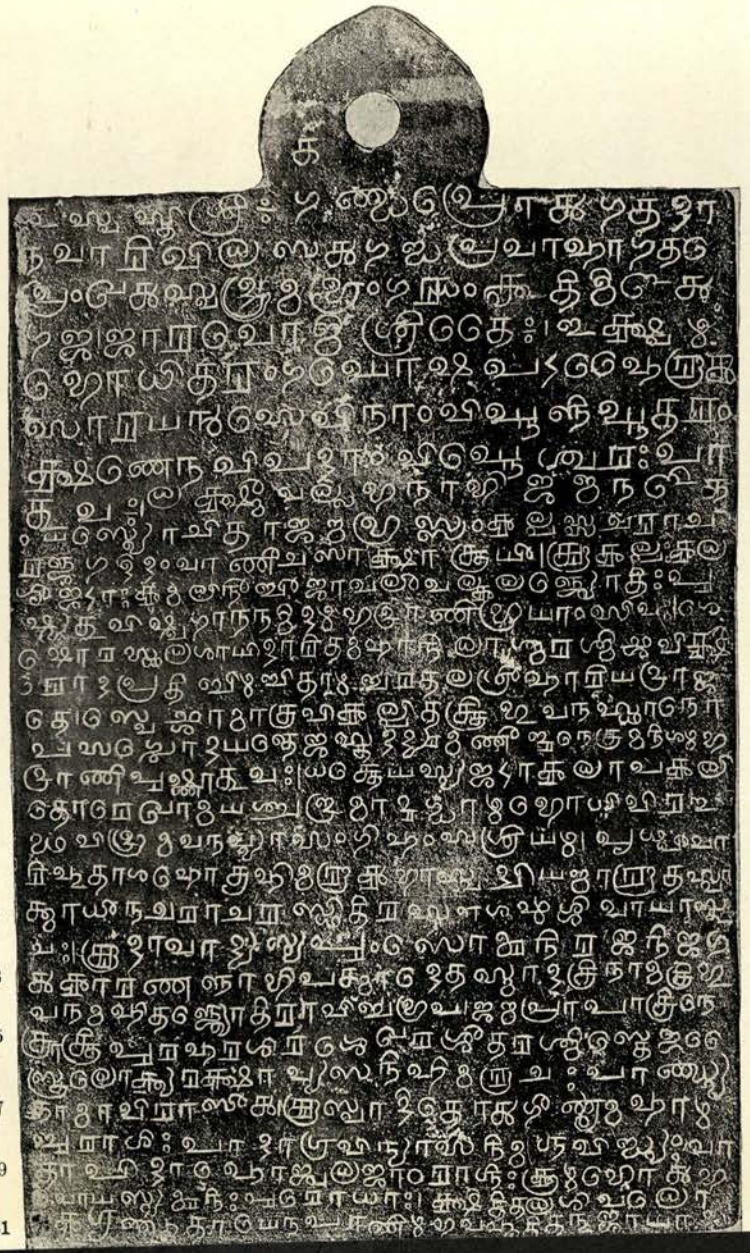

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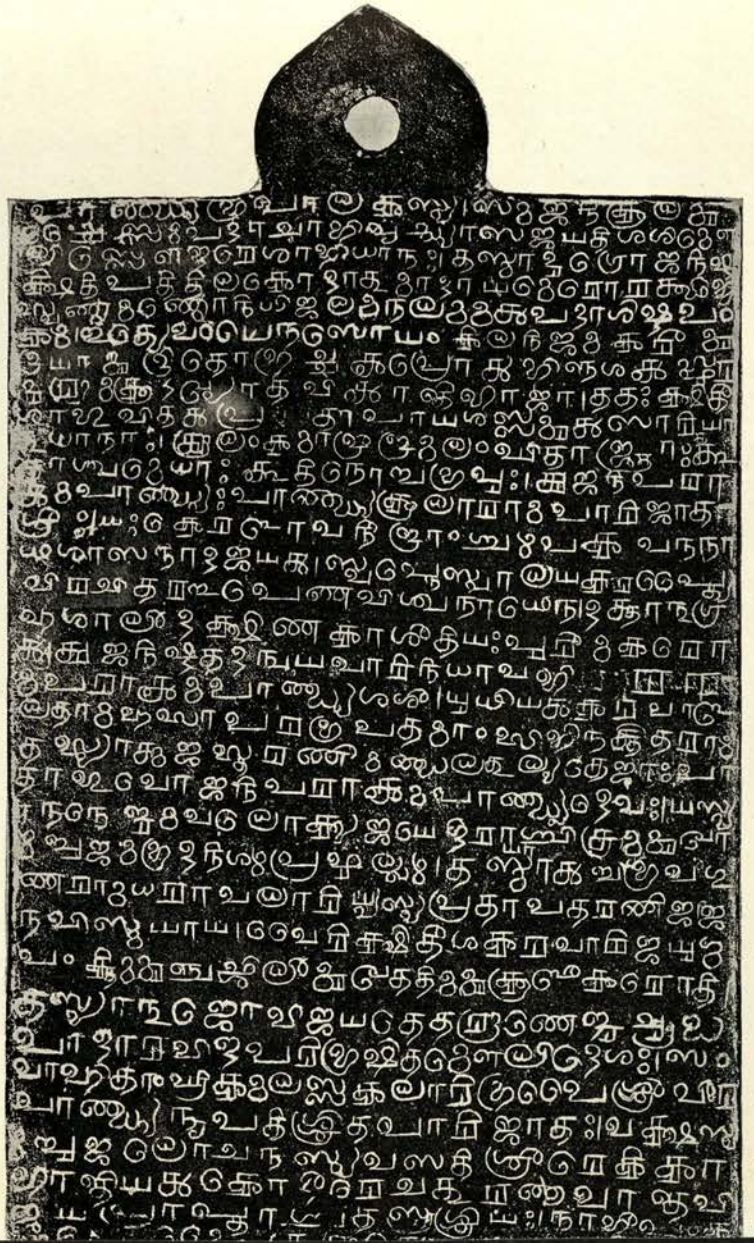

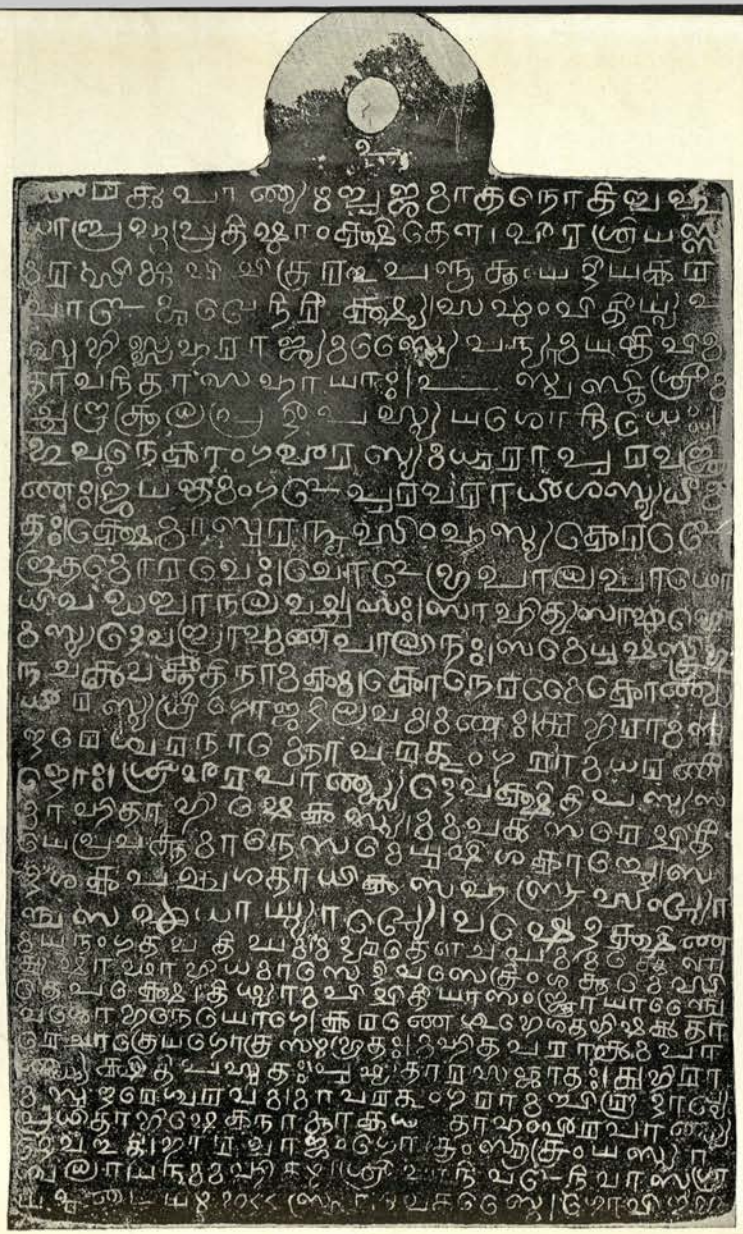

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0,5

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57. पंक्तिम्मुञ्चच्छिश[33] लीमुखतातिम्मुकुळीकरोति ।[। १४*]
58. तस्यनुजो विजयते तरुणेन्दुचूड-
59. पादारविन्दपरिभूषितमौलिदेशः । सं-
60. वाहितांघ्रि[34] कमलस्सकलारिभूपैश्श्रीवीर-
61. पाण्ड्यनृपतिश्श्रित पारिजातः ।[। २५*][35] वक्षस्य-
62. म्भुजलोचनस्य वसति श्रीरेकिका
63. भान्ति यत् कोटीरे चतुरर्ण्णवान्तावि-
64. जयप्राप्ताश्चस्त्र श्रियः । नाभीपंक-[36]
65. [जकमै]व कुरुते ब्रह्मप्रातिष्टा[वि]-[37]

Second Plate: First Side.

66. धिं यत्पाण्यम्बुजमातनोति बहु-
67. धा ब्रह्मप्रातिष्ठां क्षितौ ।[। १६*][38] वीरश्रियस्स-
68. मरसीम्नि विचित्ररूपनृत्तं यदीयकर-
69. वाळमुखे निरीक्ष्य । सर्व्व वितीर्य्य व
70. सुभिस्सह राज्यमस्यै वन्याम[39] । [प्र*]यान्ति विम-
71. ता वनितासहायाः ।[। १७*][40] ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीम-
72. च्चन्द्रकुलप्रदीपस्य यशोनिधेः ।
73. भुवनैकांगवीरस्य मधुरापुरवज्रि-
74. णः ।[। १८*] जयन्तमंग[41] ळपुरवराधीशस्य धीम-
75. तः । क्षेमासुरनृसिंहस्य केरळे-
76. न्द्रतमोरवेः ।[। १४*] चोळभूपाल पाथो-
77. धि वडवानलवर्च्चसः । साहित्य सार्व्वभौ-
78. मस्य देवब्राह्मणपालिनः ।[। २०*] समेयुषस्त्रिभु-
79. [व*]नचक्रवर्त्तीति नामकम् । कोनेर्मैकोण्ड-
80. धीरस्य श्रीगोजटिलवर्म्मणः ।[। २१*][42] अभिरामसु-
81. न्दरेश्वरनाम्नो वरतुंग[43]रामधरणी-

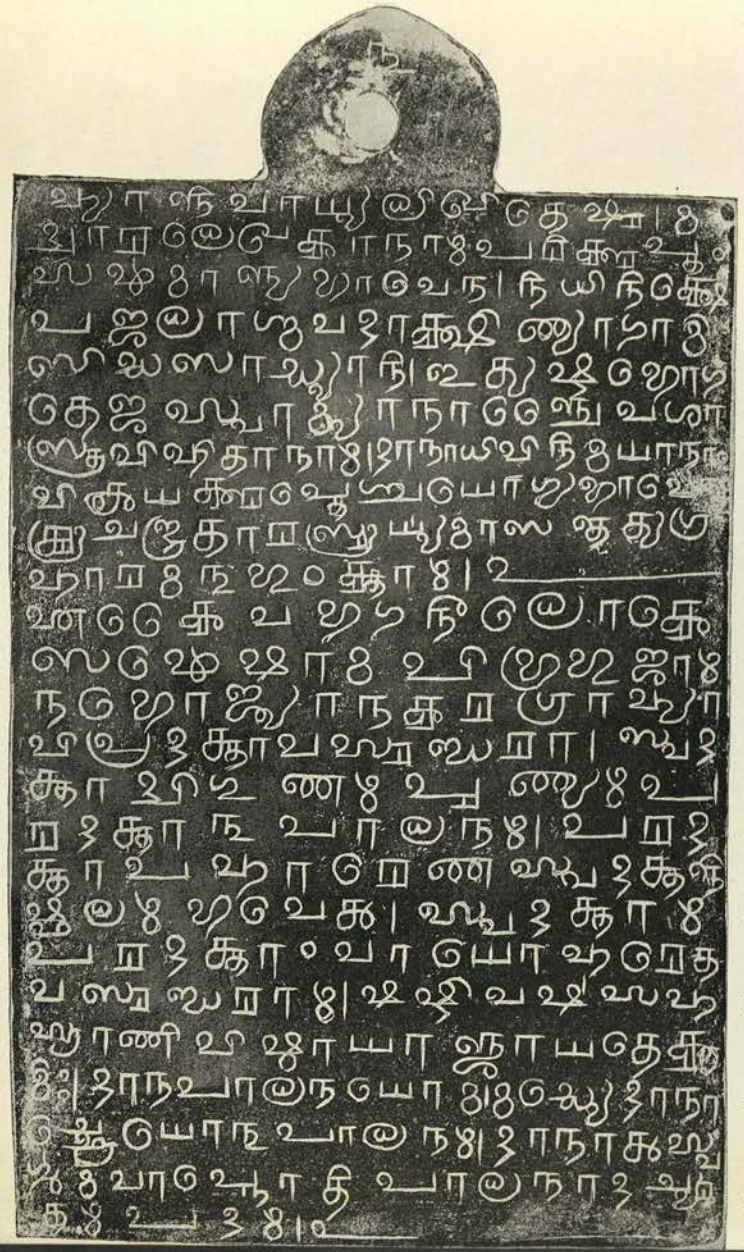
33. Read पङ्क्तिमुञ्चच्छि.
34. Read ०ताङ्घ्रि०.
35. Metre of vv. 13–15, वसन्ततिलकम्.
36. Read नाभीपङ्कजमेकमेव.
37. Read प्रतिष्ठा०.
38. Metre, स्रग्धरा.
39. Read वन्याम्. The secondary *a* of न्या is engraved below this line.
40. Metre, वसन्ततिलकम्.
41. Read ०मङ्गळ.
42. Metre of vv. 11–21, अनुष्टुप्.
43. Read ०तुङ्ग०.

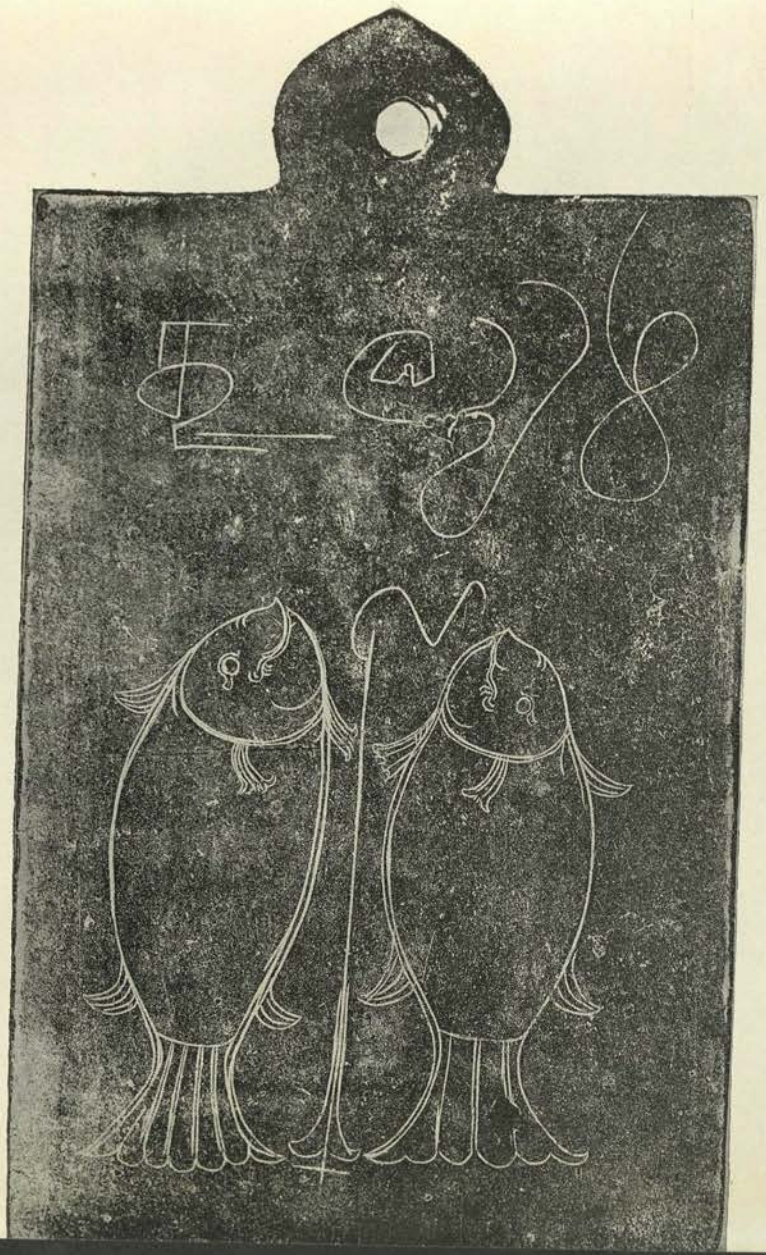
82. न्दोः । श्रीवीरपाण्ड्यदेवक्षितिपस्य स-
83. माहिताभिषेकस्य ।[। २२*] मम वत्सरे द्वितीं-
84. ये प्रवर्तमाने समेयुषि शकाब्दे । स-
85. दशकपञ्चशताधिकसहस्रसंख्या-
86. ञ्च सर्व्वधार्य्याख्ये ।[। २३*] वर्षे दक्षिण-
87. मयनं गतवति घर्म्मद्युतौ च घर्म्मर्त्तौ ।
88. आषाढाभिधमासे दिवसे त्रिंशत्तमे सि-
89. ते पक्षे ।[। २४*] तिथ्यामापिद्वितयासंज्ञायाञ्चै-
90. व शोभनेयोगे । करणे शुभेशतभिषक्ता
91. रेचात्रेयगोत्रसम्भूतः ।[। २५*] महित पराक्रमपा.
92. ण्ड्यक्षितिपसुतः(।) पुण्यतारसञ्जातः अभिरा-
93. मसुन्दरेवश्वरवर्म्मा वरतुंङ्ग[43]रामबिरुदाख्यः ।[। २६*]
94. प्रथिताभिषेकनाम्ना क[थितो]हं वीरपाण्ड्य-
95. देव इति । भारद्वाजं गोत्रं सूत्रं यस्या-
96. श्वलायनप्रमहितम् ।[। २७*] श्रीवानिवाळनिवास [श्र]
97. यदुडैयम्भट्टसूनवे तस्मै । गोविन्दभ-

Second Plate: Second Side.

98. ट्टविदुषे गुणनिधये धीत ऋ[क्]प्रप-
99. ञ्चाय ।[। २८*] सहि[44] रण्योदकधारापूर्व्वकमा[द्य]-
100. ख्य पोत्रिणः प्रीत्यै । सम्प्रददे शुभहेतोरेकादश[45]-
101. भागसम्मितं ग्रामम् ।[। २९*][46] रम्यादिनाट्टुत्तिनैमार् पुतुक्कोट्ट[ा]-
102. न्तरावनौ । शिलारिपट्टिग्रामस्य ख्यातस्यापर-
103. नामतः[47] ।[। ३०*] वरतुंग[48]रामपुरमित्यस्य वितीर्ण्ण-
104. स्य संविभज्यन्ते । दिक्षु चतस्रस्सीमा
105. पौरस्त्यातु प्रकल्पिता सी-
106. मा ।[। ३१*] वेळम्पन्विषयनल्लमात्तूर-
107. सीम्नोश्च पश्चिमतः । सीमा तु मुरु-
108. कनेरि शेंकुळसीम्नोः कृता त-

44. र is engraved below the line.
45. श is engraved below the line.
46. Metre of vv. 22–39, आर्या.
47. ना is engraved above त.
48. Read ०तुङ्ग०.





109. थोत्तरतः [॥ ३२*] सरसश्च दाक्षिणा-
110. त्या पाश्चात्यामोदक प्रदेशा-
111. च्च । नरिक्कुटि विषयात् पुरतस्सीमा
112. विहिता तथोत्तरा कथिता ।[। ३३*] सीमा-
113. तु नल्लमात्तूर् प्रदेश सीम्नश्च दक्षि-
114. णतः । इत्थं विभत्त[49] सीमन्देवद्विज-
115. शास्तृमातृकाळीनाम् ।[। ३४*] वृत्तीर्व्विहाय-
116. निखिलैः केदारैर्व्वास्तु वास्तु-
117. शेषवनैः । निम्नोन्नतमरुदे-
118. शैर्म्मतस्य निवासावटै-
119. र्म्मधुस्थानैः ।[। ३५*] मृगकुल-
120. यन्त्रस्थानैस्सहितमिमं स
121. र्व्वसस्य सम्पन्नम् । वैश्य-
122. कुविन्दकुलालकतैलव
123. णिग्रजकजालिकादीनान् ।[। ३६*]
124. करमपि निखिलानन्यान्त्रा[50] जग्र[ा]-

Third Plate: First Side.

125. ह्यान्निवार्य्य लिखितेषु । म-
126. द्वारलेखकानाम् परिक्लेसं
127. सर्व्वमान्यभावेन ।[। ३७*] निधिनिक्षे-
128. पजलाश्मवदाक्षिण्यागामि
129. सिद्धसाध्यानि । इत्यष्टभोग-
130. तेजस्वाम्यानाञ्चैव शा-
131. स्त्रविहितानाम् ।[। ३८*] दानाधिविनियानां
132. विक्रय कृतेश्चयोग्यभावे[न] ।
133. आचन्द्रतारसूर्य्यमा सन्तत्यग्र-
134. हारमनुभुंक्ताम्[51] ।[। ३९*] ल
135. एकैव भगिनीलोके

49. Read विभक्त०.

50. The letters न and the secondary *a* of न्त्रा in ०नन्यान्त्रा० are engraved below the line.

51. Read भुङ्क्ताम्.

136. सर्व्वेषामपि भूभुजाम् [।*]
137. नभोज्या न करग्राह्या-
138. विप्रदत्ता वसुन्धरा ।[। ४०*] स्वद-
139. [52]त्ताद्विगुणम् पुण्यम् प-
140. रदत्तानुपालनम् । परद-
141. त्तापहारेण स्वदत्तान्नि
142. ष्फलम् भवेत् ।[। ४१*] स्वदत्ताम्
143. परदत्तां वा यो हरेत
144. वसुन्धराम् । [53]षष्टिवर्षसह-
145. स्राणि विष्ठायाञ्जायते कृ-
146. मिः ।[। ४२*] दानपालनयोर्म्मध्ये दाना-
147. च्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् । दानात् स्व-
148. र्ग्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यु-
149. तम् पदम् ।[। ४३*]॥[54]

Third Plate: Second Side.

150. तुल्यम्

52. Read ०त्तादृद्वि.
53. Read षष्टि.
54. Metre of vv. 40–43, अनुष्टुप्.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

V.1. Adoration to Vighnêśvara.
V.2. Do. Brahma.
V.3. Do. Vishṇu.
V.4. Do. Śarva (Siva).
V.5. Gives the following legendary geneology to the eponym Pâṇḍya :—

Brahma.
|
Atri.
|
Chandra, (Moon).
|
Pâṇḍya.

V.6. The *kula-guru* of this family was Agastya.
V.7. Sundarêśa (the god of Madura) married the daughter of the Pâṇḍya king.
V.8. To these was born Ugra Pâṇḍya. He broke the crown of Indra with his club.

V. 9. Several kings ruled after him the country extending from Laṅka to the Himalayas, and performed Aśvamêdha yâgas.

V. 10—11. Parâkrama Pâṇḍya was born in this line and he fought with the king of Kêraḷa at Champakavana by the command of the god of that place. The god Viśvanâtha appeared to him in a dream and blessed this king to build a temple for Him at Dakshiṇa Kâśi.

V. 12. In this family was born Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍya.

V. 13. His son was Parâkrama Pâṇḍya.

V. 14. His son was Guṇarâma.

Vv. 15—17. Guṇarâma's younger brother was Vîra Pâṇḍya. He is described as having set up several Brahman villages. His praises.

Vv. 18—21. The usual later Pâṇḍya introduction.

Vv. 22—23. The king calls himself by the names Abhirâma Sundarêśvara, Varatuṅgarâma and Vîra Pâṇḍya and informs us that Ś. 1510 was the second year after his coronation.

Vv. 24—30. On the 30th of the month Âshâḍha, Gṛishma-ṛitu, Dakshiṇâyana, of the year Sarvadhâri, which was the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Śatabhisha nakshatra, Śôbhana yôga, and Śubhakaraṇa, the king, who was called Abhirâma Sundarêśvara, who bore the *biruda* Varatuṅgarâma and who was crowned by the name of Abhîshêka Vîra Pâṇḍya, born in the Pushya nakshatra and belonging to the Âtrêya gôtra, granted the village of Śilârippaṭṭi, belonging to Adi-nâṭṭu Tiṇaimâr Pudukkôṭṭai, and consisting of eleven shares, in order to please Vishṇu, to Gôvinda Bhaṭṭa, son of Uḍayambhaṭṭa, of the Bhâradvâja gôtra and Âśvalâyana Sûtra, a student of Rig-vêda and a native of Vânivâḷa.

Vv. 31—33. The boundaries of the village granted are :—

On the north, Nallamâttûr.
On the east, Vêḷambaṇ-vishayam and Nallamâttûr.
On the south, Muruganêri, Śeṅguḷam and a tank and
On the west, Môdaka-pradêśa and Narikkuḍi-vishayam.

Vv. 34—39. The grant was made free of taxes, with shares to all the important deities and with all the elements of possession and enjoyment.

Vv. 40—43. Imprecatory verses.

NO. XIII. DALAVAY AGRAHARAM PLATES OF ATIVÎRARÂMA PAṆḌYA. SAKA SAMVAT 1517.

This grant has been noticed by Mr. R. Sewell in Vol. II of his 'List of Antiquities, Madras'; he says therein that these plates were then in the office of the Collector of Madura and writes about them as follows :—" A grant in three plates by one of the earlier Nâyakas of Madura. It is in shape very much like the Vijayanagara plates but the character is Grantha. Language Sanskṛit. The first plate contains a fanciful account of the Pâṇḍyan kings, the last two being 'Abhi-Râma or Atîvîrarâma Pâṇḍya,' and his son Râmâbhi Râma Pâṇḍya. The second and third plates contain the details of the grant. By it, Râma Kṛishṇappa, "sitting on the Lion-throne of Vallabha Narêndra after 33 years have passed, and after ŚS. 1517" granted the village of Nadikkuḍi to a number of Brâhmaṇs. The year of grant is ŚŚ. 1518. (A.D. 1596). The 33 years may possibly refer to the date of the death of Viśvanâtha Nâyakka (A.D. 1563). At the end of the plate is engraved a boar with a dagger standing on its nose." (List of Ant., Madras, p. 31, No. 211, List of Copper-plate grants).

After relating the legendary history of the Pâṇḍya family, the record gives the geneology of **Ativîrarâma** who was crowned under the name of **Srîvallabha.** This inscription seems to call Ativîrarâma also Abhirâma. His father was Vṛihîvritîśvarasvâmi, and grandfather Abhirâma Parâkrâma Pâṇḍya. In the 33rd year of the reign of Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha which corresponded with **Ś 1517,** (expressed by the chronogram **Satyamânya),** prince Abhirâma *alias* Ativîra granted at the request of **Râmakṛishnappa Nâyaka** son of Haridâsa, the village of Nadikkuḍi, under the name of Ativîrarâmapura, to a number of Brâhmaṇas. The exact date of the grant was a Monday, corresponding with the twelfth *tithi* in the bright half of the month in which the sun stood in the constellation Simha, in the Varshaṛitu, Dakshiṇâyana, in the year Durmukhi, Ś 1517. At the end of the document it is stated that it belonged to Abhirâma and was written at the command of king Ativîrarâma by Râjanâtha Kavi, son of Svayambhu. Prince Abhirâma *alias* Ativîra is in this inscription said to have been born in the Dhanishṭha nakshatra.

Though the passage where Abhîrâma *alias* Ativîra is introduced appears to suggest that he was the son of Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha, we know from other records that he was not the son but the cousin of Śrîvallabha: the geneology of the ruling king alone is given and the donor is introduced without any prefatory notice of him. The record is dated, again, in the 33rd year of the reign of Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha and the village granted is also named after the reigning sovereign; it is called Ativîrarâmapura and not Ativîrapura after the donor. Lastly the grant was drawn up by the command of Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya. From all these, it is plain that Abhirâma *alias* Ativîra whom we know from various other records was the cousin of Ativîrarâma Śrîvallabha made the grant in the reign of the latter. Distinction has therefore to be made between the names Ativîrarâma and Ativîra Pâṇḍyas. Ativîrarâma was the surname of Śrîvallabha, whereas Ativîra or Vîra Pâṇḍya was the name assumed by Abhîrâma on his coronation; his surname is Varatuṅgarâma.

The village granted was situated in the Pudukkôṭṭai *sîma.* The boundaries of it were, on the east, Śilârippaṭṭi; on the south *môdakâ-sîma*; on the west, the Kaṅgireḍḍi tank, and that of Kâḍanêri and on the north, the way to Nallamâttûr śandai. It was divided into three major divisions which were made into forty-two shares and distributed among Brahmans whose names etc., are given in a table at the end.

The names of places that occur in this inscription are:—Nadikkuḍi, Śilârippaṭṭi, Kâḍanêri Nallamâttûr śandai, Pudukkôṭṭai, Uṇḍuputtûr, Vânivâḷam, Dêharam, Marevaḷḷi, Raṭṭêndalapura, and Darbhala. Of these, Naḍikkuḍi, Pudukkôṭṭai are in the Śrîvilliputtûr Tâlûka of the Tinnevelly district. Uṇḍputtûr must be a corruption of Uruppṭṭûr which is assumed as the family name by some Śrîvaishṇavas; where this Uruppuṭṭûr is, I am not able to find out. I am not able to identify the other places also.

[Text

Text.[1]

First Plate: First Side.

1. शुभमस्तु ।[।*] नमस्तुं[2]गशिरश्चुम्बि चन्द्रचामरचार-
2. वे त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भ-
3. वे[3] ।[। १*] हरेर्लीलावराहस्य[4] दंष्ट्रादण्डस्स पातुवः ।
4. हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्रीच्छत्रश्रियन्दधौ[5] ।[। २*] कलाणया-[6]
5. स्तु तद्धाम प्रत्युहति[मि*]रापहम्[7] । यत्गजोप्यगजोत्भूतम्[8] प
6. श्चास्येनापि लाळ्यते ।[। ३*] जयति क्षीरजलधेर्ज्जातं सव्य-[9]
7. क्षणं हरेः । आलम्बन श्चकोराणाममरायुष्कर मम-[10]
8. हः ।[। ४*][11] तद्वंशे मलयध्वजः क्षितिपतिः श्रीपाण्ड्यराज्या-
9. धिपो गोत्रोद्धारविशारदः कुवलयापीडाप-
10. हारोद्यतः । सत्यायत्तमति स्समस्तसुमनस्तोमावने-
11. सादर स्सञ्जातस्मृतिभूरुचि स्सविजयः कृष्णावता
12. रो द्वि यः[12] ।[। ५*] योसौ पट्टाभि[षि*]क्तो भुवमपि निखिलाम् पा-[13]
13. लयन् जैत्रयात्रारम्भे सञ्चृम्भमाणोत् भट[14] पटह-
14. रचा चातरोदोन्तराळे । मद्रम् भीत्यापनिद्रम्[15] स-
15. धिगतमहाशैलशृंगं कलिगं सातंकं वंकमं[16]
16. गं सहबलमकरोच्छौर्य्यभंगानुषंगम्[17] ।[। ६*][18] दूना-
17. शयोसावनपत्यदोषात्भूनाथ[19] आराद्य तपो-
18. भिरीशम् । एनां सुता न्त्रिस्तनिकां स लेभे मीनाक्ष्यु-
19. दारांशभवाममृगाक्षीम्[20] ।[। ७*][21] हस्तस्थवैरिविजयास्त्र-

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1. From impressions supplied by Mr. M. Narayanasami Ayyar, B.A., B.L., Madras.
2. Throughout the document *anusvara* is employed wherever the nasals are required. This peculiarity has been noticed in the introduction.
3. The *e* symbol is at the end of the last line and *v* is in this.
4. Read हरेर्लीला०.
5. Read धात्रीच्छत्र०.
6. Read कल्याणायास्तु.
7. Read प्रत्यूह०.
8. Read यद्गजोप्यगजोद्भूतम्.
9. Read सव्येक्षणं.
10. Read ०युष्करम् महः.
11. Verses 1–4 are in the अनुष्टुप् metre.
12. The secondary *e* symbol of रो is in the previous line and the other members at the beginning of this one.
13. The letter *p* is at the end of this and secondary *a* belonging to it, at the beginning of the next line
14. Read ०द्भटपटहरवागत०(?).
15. Read ०निद्रं.
16. Read शृङ्गं कलिङ्गं सातङ्कं वङ्गमङ्गं.
17. Read ०च्छौर्यभङ्गानुषंगम्.
18. Metre of vv. 5–6.
19. Read ०द्भूनाथ०.
20. Read ०भवाम् मृगाक्षीम्.
21. Metre इन्द्रवज्रा.

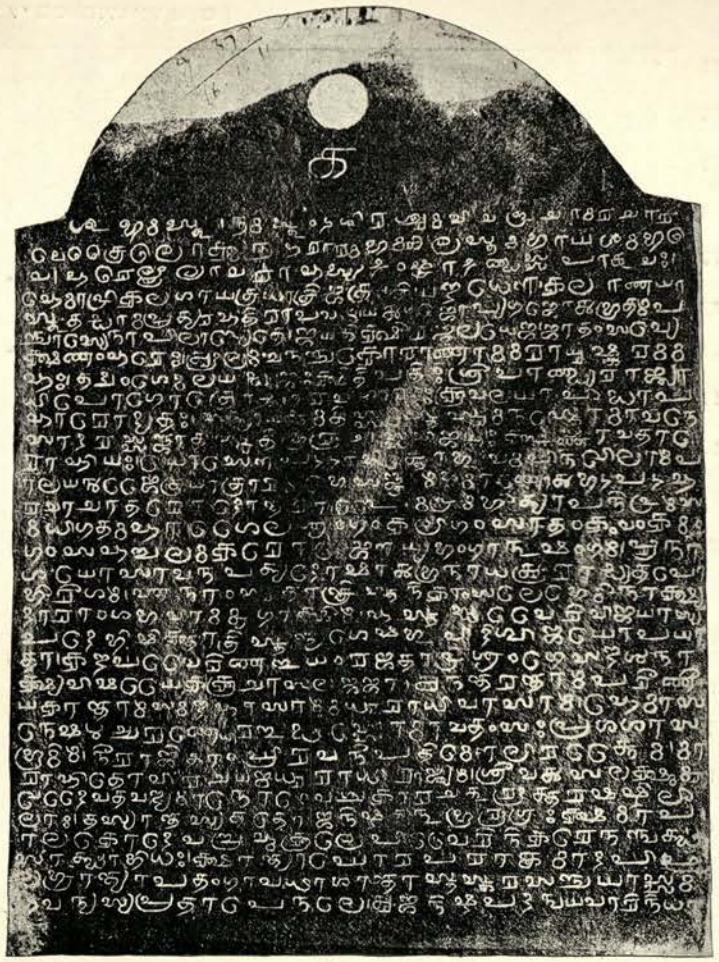
20. पदेभिषिक्ता [22]त्रिस्तन्यशेष्भुविदिग्विजयोपया-
21. ता । कन्दर्पवैरिण इयं रजताद्रिश्रृंगे[23] सन्दर्शना-
22. क्ष्यविषयैककुचा सलज्जा ।[। ८*] अनन्तरन्ताम्पर्राणी-
23. य कान्ताम् समन्दहासाम् मधुराधिवासाम् । हेमास-
24. ने षट्चरणे[25] धिरूढ स्सोमावतंसः प्रशशास-
25. भूमिम् ।[। ९*][26]नीराजितांघ्रि[27]रवनीपतिमौलिरत्नैर्म्मा-
26. राहितो विरचयन्मधुराधिराज्यम् । श्रीवत्सलक्ष्ममु-
27. खदैवतवन्द्यमानो देवश्चकार चतुरुत्तरषष्टिली-
28. लाः ।[। १०*][28] तस्या न्तस्य ततो जनिष्ट तनुभूरग्रः क्षमापा-[29]
29. लको देवब्रह्मकुलेपि वैरिनिकरे नन्न्वर्त्थ-
30. सार्त्थाभिधः । क्षान्त्या घोरपराक्रमादपिफ-
31. लभ्रान्त्या पतंगा वथा[30] शान्तास्तस्करसञ्चयास्सम-
32. भवन्यस्य प्रतापेनले ।[। ११*][31] अजनिष्ट [32]पदन्वयवारिनिधा-

First Plate: Second Side.

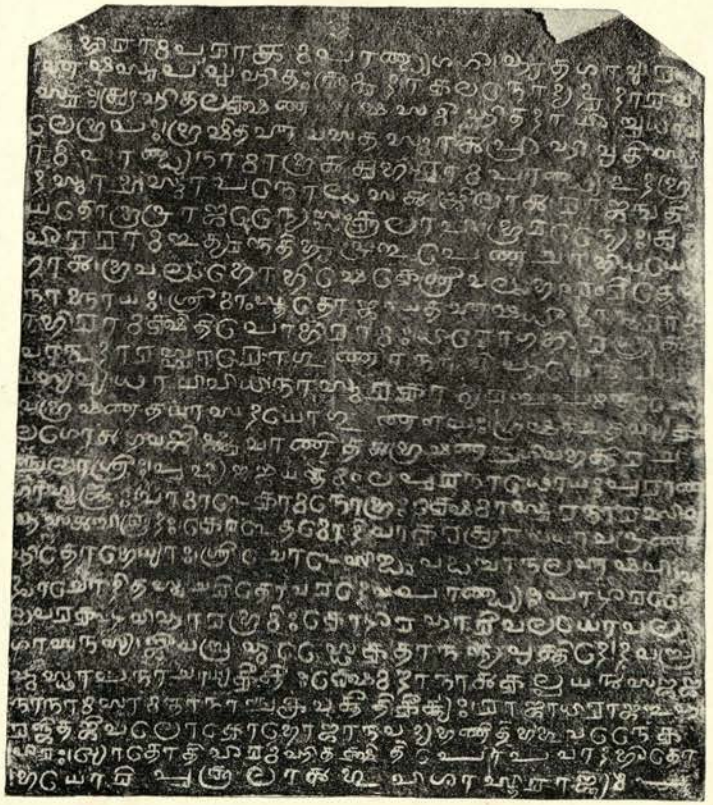
33. वभिरामपराक्रम पाण्ड्यशशी । हतशार्व्वर
34. एष सुपर्व्वहितः कुमुदाकलनोद्यदुदारव-
35. सुः ।[। १२*][33] आहितलक्षण एष समीहितदायी बुधाव-
36. ले भूप.[34] । भूषित एव स तस्मात् व्रीहिवृत्तिस्वा-[35]
37. मि पाण्ड्यनामाभूत् ।[। १३*] अथिरामपाण्ड्य उदभू-
38. दस्माद्विस्मपनोल्लसत्छ्शीलात्[36] । राजन्वती
39. यतो भूद्राजन्यैस्संकुलापि(।) भूरन्यैः ।[। १४*] अति-
40. वीरराम इत्युन्नतिभृद्रूपेण चाभिधायो-[37]
41. गात् । भूवल्लभोभिषेके श्रीवल्लभ ईरितेन

22. Read त्रिस्तन्य०.
23. Read शृङ्गे.
24. Metre वसन्ततिलकम्.
25. Read षट्चरणे०.
26. Metre उपजातिः.
27. Read ०ताङ्घ्रि०.
28. Metre वसन्यतिलकम्.
29. The first members of पो is in this line and the second in the beginning of the next one.
30. Read पतङ्गायथा.
31. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
32. Read तदन्वय०.
33. Metre, तोटकम्.
34. Read ०लेर्भूपः.
35. The secondary *a* of *sva* is at the beginning of the next line.
36. Read ०ल्लसच्छीलात्.
37. The secondary *a* symbol of *dha* is engraved below the line.

I. a.



I. b.



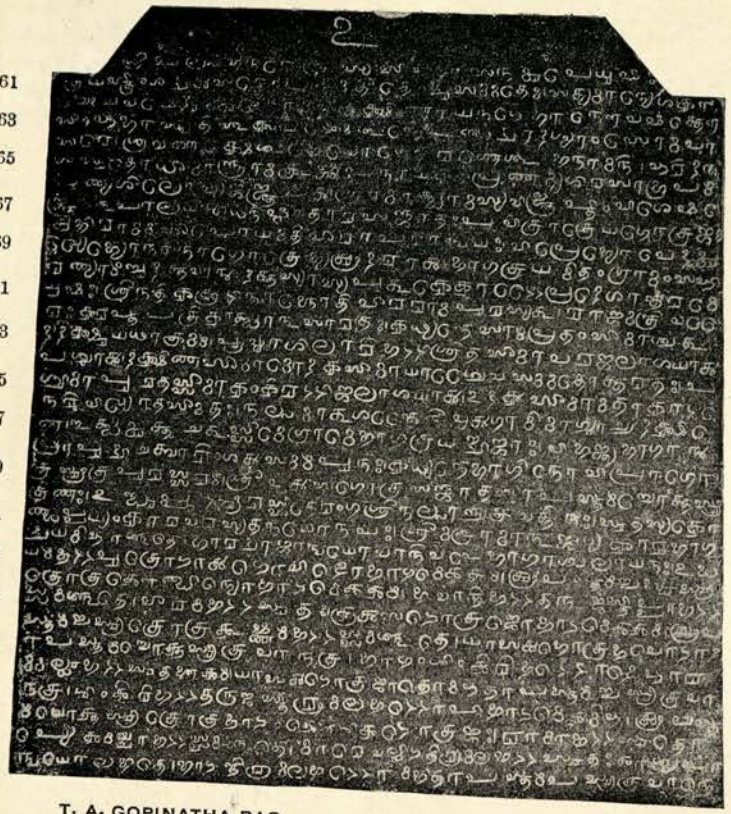
Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Ativirarama Pandya, (No. III).

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0.5

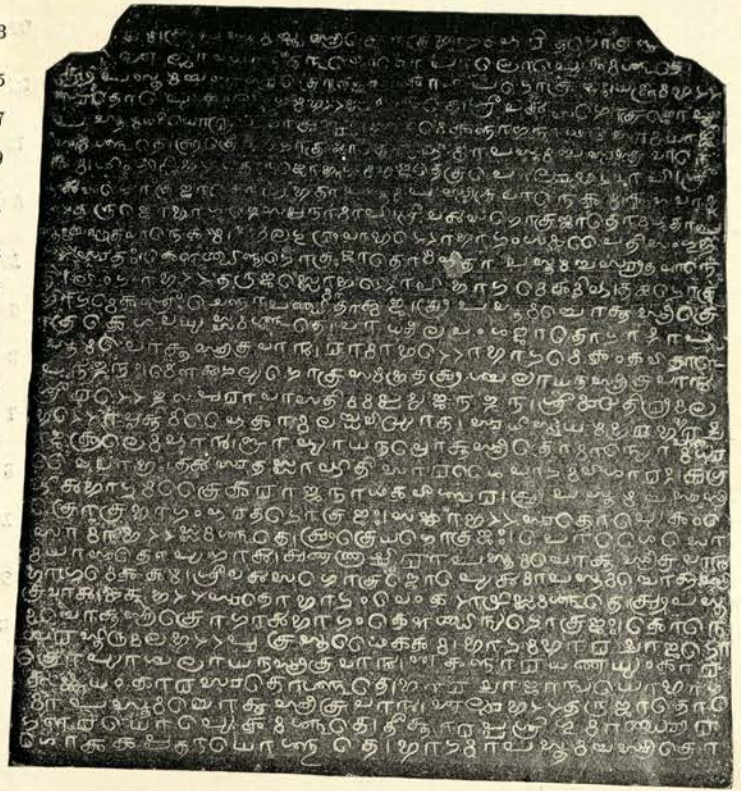
HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

II. a.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

II. b.



HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

SCALE 0.5

42. नाम्नायः ।[। १५*][38] श्रीमां [39]स्ततोजायत एष धीमान् रामा-[40]
43. भिरामक्षितिपोभिरामः । धीरो गभीरः श्रुत
44. वानुदारस्सारो गुणानामिह योतिवीरः [।] । १६*][41]
45. यस्य व्यथायि[42] विधिना स्मरकाम्यरूप(म्)न्तस्यै-
46. वँ भूषणतया सदयो [43]गुणौघः । भूषा च तस्य क-
47. लशोत्भवजिष्णुवाणि[44] तत्भूषणञ्च शिवभक्तिरच-
48. ञ्चला श्रीः ।[। १७*][45] पुण्यज जयन्तमं[ग*]लपुरनाथो यः पुराण-
49. शास्त्रज्ञः । वामाळकामनोभूः क्षेमासुरनारसिं-
50. हसत्त्रिरुदः[46] ।[। १८*] केरळ तमोद्दिवाकर आरवधावद्रणा-
51. हितो भेर्य्याः ।[। १८, ॥*][47] श्रीचोळसिन्धुवडवानल एष विद्व
52. द्वाचोदितस्वचरितो वरदेवपाण्ड्यः । पाटिरशै-
53. लवरकूटविहारभूमिः कोटीरहारीवलयो[48] वल-
54. शासनस्य ।[। १९, ॥*][49] जीवब्रह्मस्थैकतानन्यवृत्तिर्द्देवब्र-
55. ह्मस्थापनाचार्य्य कीर्त्तिः । क्षेमन्दानात् कल्पयन् सज्ज-
56. नानाम् सामन्तानाञ्चक्रवर्त्तीति कीर्त्यः ।[। २०, ॥*][50] राजाधिराज इह-
57. रञ्जितजीवलोको भोजानवद्यभणितिर्भुवनैक-
58. वीरः । ख्यातोतिवीरमहितक्षितिपोपवादभीतो
59. भयो रिपुकुलात्[51] भुविशास्ति राज्यम् ॥ [॥२१, ॥*][52]

Second Plate : First Side.

60. श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रस्य सिंहासनमुपेयुषः
61. त्रियस्त्रिंशद्वत्सरेषु समतीतेषुसम्मतेः ।[। २२ ॥*] सत्यमान्ये शका-
62. ब्दे च वर्षे दुर्म्मुखिनामनि । दक्षिणायनगे भानौ वर्षर्त्तौ[53]
63. सिंह[54]भास्वति ।[। २३, ॥*] शुक्लपक्षे शुभे पुण्यद्वादश्यां सोमवा-

38. Metre, of vv. 13–15, आर्या.
39. The *anusvara* symbol of मां is engraved below the line.
40. The secondary *a* of मा begins the next line.
41. Metre, इन्द्रवज्रा.
42. Read व्यधायि.
43. The letter णौ is represented by *n* and the second member of the secondary *au*.
44. Read कलशोद्भव जिष्णुवाणी तद्भूषणञ्च.
45. Metre, वसन्ततिलकम्.
46. Read ०सद्विरुदः.
47. Metre, of vv. 18–18½, आर्या.
48. Read काटीरहारिवलयो.
49. Metre, वसन्ततिलकम्.
50. Metre, शालिनी
51. Read ०कुलाद्भुवि.
52. Metre, वशन्ततिलकम्
53. Read वर्षर्त्तौ.
54. Read सिंह.

64. सरे । श्रवणक्षे[55] शुभे योगे करणे शुभनामनि ।[। २४, ॥*] हरिदा-
65. ससुतो धीमान्त्रामकृष्णपनायकः प्रणम्यशिरसा भूपम्
66. पुण्यशीलो व्यजिज्ञपत् ।[। २५, ॥*] ग्रामार्थमस्य विज्ञप्तिं विशेषज्ञो-[56]
67. नुपालयन् । धनिष्ठातारसञ्जातः पवित्रात्रेयगोत्रजः [॥ २६*]
68. अभिरामहीपोयमतिवीरापराह्वयः । विप्रेभ्यो वेदमु-
69. ख्येभ्यो नानागोत्रेभ्य आदरात् ।[। २७, ॥*] भागत्रयमितं ग्रामं सहि-
70. रण्याम्बु दत्तवान् दत्तस्यास्य पुतुक्कोट्टै प्रदेशान्तरमे
71. युषः ।[। २८, ॥*] श्रीनतिक्कुटि नाम्नोतिवीररामपुरस्य तु । राजमन्त्रिवरैः[57]
72. कृत्तपत्रिकार्थानुसारतः ।[। २९, ॥*] कथ्यन्ते साम्प्रतं सीमाश्चतु-
73. र्दिक्षु यथाक्रमम् ।[। ३०*][58] पूर्व्वाशिलारिभट्टि श्रितसीमावरजलाशयात्
74. पश्चात् । दक्षिणसीमां मोदकसीमायाश्चैव सममतोत्तरतः[59] ।[। ३१*][60] प-
75. श्चिमा पुरतस्सीमाकंकिरट्टिजलाशयात् । उदकसीमा मता काटने-[61]
76. रिविख्यातसीमतः ।[। ३२*] नल्लमातुशन्तै नीवृत्गामि[62]मार्ग्गाच्च दक्षिणे ।[63]
77. इत्थमुत्तचतुस्सीमे[64] ग्रामे भागत्रयन्द्विजाः ।[। ३३*] विभज्य भागान्
78. प्रापुद्विचत्वारिंशत्[65] समम् पुनः । कथ्यन्ते भगिनो विप्रा गो-
79. त्रसूत्रपुरस्सरम् ।[। ३४*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रसञ्जातस्यापस्तम्बोक्त[66]सू-
80. त्रिणः । उन्धुप्पुट्टूरस्तितेरंग[67] श्रीनल्लाच्चक्रवर्त्तिन : ।[। ३५*] सुतस्य को
81. ण्डप्पय्यंकार[68]वरस्य तनयोनघः । श्रीमद्रामानुजय्यंकार[69]-भाग-
82. द्वयमिहाश्नुते ।[। ३६*] भारद्वाजान्वयो वानिवळभागाश्वलायनः । उड-
83. यम्भट्टपुत्रोगात्[70] गोविन्दो भागमेककम् आपस्तम्बसुसू-
84. त्रोत्र कौण्डिन्यो भागमेककम् । भवानिभट्टतनुजस्तिप्पाभट्ट-
85. स्समश्नुते ।[। ३८*] वीरम्भट्टसुतः । कुत्सगोत्रजो भागमेककम् । आप-
86. स्तम्ब [सु*] सूत्रोत्र कृष्णम्भट्टस्समश्नुते ।[। ३९*][71] यासत्गो[72]त्रभवो गादा[73]

55. Read श्रवणर्क्षे.
56. The first member of ज्ञो is in this line and the rest at the beginning of the next.
57. The secondary *ai* symbols are at the end of this line and *r* at the beginning of the next.
58. Metre of vv. 22½-30, अनुष्टुप्.
59. Read सम्म०.
60. Metre, आर्या.
61. The secondary *e* of ने is in this line, while *n* begins the next line.
62. Read ०द्रामि०.
63. The secondary *e* of णे is at the end of this and *n* at the beginning of the next line.
64. Read इत्थमुक्त०.
65. Read ०पुद्वि०.
66. Read ०बोक्त०.
67. Read रङ्ग०.
68. Read ०कार्.
69. Read ०कार्.
70. Read ०द्रोविन्दो.
71. Metre of vv. 32-39, अनुष्टुप्.
72. Read यासद्गोत्र०.
73. The secondary *a* of दा is at the beginning of the next line.

87. पस्तम्बोत्तसूत्रवानत्र[72] । भागं शिंकिरिभट्टो देहार-
88. म्मल्लुभट्टसुत एकम् ।[। ४०*] यासत्गोत्र[73] जातो महता[74] पस्तम्सूत्रवा-
89. नत्र । शिंकिरिभट्टतनूजस्तिरुमलभट्टोपि भागमेकमिह ।[। ४१*] आपस्त-[75]
90. म्बो[76]त्तसूत्रोत्तभागं कौशिकगोत्रजः। रामाभट्टसुतो-
91. प्येकमब्बाभट्टस्समश्नुते ।[। ४२*][77] मारेवल्लिग तिरुमलभट्टसुतः काश्यपा-
92. न्वयो लभते । भागन्तिरुमलभट्टो मभितापस्तम्बसूत्रवाने[78]-

Second Plate: Second Side.

93. कम् ।[। ४३*] [79] आपस्तम्ब्ब[सु*]सूत्रोत्र[80] भार्ग, हरित गोत्रज[:*][81]
94. एल्लावधानितनुजो गोपालोप्येकमश्नुते ।[। ४४*]
95. आपस्तम्बसुसूत्रोत्रभागं काश्यपगोत्रजः[81] यज्ञम्भट्ट-
96. सुतोप्येकं लिङ्गम्भट्टस्समश्नुते[82] ।[। ४५*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रजोप्य[।*]-
97. पस्तम्बीयो रुघवा अजः[83] । भागमेकन्नागनाथसोमयाजी-
98 समश्नुते ।[। ४६*][84] आत्रेयगोत्रजातो महितापस्तम्बसूत्रवाने-
99. कम् । शिंगिरिभट्टतनूजो भा[84]गम् भजतेत्र पोल्लुभट्टोपि[85] ।[। ४७] श्री-
100. वत्सगोत्रजातो लभतापस्तम्पसूत्रवाने[86]कम् । कसवाभ-
101. ट्ट तनूजो भागन्देसप्पनामापि ।[। ४८*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रजातो महितापः-
102. स्तम्ब सूत्रवानेकम् । दर्भलगुरुवाभट्टो भागं समुपैति संगुभ-
103. ट्टसुतः ।[। ४९*] कौण्डिन्न्यगोत्रजातो महितापस्तम्बसूत्रवाने-
104. ति । लिंगा[87] भट्टतनूजस्सोमा भट्टोपि[88] भागमेकमिह ।[। ५०*][89] तत्गोत्र[90] [जो*]-
105. भागमेकं श्रीचेन्नापण्डितात्मज[:*] । आपस्तम्बोत्तसूत्रो[91]-
106. त्र केशवय्य स्समश्नुते ।[। ५१*] वाधूलवंशजातो गादाप-
107. स्तम्पोत्तसूत्रवान्[91] । रामाभट्टो भागमेकं कविकाळ-

74. Read ०बोक्त०.
75. Metre of vv. 40–41, आर्या.
76. Read ०बोक्त०.
77. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.
78. Read महितापस्तम्ब०.
79. Metre, आर्या.
80. Read आपस्तम्ब०.
81. ज is written like न्दु.
82. Read लिङ्गम्भट्ट०.
83. Read राघवात्मजः.
84. The secondary *a* symbol of भा is engraved below the line.
85. The secondary *e* symbol of ट्टो is engraved below the line in front of भ thereby making it appear to belong to भ.
86. Read ०स्तम्ब०.
87. Read लिङ्गा०.
88. मा in सोमा is engraved below the line.
89. Metre of vv. 46–53, आर्या.
90. Read तद्गोत्र०.
91. Read ०म्बोक्त०.
92. Read मांद्रत्य०.

108. पनन्दनः ।[। ९२*] मौत्गल्यगोत्रसम्भूत आश्वलायनसूत्रवान् [।*]
109. श्रीरट्टेन्द[ल][93] पुरावासतिमुम्प्पद्यजनन्दन[:*] ।[। ९३*][94] श्रीमुखतिरुमल-
110. भट्टो वृत्तिमिहैकामल०ष विख्यात[:*] ।[। ९३, ॥*][95] सुधी स्वयम्भूरभव[त्] भ[।*]रद्वा [96]
111. जकुले महान् ।[। ९४*] न्द्राह्यायनप्रोक्त[97] सूत्रोमान्यो मधु-
112. वैवात्रः[98]। तत्सुतस्साहितीसारशैवागमविशारद[:*] ।[। ९५*] अग्र-
113. हीत् भागमत्रैक[99] राजनाथकवीश्वर[:*] आपस्तम्बसुसू-
114. त्रोत्र भागं हरतगोत्रजः[100] ।[। ९३*] सर्व्वाभट्टसुतोप्येकं
115. [101]सोमाभट्टस्समश्नुते । आत्रेयगोत्रजः(।) पोशैसो-
116. मयासुतोप्यगात् ।[। ९७*] अण्णाच्चिरापस्तम्बोक्त[102]सूत्रवान्
117. भागमेककं । श्रीवत्सगोत्रजोप्येत्मापस्तम्बोक्तसू-
118. त्रवात् ।[। ९८*] मुत्तुभट्टसुतो भागं [103]वेंकटाद्रिस्समश्नुते । आपस्त-
119. म्बोक्तसूत्रोगात् भागं[105] कौण्डिन्यगोत्रजः ।[। ९९*] कोने-
120. श्वरस्तिरुमलभट्टपुत्रस्तथैककम् । भागम् भारद्वाजगो-
121. त्रोप्याश्वलायनसूत्रवान् ।[। ६०*] एकन्नारणय्यंकार-[106]
122. कृष्णयंकारसुतोश्नुते[107] । भारद्वाजान्वयोभाग-
123. मापस्तम्बोक्तसूत्रवान्[108] ।[। ६१*] एल्लुभट्टतनुजातो
124. [109]गौरयोप्येकमश्नुते । तीत्तारप्पश्रीगुमाण्डूर
125. शोक्कप्पतनयोश्नुते ।[। ६२*] भागमापस्तम्बसूत्रो-

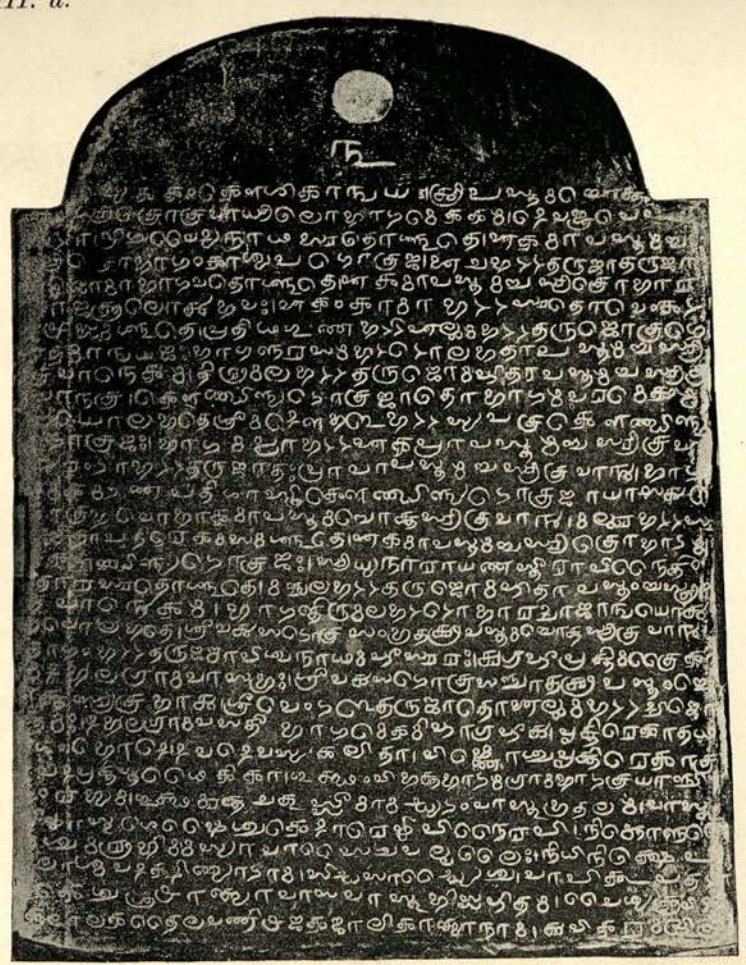
Third Plate: First Side.

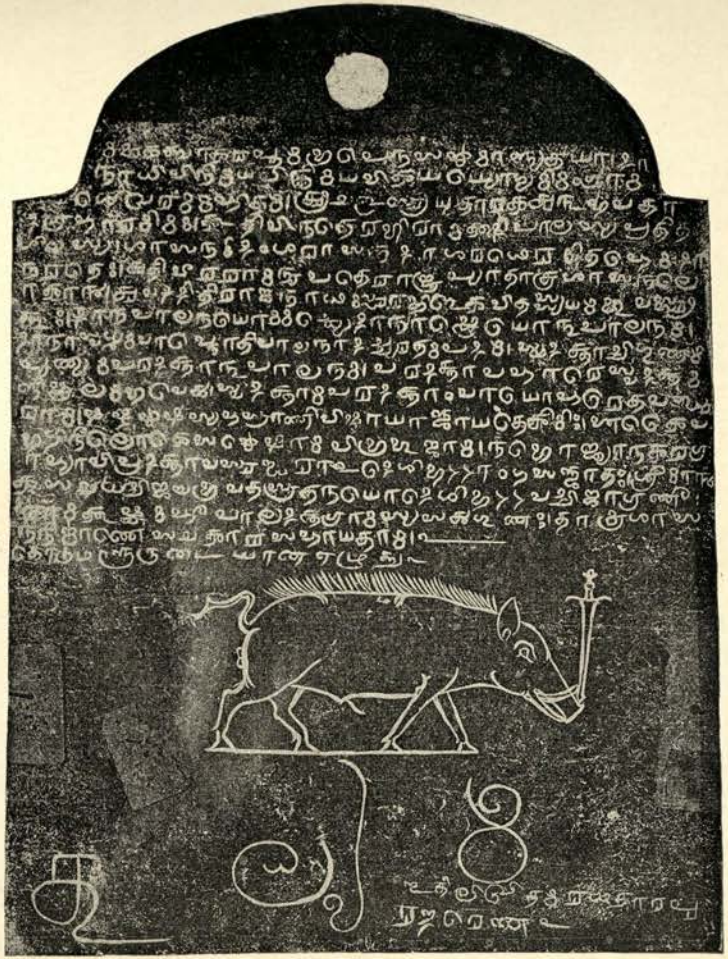
126. प्येककं कौशिकान्वयः आपस्तम्बोक्त-[110]
127. सूत्रोत्र वाधूलो भागमेककम् ।[। ६३*] देवज्ञवें-[111]
128. [क]टाद्रिश्च वैद्यनाथसुतोश्नुते । एकमापस्तम्ब-

93. The letter *e* is of the Tamil alphabet
94. Metre of vv. 51–53, अनुष्टुप्.
95. Metre, आर्या.
96. Read वद्भार०. The letters वत् are engraved below the line.
97. Read द्राह्यायनप्रोक्त०.
98. The passage here is not clear.
99. Read ०द्भागमत्रैक०.
100. Read हरित०.
101. The first member of सो alone is at the end of this line.
102. Read ०म्बोक्त०.
103. Read ०प्येकमापस्तम्बोक्तसूत्रवान्.
104. Read वेङ्कटाद्रि०.
105. Read ०म्बोक्तसूत्रोगाद्भागं.
106. Read ०कार.
107. Read ०कार.
108. Read ०म्बोक्त
109. The secondary *e* part of the *au* symbol is in this line and the rest are in the next one.
110. Read ०म्बोक्त०.
111. Read वेङ्कटाद्रि०.

III. a.

III. b.





Dalavay Agraharam Plates of Ativirarama Pandya (No. III).

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO

SCALE 0.5

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129. सूभो भागं काश्यपगोत्रज [:*] ।[। ६६*] एत्तभट्टतनूजात (नूजा)
130. स्सोमाभागवतोश्नुते । एकमापस्तम्बसूत्रो भार-
131. [द्व]ा जकुलोत्भवः[112] ।[। ६७*] एकं कामाभट्टसुतो वेंकट[ा][113]
132. द्रि स्समश्नुते ।[।६७, ॥*][114] प्रतिथगुणभ[115] ट्टि एल्लम्भट्टतनूजोत्र गै[ा][116]
133. तमान्वयजः । भागत्रसम्भट्टतनूजो महितापस्तम्बसू
134. त्रवानेकम् ।[। ६८*] तिरुमलभट्तनूजो महितापस्तम्बसू-
135. त्रवानत्र । कौण्डिन्न्यगोत्रजातो भागम् वरमेकम्-[117]
136. [प्प]यो लभते [॥ ६९*] श्रीमदौबळभट्टस्य पत्र [:*] कौण्डिन्न्य-
137. गे[ा]त्रजः । भागमप्पाभट्ट एक[118] म्रा[पा*]पस्तम्बसूत्रव[ा]-
138. न् [॥ ९०*] रंगा[119] भट्टतनूजातः म्रापापस्तम्बसूत्रवान् । भाग-
139. [मे]कम् गणपतिशास्त्रि कौण्डिन्न्यगोत्रज(ा)[:*] [७१*] यासत्
140. [गो][120]त्रभवो भाकमापस्तम्बोत्तसूत्रवान्[121]। मल्लुभट्टसु-
141. [त]स्सीतापतिरेकमसमश्नुते[122] ।[। ७२*][123] एकमापस्तम्बसूत्रो भागम् (।)
142. कौण्डिन्न्यगोत्रजः । [124]सूर्य्यनारायणस्तीराविनैती-
143. [त्] त्तार[125]सुतोश्नुते ।[। ७३*][126] मञ्चलभट्टतनूजो महितापस्तम्बसू[127]
144. [त्र]वानेकम् । भागन्तिरुमलभट्टो भारद्वाजान्वयोत्-[128]
145. [भ]वोलभते ।[। ७४*] श्रीवत्सगोत्रसंभूत आपस्तम्बोत्त[129]सूत्रवान्[।]
146. [न]ागंभट्टतनूजन्मा विश्वनाथमहिसुरः ।[। ७५] अग्रही[130]वृत्तिमत्रैक-
147. [म्] दर्भलग्रामवासभूः । श्रीवत्सगोत्रसञ्जात[131] आपस्तंबे[ा]-[132]
148. त्तसूत्रभात् ।[। ७६*] श्रीवेंगळ[133]तनूजातो एल्लम्भट्टाद्विजो-

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112. Read ०द्भवः.
113. Read वेङ्कटा०.
114. Metre of vv. 54–67½, अनुष्टुप्.
115. Read प्रथित.
116. The first two members of the letter गौ are in this line and the third in the next.
117. Read ०मप्पयो.
118. Read एकं.
119. Read रङ्गा०.
120. Read ०द्गोत्र०.
121. Read भागमापस्तम्बोक्त.
122. Read ०पतिरेकं समश्नुते.
123. Metre of vv. 68–72, अनुष्टुप्.
124. Read सूर्य०.
125. Read तत्तार.
126. Metre गीतिः.
127. Read ०स्तम्ब०.
128. Read ०द्भवो०
129. Read ०स्तम्बोक्त.
130. Read ०हीद्वृत्ति०.
131. Read सञ्जातआपस्तम्बोक्तसूत्र भाक्.
132. The last member of बो is at the beginning of the next line.
133. Read वेङ्गळ०.

149. त्तमः । दर्भलग्रामवसती[134] भागमेकमिहाग्रहीत् ।[। ७७*] वृत्तिरेका तथ[ा][135]
150. [शं]भोर्द्देवदेवस्य कलिता । विष्णोश्च वृत्तिरेकात्र
151. [वे]दवृत्तिस्तथैकिका ।[। ७७*][136] इत्थंविभक्त [137]भागम् [138]गामभागत्रयाञ्चि-
152. ०रम्यम्[139] । [७८ रे*] इत्थमुक्त[140] चतुस्सीमामध्यगं वास्तुभूतलम् ।[।७९*][141] वास्तु-
153. [भि] र्व्वास्तुशेषैश्च केदारैर्व्विपिनै[142] रपि । निम्नोन्न[तै]-[143]
154. श्च मरुभिर्म्मस्थावासैश्च[144]पल्वलैः ।[। ८०*][145] निधिनिक्षेप-
155. [ज]लाश्मवदक्षिण्यागाम[146] (।) सिद्धसाध्येश्च । वापिकू[147]पतटा-
156. कैश्चश्शूद्रान्त्यावासवास्तुभिस्सहितम् ।[। ८१*] वैश्यकुविन्द-
157. कुलालकतैलवणिद्र[148]जकजालिकान्त्यानाम् । अविखरमखिल[149]

Third Plate: Second Side.

158. ममुकत्वा [कू]तम्[150] भूपेन सर्व्वमान्यतया ।[। ८२*]दा-
159. नाधिविनिमय (विनिमय) विक्रयय्योग्य[151]मिमं ग्राम-
160. शेखरम् महितम् । आचन्द्रसूय्यतारक[152] अनुभवता-
161. दग्रहारमिमम् । कृतिविनतेर[153]भिरामक्षि[ति*]पालस्य प्रतीति-
162. शीलस्य । शासनमिदं शरासनदाशरथेरमितहेमदा-
163. नरतेः ।[। ८४*] अतिवीररामनृपतेराज्ञप्यातात्र शासनलो-
164. कान्[154] । अवददिति राजनाथस्सुरभिळकवितस्स्ययम्[155]भुवस्सू-
165. नुः ।[। ८५*][156] दानपालनयोर्म्मध्ये दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ।
166. दानास्व[158]र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतम् पदम् ।[। ८६*] स्वदत्ताद्विगुणम्
167. पुण्यम् वरदत्तानुपालनम् । परदत्तापहारे[ण*] स्वदत्त(म्)-

134. Read वसतिर्भाग०.
135. The secondary *a* of था is at the beginning of the next line.
136. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.
137. Read वीभक्त.
138. Read ग्रामं.
139. Read रम्यम्. Metre, गीतिः
140. Read इत्थमुक्तं.
141. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.
142. Read केदारैर्वि०.
143. The first two members of तै—the two secondary *e* symbols are at the end of this line.
144. Read मत्स्या०.
145. Metre, अनुष्टुप्.
146. Read ०ण्यागामि
147. Read वापी.
148. Read वणिग्रज०.
149. Read अपिकरमखिलंमुक्त्वा.
150. कू looks like कर.
151. Read विक्रययोग्य.
152. Read ०सूर्यतारकमनु०.
153. Read कृतवि०.
154. Read ०प्त्या ताम्राशासनश्लोकान्. The first two members of लो of लोकान् are in this line, and the secondary *a* of the same in the next line.
155. Read ०तस्स्व०.
156. Metre of vv. 81–85, गीतिः.
157. Read च्छ्रेयो०.
158. Read ०त्स्वर्ग०.

168. न्निष्फलम् भवेत् ।[। ८७*] स्वदत्ताम् परदत्तां वा यो हरेत व[सु*][न्धु][159]
169. राम् । षष्टर्व्वर्षस्यह[160]स्राणि वि[ष्ट]ायाञ्जायते क्रिमिः[161] ।[।८८*] एकैव-
170. भगिनी लोके सर्व्वेषामपि भूभुजाम् । नभोज्या न करग्रा-[162]
171. ह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुन्धरा [॥ ८९*] ॥ देशिभट्टांग[163] सञ्जातः (।) श्रीमान्
172. कसवयद्विज[।:] बभूव तस्र[164] तनयो देशिभट्टपद्विजाग्रणी[:*] ।[। ९०*]
173. रामकृष्णमहीपालदत्तग्रामस्य सत्गुणः[165] । ताम्रशास-
174. ननिर्म्माणे स चकार सहायताम् ।[। ९१*][166]॥
175. कोडुमळूरुडैयान् ए[illegible]त्तु॥[167]
176. तुल्यम्
177. इति लिखितम्[168] रथकार पु-
177. रन्दरेण ॥

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS,

V. 1. Adoration to Śambhu.

V. 2. Do. Varâhamûrtti.

V. 3. Do. Vighnêśvara (Gajânana).

V. 4. Describes the birth of Chandra, (the moon).

Vv. 5—6. In the lunar race was born Malayadhvaja, an *avâtar* of Kṛishṇa. Praises of his valour.

V. 7. Having had no children he prayed to Îśvara for a child and, by His grace, a daughter was born to him. The child who was called Mînâkshi had three breasts.

V. 7. In the place of Malayadhvaja, she was crowned as queen.

Vv. 8—9. She started out on the conquest of the countries on the four cardinal points of the earth (*digvijaya*). When she approached the Rajatâdri, one of her breasts disappeared. She was married there to Śiva and began to rule her kingdom with Him, seated on a seat with six legs.

V. 10 Praises of Śiva who is said to have indulged in sixty four sports (*lîlâs*).

V. 11. Their son was Ugra. His praises.

159. Read वसुन्धरा
160. Read षष्टिं वर्षसहस्र०.
161. Read कृमिः
162. The secondary *a* of ग्रा is at the beginning of the next line.
163. Read भट्टाङ्ग०.
164. Read वस्य.
165. Read ०द्गुणः.
166. Metre of vv. 81–85, गीतिः.
167. Written in Tamil characters.
168. Read लिखित.

Vv. 12—17. In this line was born Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍya. His son was Vrihivṛitîśvara Pâṇḍyasvâmi. To him was born Abhirâma Pâṇḍya. He was otherwise known as Ativîrarâma and Śrîvallabha. (1) His praises. He was very learned in the Tamiḷ Language and was a Śiva-bhakta.

Vv. 18—21. The usual later Pâṇḍya introduction.

Vv. 22½—29. In the Śaka year 1517, expressed by the chrogram *satyamânya*, which corresponded with the 33rd year after the accession of Śrîvallabha,—on a Monday which was the Puṇya Dvâdaśi of the bright half of the month Śrâvana (Siṁha), Varsha-ṛitu, Dakshiṇâyana of the cyclic year Durmukhi ; on the Śravana nakshatra, Śubha-yôga and Śubha-karaṇa, the king Abhirâma *alias* Ativira, born on the Dhanishṭa nakshatra, granted, at the request of Râmakṛishṇappa Nâyaka, son of Haridâsa, the village of Nadikkuḍi into three parts, under the name of Ativîrarâmapuram. The village thus granted was in Pudukkôṭṭai *sîma*.

V. 29. The king's officers drew up the documents (in connection with the grant).

Vv. 30-32. The boundaries of the village are :—

On the east, Śilârippaṭṭi.

On the south, Môdaka-*sîma*.

On the west, Kaṅgi-reḍḍi tank, and

On the north, Kâḍanêri *sîma* and the way leading to Nallamâttu-śandai.

V. 33 The village was divided into 42 shares and distributed among Brâhmaṇs of various gôtras, a list of these is given below :—

V. 78. List of donees.

Vv. 79-83. The privileges accompanying the grant are detailed,

V. 84. States that this is the *śâsana* of Abhirâma,

V. 85. The *śâsana* was composed by the order of Ativîrarâma by Râjanâthakavi, son of Svayambhû.

Vv. 86-89. Usual imprecatory verses.

(1) Śrîvallabha alias Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya seems to have had the name Abhirâma, a fact which is nowhere else mentioned.

V. 90. Dêśibhaṭṭa's son, Kêśavaya; his son Dêśibhaṭṭa: this man helped in the matter of drawing up of this document.

The record was engraved on copper-plates by Purandara, the maker of chariots (*rathakâra*).

No.	Name of the donee.	His father's name.	Gôtra	Sûtra.	Shares
1	Râmânuja Ayyaṅgâr of Uṇḍuputtûr.	Koṇḍappayyaṅgâr who was the son of Raṅga Nallâṇchakravartti..	Śrîvatsa ...	Âpastamba,	2
2	Gôvinda of Vânivâlam ...	Uḍayam Bhaṭṭa ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Âśvalayana	1
3	Tippâ Bhaṭṭa	Bhavâni Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Âpastamba	1
4	Kṛishṇam Bhaṭṭa ...	Viram Bhaṭṭa ...	Kṛitsa	Do.	1
5	Śinkiri Bhaṭṭa of Dêbâram	Mallu Bhaṭṭa ...	...	Do.	1
6	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Śiṅgiri Bhaṭṭa ...	...	Do.	1
7	Abbâ Bhaṭṭa	Râmâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauśika	Do.	1
8	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa of Mâravalli.	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Kâśyapa	Do.	1
9	Gôpâla	Ellâvadhâni ...	Harita	Do.	1
10	Lingam Bhaṭṭa	Yajñam Bhaṭṭa ...	Kâśyapa	Do.	1
11	Nâganâthasômayâji ...	Râghava (?) ...	Śrîvatsa	Do.	1
12	Pollum Bhaṭṭa	Śiṅgiri Bhaṭṭa ...	Âtreya	Do.	1
13	Dêsappa Bhaṭṭa ...	Kasavâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Śrîvatsa	Do.	1
14	Guruvâ Bhaṭṭa of Darbhaḷa.	Sangu Bhaṭṭa ...	Do. ...	Do.	1
15	Sôma Bhaṭṭa	Liṅgâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Âpastamba	1
16	Kêśavayya	Chennâ Paṇḍita ...	Do. ...	Do.	1
17	Râmâ Bhaṭṭa	Kavi Kâḷappa ...	Vâdhûla	Gâdâpastamba	1
18	Śrîmukha Tirumala Bhaṭṭa of Raṭṭêndalapuram.	Timmappa ...	Maudgalya ...	Âśvalâyana.	1
19	Râjanâtha Kavîśvara ...	Svayambhu ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Drâhyâyana.	1
20	Śômâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Śarvvâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Harita	Âpastamba	1
	Total No. of Shares ...				21

No.	Name of the done.	His father's name.	Gôtra	Śûtra.	Shares
	Brought forward				21
21	Aṇṇâchchi Bhaṭṭa ...	Pôśai Sômayâji ...	Âtrêya	Do.	1
22	Vênkaṭâdri Bhaṭṭa ...	Muttu Bhaṭṭa ...	Śrîvatsa ...	Do.	1
23	Kônêśvara Bhaṭṭa ...	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Do.	1
24	Nârâyaṇa Ayyaṅgâr ...	Kṛishṇa Ayyaṅgâr ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Aśvalâ-yana.	1
25	Gauraya Bhaṭṭa ...	Ellu Bhaṭṭa ...	Do. ...	Âpastamba	1
26	Tîttârappa Bhaṭṭa ...	Sokkappa Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauśika ...	Do.	1
27	Vêṅkaṭâdri Jôsya ...	Vaidyanâtha ...	Vâdhûla	Do.	1
28	Sômâ Bhâgavata ...	Echa Bhaṭṭa ...	Kâśyapa	Do.	1
29	Vêṅkaṭâdri	Kâmâ Bhaṭṭa ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Do.	1
30	Narasimha Bhaṭṭa ...	Ellam Bhaṭṭa ...	Gautama ...	Do.	1
31	Appayya Bhaṭṭa... ...	Tirumala Bhaṭṭa ...	Kauṇḍinya ...	Do.	1
32	Appâ Bhaṭṭa	Aubaḷa Bhaṭṭa ...	Do. ...	Do.	1
33	Gaṇapati Śâstri... ...	Raṅga Bhaṭṭa ...	Do. ...	Âpastamba	1
34	Sîtâpati Bhaṭṭa	Mallu Bhaṭṭa ...	Do. ...	Do.	1
35	Sûryanârayaṇa Bhaṭṭa ...	Tîrâviṇaitîrttâr ...	Do. ...	Do.	1
36	Tirûmala Bhaṭṭa ...	Mañchala Bhaṭṭa ...	Bhâradvâja ...	Do.	1
37	Viśvanâtha Bhaṭṭa of Darbhaḷa.	Nâgam Bhaṭṭa ...	Śrîvatsa ...	Do.	1
38	Ellam Bhaṭṭa of Darbhaḷa	Veṅgaḷa Bhaṭṭa ...	Do. ...	...	1
39	The god Śiva ...	...	...	Do.	1
40	The god Vishṇu... ...	...	...	...	1
41	The Vêdas ...	...	...	...	1
	Total No. of shares ...				42

NO. XIV. THE TENKASI MAHAMANDAPA INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA SRIVALLABHA.

This Sanskrit inscription is engraved upon the north wall of the mahâmaṇḍapa of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṇkâśi. It consists of three verses in three different metres and is written in Grantha alphabet. It records that a Pâṇḍya king named **Varaguṇa Śrivallabha** also known by the name of **Kulaśekhara** (*v.*2.), performed a *yâga* and on that occasion he consecrated a Vighnêśvara whom, the king named Yajñêśa Vighnêśvara, in commemoration of the performance of this *yâga*. Because he got a *yâga* performed,—according to the Dharma-śâstras, it is permitted to a kshatriya to request brahmaṇas to perform *yagas* in his name, and which Varaguṇa Śrîvallabha, claiming to be a kshatriya, got performed,—he styles himself a Dikshita, a title borne by those that have performed *yâgas*. We see the kings who succeeded this prince also adopting this title for themselves, a common trait with the later inglorious persons who always indulge in the past glories of their ancestors. The year of the inscription is given by the chronogram **sugamaka, 1537** of the Śaka era.

Text.[1]

1. श्रीमत्[2]चित्रन[दी] तटेवरगुणश्रीवल्लभक्ष्मापतिर्य्यज्वा[3] स्थापयति स्म देवयजने यज्ञेशवि-
2. घ्नेश्वरम् । प्रादात् तत् पुरतोभिषेकपुरमित्याव[ा] सत्म[4] श्रीयामृत्युम्य[5]श्शकवत्सरे सुगमके तत्रा-
3. ग्रहारोत्तमम् ।[। १*][6] प्रख्यातपाण्ड्यकुलशेखरदेवयज्वा यज्ञेश्वराभिध गणाधिपतेः प्रतिष्ठाम् ।
4. कृत्वाभिषेकपुरमस्य पुरोग्रहारम् प्रादात् स्वदेवयजने निजयाजकेभ्यः[7] ।[। २*] अभिषेकपुरेदेवा-
   [न्यज]-
5. न्तो य[ा*] जका[:*] स्वयम् [।*] दक्षिणस्यामश्नुवते काश्यां कैदारसम्[8] पदम् ॥[॥ ३*][9]

Translation

Verse 1. In the Śaka year 1537 (denoted by) the chronogram *sugamaka*, the sacrificer, king Varaguṇa Śrîvallabha, set up on the bank of the (river) Chitranadi (an image of Vighnêśvara (called) Yajñêśa during a sacrifice (i.e., in commemoration of a sacrifice performed by him), and there presented to the sacrificial priests an excellent *agrahâra* named Abhishêkapura, (situated) in front of it (the deity, which as it were was) the residence of wealth.

Vv. 2-3. Having consecrated during the sacrifice, a Gaṇêśa named Yajñêśvara, the sacrificer, the famous Pâṇḍya Kulaśêkharadêva, gave to his priests the *agrahâra* (named) Abhishêkapura (built) in front of the deity. The sacrificial priests, who were themselves performing sacrifices, are enjoying the yield of the paddy fields in the (*agrahâra* of) Abhishêkapura at Kâśi (Teṇkâśi).

1. From impressions prepared by me.
2. Read श्रीमच्चित्र०.
3. Read ०पतिर्यज्वा.
4. Read सद्म०.
5. Read मृत्विग्म्यश्शक०.
6. Metre, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.
7. Metre, वंसन्ततिलकम्.
8. Read संपदम्.
9. Metre. अनुष्टुप्.

NO. XV. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF VARAGUNA SRIVALLABHA.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagari. The language as also the alphabet of the inscription is Tamiḻ and the record is well preserved. It states that the king Perumâḷ **Sivala-Mâṟaṉ** *alias* **Varagunarâma Panḍya Kulaśekhara Somâjiyâr**, granted a sum of money for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mûlasthânêśvara, in the name of Kâlêri-aṇaiñjâṉ Paṇḍâram. The inscription is dated the Śaka year 1538, which is said to have corresponded with the **third year** of the reign of the king. The Teṉkâśi record of this king is dated, as we have already seen in the Śaka year 1537; from the Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai inscription edited below, we learn that the first year of the reign of this king must be Ś 1535 and therefore the *yâga* which Varaguṇarâma Kulaśêkhara Pâṇḍya celebrated must have been in the second year of the reign of the king.

Text (1)

1. சகாத்தம் ௲௫௱௩௰[அ]ன் செல்லாநின்ற ஸ்ரீ [பெருமாள்] (2) சீவல மாறன் வரகுண-
[ரா]மனான பாண்டிய குலசேகர சோமாசியாற்கு ஆண்டு மூன்றாவது நள-
2. ௵ தை ௴ ௨௰௧௳ சுவாமியார் திருமூலனாதர் கோவில் சீகாரியந் தா[னீ]கர் கண-
க்கற்கு வரக்காட்டின காரியம் சித்தாத்தங்கரை கறவை கா-
3. ணம் கீள[பறு] (3) மாயமானகுறிச்சி ஆபரில் மாவுண்டன் புள்ளியில் காலேரி
அணைஞ்சான் பண்டாரம் பே[ரா]ல் மாகாணி அரைக்க[ாணி]-
4. க்குகார் [பணம்] ௬ பாசானடி [பணம்] ௬ ஆகப்பணடி ப்பன்னிரண்டுடி சுவாமிக்கு
நெய்விளக்குக்குக் கட்டளையிட்டோடி அப்படியே-
5. ஆசந்திராற்கஞ் சந்ததிப்பிறவேசமே சுவாமியுடைய குடியாக க்கட்டளையிட்-
டோமப்படியே கைய்யாண்டு கொ-
6. ள்ள[வும்] இப்படிக்குத் திருவுளப்படி [||*] ௵ ௨௪௰௬

Translation.

11. 1-2. When the Śaka year 1538, (which corresponded with) the third year (of the reign) of the king Pâṇḍya Kulaśêkharadêva Śômâjiyâr *alias* Śivala-Varaguṇarâma, had expired; the 21st of the month of Tai in the year Naḷa, (instruction for the following) business was sent to the Śrîkâryakâra, the Śthânîkas and the accountants of the temple of the god Tirumûlanât;—ha

11. 2-4. In the name of Kâlêri Aṇaiñjâṉ Paṇḍâram of Mâvuṇḍaṉpuḷḷi, one of the cowherds belonging to Mâṉakuṟichchi, the eastern portion of the *kaṟavai-kâṇam* lands on the bank of the Chittâṟu (river), from the *mâgâṇi araikkâṇi* (extent of land), we ordered that for the *kâr* harvest 6 *paṇams* and for the *paśânam* harvest 6 *paṇams*, thus making an aggregate of twelve *paṇams*, be paid for (burning) a ghee lamp (before) the god.

11. 4-6. Thus we ordered that it shall remain the property of the god from generation to generation as long as the moon and the sun last. So let it be taken possession of (with this purpose in view). Thus by the royal will (this order was issued). Be it well.

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) An abbreviated form is employed to denote this word.

(3) Read கீழ்ப்புறமாய்.

No. XVI. AND XVII. THE TIRUKUTTALAM PLATES OF SIVALA VARAGUNA-RAMA *ALIAS* PANDYA KULASEKHARADEVA DIKSHITAR. Ś. 1670.

The accompanying two inscriptions are engraved on two copper-plates belonging to the temple of Kuttâlanâthasvâmin at Tirukuttalam. They are both written in faulty Tamiḻ, but are well preserved. They are said to be of the reign of a king, who is called the **Pâṇḍya Kulaśekharadeva Dikshita** *alias* **Śivala Varâgunarâma**, who bears all the *birudas* of the later Pâṇḍyas. Since he comes about a hundred and thirty-five years after his name-sake, the performer of a *yâga*, he cannot be identical with him. But since the king of the present inscriptions bears his name, we might perhaps take him to be his grandson. Nothing more about this prince is known. He is the last known Pâṇḍya king and unless further discoveries disclose more of them, we might assume him to be the last.

The records employ a large number of contractions in expressions, which become often difficult to make out.

The Karnâṭaka army that is spoken of in the first record might, I am inclined to believe, refer to the army—(the Hindu section of it), of the Nabob of the Karnatic, for by this time the whole of southern Presidency had come under the rule of the Nabob of the Karnatic.

The second inscription is identical with the first in every thing except the donors. A *sâyarakashai kaṭṭaḷai* is established also by the Piḷḷaimârs and the Mudalimârs and the conditions of payments by individuals are also identical with those of the first plate. So, this record is left untranslated.

Text

1. உ சாலிவாகன சகார்த்தம் (2) ௲௬௱௭௰௫ன் மேல்ச்செ-
2. ல்லாநின்ற கொல்லம் சுகத்திறிபவனேகவீர (3) சந்திர-
3. குலப்பிறதீப (4) மதுராமகேந்திர சேந்தமங்கலப்புர-
4. ாவலதீசுர (5) செயமாசூர (6) நாரசிங்க கேரளதமோதி-
5. வாகர சோளசிந்து வடவாநல சங்கீத சாயுத்தியச-
6. ாறுவபூவ (7) தெய்வ(8)ப்பிராமணதாபனாசாரிய கோசடி-
7. லவன்மரான திறிபுவன சக்கிறவற்த்தி (9) கோனே[ரி]ன்மை-
8. கொண்டான் ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் அளகம் (10) பெருமாள் யிற-
9. ந்த (11) காலமெடுத்த சீவலவரகுண ராம[ப]ாண்டிய குலசேக-
10. ரதேவதீட்சதருக்கு ஆண்டு ஆவது கொல்லம் [௮]௱௩௰-
11. ௵ பவ௵ கார்தீ (12) ௴ (வ) ௨௰௬ உ ஆதித்தவாரமும் உத்திர-
12. நட்செத்தி[ர]மும் (13) நவமியும் ஆயுட்க்கிரண நாமயோ-
13. கமும் கெசகரனமும் (14) சுபயோக சுபகரணமும் பெ-
14. ற்ற புன்னிய (15) [தி]னத்தில் சுவாமி குத்தாலனாத (16) சுவா-

(1) From the original and the impressions.
(2) Read சகாப்தம்
(3) Read ஸ்வஸ்திரிபுவனேகவீர
(4) Read ०பிரதீப
(5) Read ०புரவராதீசுவர
(6) Read க்ஷேமாசுர०
(7) Read சார்வபௌம
(8) Read தேவ.
(9) Read சக்கிரவர்த்தி
(10) Read அழகன்०
(11) Read இறந்த०
(12) Read கார்த்திகை
(13) Read நட்சத்திரமும்
(14) Read கஜகரணமும்
(15) Read புண்ணிய०
(16) Read குற்றாலநாத०

15. மி கோவில்ச் சாயலட்சைக் (17) கட்டளைக்கு இராசு[ரா]க்க-
16. ள் கற்களுடகமத்த உபயராணுவமும் (18) குடி [ப]டைசெய்-
17. தொளிலாளியழுங் (19) கட்டளை வைத்துக்கொடுத்த-
18. து வருசம் (20) ஒன்றுக்குப் பல்லக்குக்காறருக்குப்ப-
19. த்து பணமும் குதிரை சுறுட்டிக்காரருக்கு மூன்-
20. றுபணமும் ராணுவத்துக்கு ஒரு பணமுமத்தக்குடி-
21. படைக்கு ஒரு பணம் வீதம் இந்தப்படிக்குக்குடுத்து
22. நடத்தி வருவோமாகவும் ஒ இந்தப்படிக்கு உபய-
23. ராணுவத்தார்த்தற்மத்தைப் (21) பரிபாலனம் பண்-
24. ணின பேர் தெய்வப்பிரதிட்டை பண்ணின புண்ணி-
25. யத்தில் அடைவாராகவும் [|| *] இதற்கு அதிதம்பண்ணி-
26. ன பேர் மாதா பிதாவுக்குங்குருவுக்கும் அதிதம்
27. பண்ணின தோஷத்திலேயும் கெங்கைக் (22) கரையிலே
28. கோகத்தி பிரமத்திச் சிறிகத்தி (23) பண்ணின தோ-
29. ஷத்திலேயும் போவாராகவும் ஒ இப்படிக்குத்தா-
30. ன சாதனமாக குத்தாலனுத (16) சுவாமி சாயலட்-
31. சைக் (17) கட்டளைக்கு உபயராணுவத்தார் பட்டை-
32. யம் எளுதி (24) குடுத்தோம் [|| *] இந்தத்தற்மத்துக்க[ரா]-
33. ரியம் திருவாடுதுறை (25) மடத்துப் பாரிசஞ்செய்-
34. திருப்பதால்த் தற்மம் (21) பரிபாலனமாக நடத்[து]-
35. விச்சுக் கொள்வாராகவும் ஒ குத்தாலனு[தசு]- (16)
36. வாமி துணை ஒ

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

11. 1—2. The year 1675 of the Śâlivâhana Śaka era had expired ;

11. 2—8. The usual later Pâṇḍya introduction here follows.

11. 8—22. In the Kollam year 930 Bhava on the auspicious day, the 26th of (the month) Kârttigai, Sunday Uttara nakshatra the ninth *tithi* and Âyush-karaṇa, in the reign of Perumâḷ Aḷagaṇ Perumâḷ the Pâṇḍya king Kulaśêkharadêva Dikshitar *alias* Śîvala Varaguṇarâma, who brought back the past (glory) ; the two armies, the one of the king of Karnâṭaka and those of the others, the farmers and other labourers established *a kaṭṭaḷai* (a course of pûja and offerings) to be daily performed in the evenings : (for which) we agreed to pay annually each at the rate of ten *paṇams* for one who employs a palanquin : for horsemen, three *paṇams* ; for foot soldiers, one *paṇam* ; and for all others a *paṇam*. Thus we agreed to pay and conduct the kaṭṭaḷai.

11. 22—29. Those that protect this charity would obtain virtue, while those that wish evil to it shall incur sins.

11. 29—32. Thus we executed this bond of charity for the evening services of the god Kuttâlanâthasvâmin.

11. 32—36. As this charity has been placed under the management of the Tiruvâḍuturai *maṭha*, it shall take care of the charity. May the grace of the god Kuttâlanâthasvâmin (be with us).

(17) Read சாயரட்சை
(18) Read° ராணுவரும்.
(19) Read தொழிலாளிகளும்.
(20) Read வருஷம்.
(21) Reed தர்மத்தை
(22) Read கங்கை.
(23) Read கோஹத்தி, பிரம்மஹத்தி, ஸ்திரீஹத்தி.
(24) Read எழுதி.°
(25) Read திருவாவடுதுறை.•

NO. XVIII.

Text (1)

FIRST SIDE.

1. உ சாலிவாகன சகார்த்தம் (2) ௲௬௱௭௰௫ன் மேல்ச்செல்-
2. லாநின்ற கொல்லம் சுகத்திறிபவனேக (3) வீர சந்திரகுலப்பி-
3. றதீப (4) மதுராமகேந்திர சேந்தமங்கலப்புராவலதீசுர (5) செ-
4. ய மாசூர (6) நாரசிங்க [கேரளதமோ] திவாகர சொளசிந்துவட-
5. வாநல சங்கீத சாயுத்திய சாறுவபவ (7) தெய்வப்பிரமாண [த]-
6. ாபனாசாரிய கோசடிலவன்மரான திறிபுவனச் சக்கிறவற்த் (8)
7. தி கோனரி [ன்*] மைகொண்டான் ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் அளகம் (9) பெ-
8. ருமாள் யிறந்த (10) காலமெடுத்த சீவலவரகுணராமபாண்டி-
9. ய குலசேகர தேவதீட்சதருக்கு ஆண்டு ஆவது கொல்லம் ௪-
10. ௱௩௰௫ பவ௵ கார்த்தீ (11) மீ (உ) ௨௰௬ உ ஆதித்தவாரமும் உத்தி-
11. ரநட்செத்தி [ர*]மும் (12)நவமியும் ஆயுட்க்கிரணநாம யோகமும்
12. கெசகரணமும் (13) சுபயோக சுபகரணமும் பெற்ற புண்ணிய- (14)
13. [தி]னத்தில் சுவாமி குத்தாலனாத (15) சுவாமி கோவில்ச் சாய-
14. லட்சைக் (16) கட்டளைக்குக் காராள த்திலகுலகமான க்கங்-
15. காகுலத்தரசான பிள்ளைமார் கட்டளையாக வச்சுக்-
16. குடுத்தது [|*] பல்லாக்குக்காறர் [ஒன்று]க்கு [பணம்] (18) க மும் குதிரை-
17. சுறுட்டிக்காறர் [பணம்] (18) ரு மும் தொளில்ச்செய்து வருகிற பேர்
18. க யிந்தப்படிக்கு [சுவாமி] (19) குத்தாலனாத சுவாமி சாயலட்சைக்- (16)
19. கட்டளைக்குக்குடுத்து நடத்தி வருவோமாகவும் [||*] யிந்த (20) [ப்]ப-
20. டிக்குப் பிள்ளைமார்த்தற்மத்தைப் பரிபாலனம் பண்ணின-
21. பேர் தெய்வப்பிறதிட்டைபண்ணின புண்ணியத்தில் அடை-
22. வாராகவும் [||*] இதற்கு அகிதம் பண்ணின பேர் மாதா பித-
23. ாவுக்குங் குருவுக்கும் அகிதம் பண்ணினதோஷத்திலே-
24. யும் கெங்கைக் (21) கரையிலே கோகத்தி பிரமித்தித்திறிக-
25. த்தி (22) பண்ணின தோஷத்திலேயும் போவாராகவும் உ
26. இப்படிக்குத்தான சாதனமாக குத்தாலனாத (15) சுவாமிச-
27. ாயலட்சைக் (16) கட்டளைக்கு பிள்ளைமார்பட்டையம் எ-

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(1) From the original and inked impressions.
(2) Read சகாப்தம்.
(3) Read ஸவஸித திரிபுவனேக.०
(4) Read பிரதீப.०
(5) Read ० புரவராதீசுவர
(6) Read க்ஷேமாசுர०
(7) Read சார்வபௌம தேவ०
(8) Read சக்கிரவர்த்தி.
(9) Read அழகம்०.
(10) Read இறந்த०.
(11) Read கார்த்திகை०.
(12) Read நட்சத்திர.०
(13) Read கஜ.०
(14) Read புண்ணிய.०
(15) Read குற்றாலநாத.०
(16) Read சாயரக்ஷை.
(17) Read குலதிலகமான.
(18) Here, a symbol to express '*panam*' is employed.
(19) A contracted form for *svâmi* is used.
(20) Read இந்த०.
(21) Read கங்கை.०
(22) Read கோஹத்தி, பிரம்மஹத்தி, ஸ்திரீஹத்தி

28. ளுதி (23) குடுத்தோம் [|| *] யிந்தத் (20) தற்மத்துக் (24) காரியம் காளாஞ்-
29. சிப்பண்டாரம் யேர்த்துகொண்டு சந்திராதித்தர் உள்-
30. ளவரைக்கும் த்தற்மத்துக் (24) காரியம் பரிபாலனம் செயுது (25)
31. வருவாராகவும் ஒ இப்படிக்கு க்குத்தாலளுத (15) [சுவாமி] (19) துணை ஒ

SECOND SIDE.

32. இந்தப்ப[டி]க்கு முதலிமார் பிள்ளைமார் தற்மத்தை (24) நடத்திவரு-
33. வோ(ம்)மாகவும் ஒ
34. ஒ இந்தத்தற்மம் (24) திருவாடுதுறை மடத்துப்பாரிசஞ்-
35. செய்திருப்பதால் த்த[ற்]மம் (24) பரிபாலனமாக நடத்தி-
36. விச்சுக்கொள்வாராகவும் ஒ குளல்வாய் மொளி-
37. யம்மன் (26) துணை ஒ இந்த சாயலட்டைக் (16) கட்டளை-
38. த்தற்மம் (24) பிள்ளை[மார்]க்கு சபாபதி துணை ஒ

(23) Read எழுதி.ஂ
(24) Read தர்மஂ
(25) Read செய்து.
(26) Read குழல்வாய் மொழியம்மன்.

(To be continued)

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. VII

Trivandram Museum Stone Inscription of Maranjadaiyan

TRIVANDRAM MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

While editing his article on the 'Eight Vaṭṭeluttu Inscriptions of the Chôḷa Kings, published in 1898, Prof. E. Hultzsch has observed (1) that "Prof. Buhler in his Indian Palaeography (p. 72, f, of the German Edition) and Mr. Venkayya in his paper on the Kôṭṭayam plates of Vîrarâghava (above Vol. IV., p. 293) have lately urged the necessity of publishing Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions, the dates of which can be fixed with certainty. Hence I take this opportunity for issuing mechanical copies of eight Chôḷa Inscriptions. None of these is in a condition of complete preservation; but I trust that even in their necessarily imperfect state the accompanying *fac-similes* will prove useful for tracing the development of the Vaṭṭeluttu-alphabet." Since then only four more *fac-similes* of Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions have been published; (2) nor are these of well preserved records. The complaint, that we have not got a sufficient number of plates of Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions published, has been re-iterated by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for the year 1906-7. Says he; "It is unsafe to base any definite conclusions solely on the Vaṭṭeluttu portion, because a sufficient number of inscriptions in that alphabet have not yet been published with photo-lithographic plates for comparison." (3) This paper is the first of a series intended to supply this want of Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions with plates.

The sub-joined inscription is engraved on a black, hard stone on the back of which is sculptured in bas-relief a hero, with a bow in one hand standing facing the proper right. It is meant to represent Raṇakirtti, in whose name and memory the stone was set up. The epigraph was discovered by the late Prof. Sundaram Pillai, M. A., of the Travancore Educational Service near Âramboḷi, one of the frontier stations of the Travancore State. Recognising its antiquity and historical importance, he got the stone bearing it removed to the Trivandram Museum, where it is now set up on the southern side of the western or the main gate, exposed to wind and weather. The inscription in consequence is now somewhat worn out. I now edit it from the impressions prepared by my copyists.

The inscription under consideration is written on a neatly dressed surface which measures a foot by two and a quarter feet. It has been previously ruled and between every two lines the letters are engraved. There are on the whole eighteen lines but the last does not show any writing. The whole inscription is bounded on its four sides by four deep cut lines. The record is tolerably well preserved. Its alphabet is Vaṭṭeluttu of the same vertical type as that employed in the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam inscription and the Madras Museum grant of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. The peculiar shape of the letters *ṉ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *ṟ* and *ṉ*, which have their lower portions horizontal, is worth noting. In the later inscriptions the ends of the lower portions of these letters are curled upwards and inwards, lending them a roundish appearance (from which the alphabet derived its present name Vaṭṭeluttu, meaning the round characters.). The letter *ṉâ* retains the older shape, roughly a semicircle with its opening turned below. The letter *y* is almost similar in form to the later *y*. The secondary *â* in this record is also slightly different from the later symbol. The secondary *i* always tends to be on the top rather on the side of the consonants as in the later alphabet. This is a characteristic feature of the older forms both in the Tamiḷ and Vaṭṭeluttu alphabets and affords us a test of the comparative antiquity of the record in which it occurs.

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(1) Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 41.

(2) "Three memorial stones" by Dr. Hultzsch; Ep. Ind., Vol. VII., pp. 22-25; and the Ambâsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa Paṇḍya by Mr. Venkayya. Ibid., Vol. IX., pp. 84—94.

(3) An. Rep. on Ep. for 1906—7, p. 67.

The letter *ṉo* occurring in *I.*8, in the compound *vittiṉ-orṟai* has the older form, which resembles roughly the Arabic numeral 2. The secondary *û* sign in *mû* and *vû*, occuring in the words Perumûr and Koḷuvûr in *II.* 13 and 12 respectively, is added vertically below instead of, as usual, at the bottom of the right side of the consonants *m* and *v*. The language of the inscription is old Tamiḷ and is defective in construction.

The inscription belongs to the 27th year of the reign of the Pâṇḍya king **Mâṟañjaḍaiyan** and records that in the battle of Viḷiñam the Pâṇḍya forces left the Chêra army in confusion outside Viḷiñam and retired to the fort of Karaikkôṭṭai. The Chêra army, later on rallying round, pursued the enemy and set themselves to destroy the fort of Karaikkôṭṭai. In this attempt they inflicted some loss on the Pâṇḍya forces and Raṇakîrtti, a faithful servant of the Pâṇḍya king, fighting bravely, and killing several of the opponents, fell struck by the arrow of a man named Tâdaṉ Perum-tiṇai of Perumûr.

The Śiṉṉamaṉûr plates of Râjasiṁha II discovered by Mr. G. Venkoba Rao (4) and the Aṉaimalai inscriptions discovered by myself and published by Mr. Venkoba Rao (5) form the starting point in the genealogy and chronology of the Pâṇḍyas. The former is said to yield the following pedigree for the early Pâṇḍyas :—(6)

1. Jayantavarman.

Mâṟavarman, Parâṅkuśan, Arikêsarin, Asamasaman, Alaṅghyavikraman, Akâlakâlan, conqueror of the Pallava at the battle of Śaṅkaramaṅgai

3. Jaṭila, Parântaka I.

4. Râjasiṁha I.

5. Varaguṇa Mahârâja I.

6. Mâṟavarmaṉ, Śrîvallabha, Êkavîra, conqueror of Mâyâ Pâṇḍya, the Kêraḷa, the Siṁhaḷa, the Pallava and the Vaḷḷabha kings.

7. Varaguṇavarman II.

8. Parântaka II, Viranârayaṇa, Śaḍaiyan. Fought at Kharagiri and seized Ugra. Married Vâṉavaṉ-mahâdêvi-.

9. Râjasiṁha II, Abhimânamêru Mandara-gaurava, Mâṟavarman.

The information contained in this inscription is slightly different from that obtained from the other Śiṉṉamaṉûr grant, as also from that of the Vêḷvikuḍi record. Until the texts of these most valuable documents are made available to the public, nothing could be said definitely about the accuracy of the genealogy.

(4) Ibid, for 1907—8, p. 62.

(5) Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII., p. 317.

(6) I classify the Pâṇḍyas into three divisions, the Early, the Medieval and the Later Pâṇḍyas. The first class includes those as far as Râjasimha II and a few others ; the second class comprises the large number of Sundara Pâṇḍyas, Kulasêkhara Pâṇḍyas. Vikrama Pâṇḍyas etc. ; and the last consists of those who seem to have removed their capital to Tinnevelly and were crowned in the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple at Teṉkâśi and were ruling as vassals under the Vijayanagara kings.

If the table given above is examined closely, it becomes apparent that the Pâṇḍyas alternately bore the names **Mâṟavarman** and **Jatilavarman** (Śaḍaiyaṉ), just in the same way the Chôḷa king called themselves alternately Râjakêsari and Parakêsari. Thus the kings Nos. 2, 6 and 9 in the table are called Mâṟavarmans while Nos. 3 and 8 are called Jaṭila, Śaḍaiyaṉ or Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ. From this we might conclude that Nos. 1 and 5 should have been also known as Śaḍaiyaṉs and No. 4, a Mâṟavarman. I might go a step farther and state that the father of Jayantavarman (No.1) and his (No.1.) great grand-father must also be Mâṟavarmans or Neḍumâṟaṉs. Let me now proceed to investigate the history of some of these king as gathered from inscriptions and literature, in so far as the latter does not militate against epigraphical results.

According to the Tiruttoṇḍa-ttogai a decade of verses giving a list of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees of the Tamiḷ land sung by one of them, Sundaramûrtti Nâyanâr, and according to the Periyapurâṇam of Śêkkiḻâr, which deals with, in detail, the lives of these saints, the Pâṇḍya contemporary of the great saint, Tirujñânasambandar, was a Neḍumâṟaṉ or Niṉṟa-śîr-Neḍumâṟaṉ (7) (Neḍumâṟaṉ of lasting glory). This Niṉṟa-śîr-Neḍumâṟaṉ was also one of the sixty-three Śaiva devotees and had married Maṅgaiyarkkaraśi,) the daughter of the Chôla king. (8) His minister, Kulachchiṟaiyâr, a native of Maṇamêṟkuḍi (9) was also another of the sixty-three. The age of Tirujñânasambandar has been fixed as the middle of the 7th century A. D. (10) From the Âṉaimalai inscription of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ *alias* Parântaka (No. 3 of the above table) we learn that he belonged to the latter half of the 8th century. (11) Calculating at the usual rate of thirty years for each generation, we find that the contemporay, of Tirujñânasambandar must be the great grand-father of Jayantavarman. (12) As a deduction from my generalisation I called him a Neḍumâṟaṉ or Mâṟavarman and this was precisely the name he bore according to the Tiruttoṇḍattogai and the Periyapurâṇam.

(7) See Periyapurâṇam, The Life of Niṉṟa-śîr-Neḍumâṟaṉ, pp. 375-76, (Madras Edition).

(8) Ibid, The Life of Tirujñânasambandamûrtti Nâyaṉâr, verses 603-658.

(9) Ibid, Th Life of Kulachchiṟaiyâr, p. 244, verse 1.

(10) Ep. Ind., Vol. III., p. 278.

(11) Ibid., Vol. VIII., p. 318.

(12) Jaṭila (No. 3) must have come to the throne some time after A. D. 760 the alleged period in which the battles at Śaṅkaramaṅgai, Nelvêli etc., were fought between the Dramiḷas and Udayachandra, the general of Nandivarman Pallavamalla. One of the Dramiḷa kings who took part in these battles was, as would be seen in a subsequent portion of this paper, Jaṭila's father, Parâṅkuśa. So, he (Parâṅkuśa) must have lived till at least about A. D. 760 and possibly some time after that. Anyhow, A. D. 770 forms a limit for his existence; for, we know this year belonged to the reign of his son Jaṭila. We might take 770 or thereabouts to be the beginning of his reign. Hence, leaving Jaṭila, whose reign had begun in A. D. 770, I have deducted from 770 five times thirty years, for the five generations beginning with Parâṅkuśa up to the great grand-father of Jayantavarman; that is, 770—150=620 A. D. This gives approximately the beginning of the reign of the fifth ancestor of Jaṭila; so then, the middle of the reign of the fifth ancestor of Jaṭila would be the middle of the 7th century. This was established by another line of reasoning to be the age in which Tirujñânasambandar flourished, and visited the Pâṇḍya and converted him from the Jaina to the Śaiva faith. The synchronism between the Pâṇḍyas and the Pallavas would then be as follows:—

Pâṇḍyas	*Pallavas*
Mâṟavarman (I)	Narasimhavarman (I)
Jaṭilavarman	Paramêśvaravarman (I)
Mâṟavarman (II)	Narasimhavarman (II)
Jayantavarman	Paramêśvaravarman (II)
Parâṅkuśa	Nandivarman Pallavamalla

Of these I identify the Mâṟavarman, whom I have provisionally called the first, as the contemporary of the Saiva saint, Tirujñânasambandar and the Niṉṟa-śîr-Neḍumaṟaṉ of the Periyapuraṇam

Of the kings who succeeded Mâṛavarman, the contemporary of Tirujñânasambandar, down to Jayantavarman we know at present nothing definite and so let us pass on to the reign of **Parânkuśa** *alias* **Arikeśari**, the son of Jayantavarman. I have elsewhere shown that he is the hero of a poem, three hundred and odd verses of which are quoted in the commentary of the classic Tamiḻ work, the Iṛaiyaṇâr-agapporuḷ. He is described therein as the victor in a battle that was fought by him at Śaṅkaramaṅgai with the Pallava. He fought with the Chêra at Viḻiñam, Kôṭṭâṛu, Pûlandai, Śêvûr, Naṛaiyâṛu, and Kaḍayal. With some unmentioned opponents he fought the battles of Śennilam, Aṛṛukkuḍi, Pâḻi, Mâttûr, Nelvêli, Vallam, Maṇaṛṛi, Kaḻattûr, Neḍuṅguḷam and Kuḷandai. He went by the various names Parâṅkuśaṇ, Arikêsari, Raṇôdayan, Vijayacharitan, Śatrudurandaran, Vichâritan, Varôdayan and Mânadan[13]. The king mentioned in this poem must be No. 2 of the table; for, both of them have fought a battle at Śaṅkaramaṅgai and borne the names Arikêsari and Parâṅkuśa.

For considerations which will be explained later on, we can take the Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṇ of our record as identical with No. 3 of the table and the same as the king mentioned in the Aṇaimalai inscription. The latter record is dated, as we know, in the year A. D. 770. Hence his father who is reported to have won a victory at Śaṅkaramaṅgai over the Pallava must, as Mr. Venkayya rightly surmised, be the contemporary of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, whose general Udayachandra is also said to have defeated the Dramiḻas at Śaṅkaragrâma (Sanskritised form of Śaṅkaramaṅgai). (14) The Tamiḻ work already referred to mentions a battle fought at Nelvêli by Neḍumâṛaṇ; the same place was, according to the Udayêndram plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, also the scene of an action between the Pallava and the Dramiḻas. (15) From these facts we might rightly conclude that Arikêsari Mâṛavarman *alias* Parâṅkuśa was identical with the Neḍumâṛaṇ of Iṛaiyaṇâr-agapporuḷ. If this conclusion is correct, the age of Nilakaṇḍaṇâr, the compiler of the commentary of Nakkîrar on the Iṛaiyaṇâragapporuḷ, must have been after the first half of the 8th century. (16)

Referring to the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam inscription of Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṇ, Mr. Venkayya wrote that "It now seems to me that the former (the Tirupparaṇkuṉṟam record) might be posterior to the latter, (the Madras Museum Plates). At any rate the identification of Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṇ must be based upon better evidence than the mere identity of the second portion of the two names." (17) I confess I do not quite grasp the reason adduced by him in favour of his view. It appears to me that there is no difficulty in accepting the identity of the king mentioned in all the three inscriptions, the Madras Museum plates, the Tirupparaṇkuṉṟam and the Trivandram Museum stone inscriptions, with the king of the same name found in the Aṇaimalai record. For, the name Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṇ implies that Śaḍaiyaṇ or Jaṭilavarman was the son of Mâṛaṇ (18.) Hence, the latter half of the name Mâṛañjaḍaiyaṇ is the proper name of the king, and as it is, the identity of this portion of the name is most important. Sometimes the simple name Śaḍaiyaṇ is amplified into Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ either because of the exigencies of metre or for diction, as in the Madras Museum plates etc. The same record states that Jaṭila or Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṇ bore also the name Parântaka, the name by which he is called in the Aṇaimalai inscription.

(13) Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, pp. 193-8.
(14) An. Rep. on Ep. for 1907, p. 108.
(15) S. I. I., Vol. II., p. 364.
(16) See Śendamiḻ, Vol. VI., p. 59.
(17) An. Rep. on Ep. for 1907, pp. 62-66.
(18) Compare the name with the following that occur in inscriptions :—Parântakaṇ-Kundavvai, Kṛishṇaṇ-Ramaṇ, Paḻiyili-Śiṛiyanaṅgai, Nakkaṉ-Koṛṛi etc.
(19) Ep. Ind., Vol. IX., p. 86, f. n. 13.

Again, there is a close resemblance in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters employed in these various documents which lends all probability to the notion that all these records belong to the reign of Jaṭila or Parântaka. For the reasons given above the opinion of Mr. Venkayya seems doubtful.

He thinks that the Trivandram Museum inscription may be a record of the king Varaguṇa Pâṇḍya, though, he says, this is not absolutely certain (19). As usual he does not give any reasons for his assumptions, nor does he state whether it is the first or the second Varaguṇa Pâṇḍya of the table who is taken by him as identical with the king mentioned in the Trivandram inscription. I should think that the surmise of Mr. Venkayya is not correct as the alphabet employed in the Trivandram document belongs to a much earlier period than that of the time of Varaguṇa Pâṇḍya, the first or the second. I believe that Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ of our record is the same as Parântaka of the Âṉaimalai inscription and hence lived about the second half of the 8th century.

Having determined the age of **Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ**, let me summarise the history of his reign. The Uttara-mantri of this king in the year 770 A.D., was Mâṟaṅkâri (Sans. Mârasûnu, Kâri the son of Mâṟaṉ) *alias* Mûvêndamaṅgala-ppêraraiyaṉ, a native of Karavandapuram and belonged to the clan of *vaidyas*. (20) In his Madras Museum plates Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ calls himself a *paramavaishṇava* and in conformity with the faith of his master and perhaps his own also, this Uttara-mantri began the excavation of the Narasiṁha shrine in the Âṉaimalai hill. (21) His brother Mâṟaṉ-Eyiṉaṉ (22) *alias* Pâṇḍi-maṅgala-viśaiyaraiyaṉ, who succeeded him to the place of Uttara-mantri after his death, completed the shrine. (23) In the 6th year of the reign of the king, his mahâsâmanta was Śâttan-Gaṇavadi *alias* Pâṇḍi-amirdamaṅgala-varaiyaṉ. (24) Before the 17th year of his reign he had fought the battles of Viṉṉam, Veḷḷûr and Śeḷiyakkuḍi with some unknown foes. He defeated Adigaṉ in the battles of Âyiravêli, Ayirûr, and Puṟaḷiyûr and drove the Pallava

(20) The Aṉaimalai Inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII.

(21) It is curious to note that a shrine for Narasimha, the Brâhmaṇ Lion God, was excavated in the Aṉaimalai hill (the Jaina Elephant hill). Perhaps it was intended to symbolise that the lion of Brâhmaṇism put down the elephant, the Jainism.

(22) I owe this reading to Mr. G. Venkoba Rao.

(23) In his paper on the Aṉaimalai inscriptions, Mr. Venkoba Rao, reading the word *nîrattaḷi* as *nirttaḷi* corrects it further into *nîrtteḷi* and translates it as 'sprinkle water', 'consecrate' and compares the expression with the Sañskrit *prôkshaṇam*. The passage distinctly reads *nirattaḷi*; there is no *puḷḷi* over the letter *r*. As it is, the word is a compound of *nirattal* and *aḷittal*; *nirattu* means bring to order, completion or perfection and *aḷittal*, to bestow or confer upon. Hence the compound means 'to bestow upon (the public) after causing it to be completed'.

The second of the two Aṉaimalai records is taken by Mr. Venkoba Rao as a supplement to the first; Mâṟaṅgâri, occurring in it, has been taken by him to be identical with Madhurakavi *alias* Mârasûnu of the first inscription. While admitting that Mâṟaṅgâri excavated the cave and set up the image of the god in it and bestowed upon Brâhmaṇas immensely rich *agrahâras*, Mr. Venkoba Rao asserts that he died without consecrating it. The distribution of lands among the Brâhmaṇas etc., takes place always during the consecration ceremony and there is no need for him to have gone out of the way and say that the consecration was not yet over when the first record was engraved. The consecration was in fact performed but some minor works including the construction of the *mukha maṇḍapa* were left incomplete by Mâṟaṅkâri and these were finished by his brother Mâṟaṉ-Eyiṉaṉ, as soon as he became the Uttara-mantri.

Again I cannot understand why, in an inscription which uses Sañskrit words such as *anujans*, *varggârôhaṇam* etc., freely, the Tamiḻ word conveying in a way the sense of the Sañskrit word *prôkshaṇam* or *samprôkshaṇam* should have been employed. If the writer had the idea of consecration in his mind, I have no doubt, he would have used the word *prôkshaṇam* or some thing more expressive, in Sañskrit itself. I regret I am obliged to entirely differ from Mr. Venkoba Rao in this matter.

(24) Tirupparaṅguṉṟam Inscription of Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. Ind. Ant. Vol. XXII. p. 69.

(25) This is the modern Pêrûr in the Coimbatore District. It is distinctly called Kâñchivây-pPêrûr in the Periyapuraṇam; "Kongiṟ-Kâñjîvay-pPêrûr kuṟuginâr" (He, Sundaramurtti, approached Kañjivay-pPêrûr in the Koṅgu country). See Êyaṟkôṉkalikkâma Nayaṉar puraṇam, verse 88.

and Chêra who came to his aid to the quarters from which they came. He then proceeded against the Koṅgu country, captured its king alive and sent him to Madura, his capital, as a prisoner of war. Entering victoriously KâñchivâypPêrûr ([25]) he was pleased to erect there a large temple for Vishṇu. Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ then turned his attention towards his southern neighbours. He invaded the Vêṇâḍu whose king he despatched to the other world. The stronghold of the Chêras, Viḷiñam, was next destroyed. The king afterwards set about strengthening his frontier fort of Karavandapuram; he built strong and high walls of fortification and surrounded it with deep moats. In the same record he is styled Paṇḍitavatsalaṉ, Vîrapurôghaṉ, Vikramapâragaṉ, Parântakaṉ, Parama-vaishṇavaṉ and Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ. His mahâsâmanta in the 17th year of his reign was Dhîrataraṉ Mûrtti-Eyiṉaṉ *alias* Vîramaṅgalappêraraiyaṉ and the commander of the elephant brigade (*mataṅgajâdhyaksha*) was Śaṅgaṉ-Śirîdaraṉ *alias* Pâṇḍi-Iḷaṅgômaṅgalappêraraiyaṉ of Koḷuvûr.([26])

Mâṟaṉñaḍaiyaṉ once again invaded the Chêra country, defeated and left the Chêra army in confusion outside Viḷiñam and retired to Karaikkôṭṭai. There, he was besieged by the Chêra army which caused some loss to his forces.([27])

The name of the queen of Mâṟaṉñaḍaiyaṉ appears to be Nakkaṉ-Korri (Korri, the daughter of Nakkaṉ). ([28])

The following are the names of places that occur in this document: Viḷiñam, Karaikkôṭṭai, Koḷuvûr and Perumûr, Viḷiñam is at present a popular fishing village in S. Travancore. Koḷuvûr appears to be in the Pâṇḍya country and is mentioned in a number of inscriptions copied in the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts. I am not able to identify Karaikkôṭṭai and Perumûr.

Text ([1])

1. ஸ்ரீ கோமாறஞ்சடையற் [கு இ]-
2. ருபத்தேழாமாண்டு [||*] சேரமா-
3. னர் படை விழுஞ்து ([2]) புறத்து
4. விட்டிழக்கக் கரைக்கோட்டை அழி-
5. ப்பான்வர பெருமானடிகளுள-
6. [ன்பு] மிக்கூள ([3]) இரணகீர்த்தி [யு]-
7. ம் அமர்க்கழியும் உள்வீ-
8. ட்டினெற்றைச் சேவகர் கோட்-
9. டை அழியாமை ([4]) காத்தெறி-

([26]) The Madras Museum Plates.

([27]) Trivandram Museum Inscription.

([28]) Mr. Venkayya takes Nakkaṉ-Korri as the wife of Śâttaṉ-Gaṇavadi. My reasons for differing from him are; one, as soon as the date is given in the regnal year of the king, the inscription introduces Śâttaṉ-Gaṇavadi with the expletive particle *marru*: Nakkaṉ-Korri is also similarly introduced. Two, the king is referred to, in the first instance, that is, when Śâttaṉ-Gaṇavadi is spoken of, as *avaṟku*, an honorific plural form of the third personal pronoun *avaṉukku*, whereas Śâttaṉ-Gaṇavadi is referred to only in the singular number, as in *sâmantaṉ*, *vaijyaṉ* and *araiyaṉ*. In the second instance, that is, while Nakkaṉ-Korri's name is mentioned, the same *avaṟku* is used thereby referring the king. If she had been the wife of the *sâmanta*, to be consistent with the other portions of the inscription, she should have been described as *avaṉukku dharmma-paṇṇiyâgiya Nakkaṉ-Korri*.

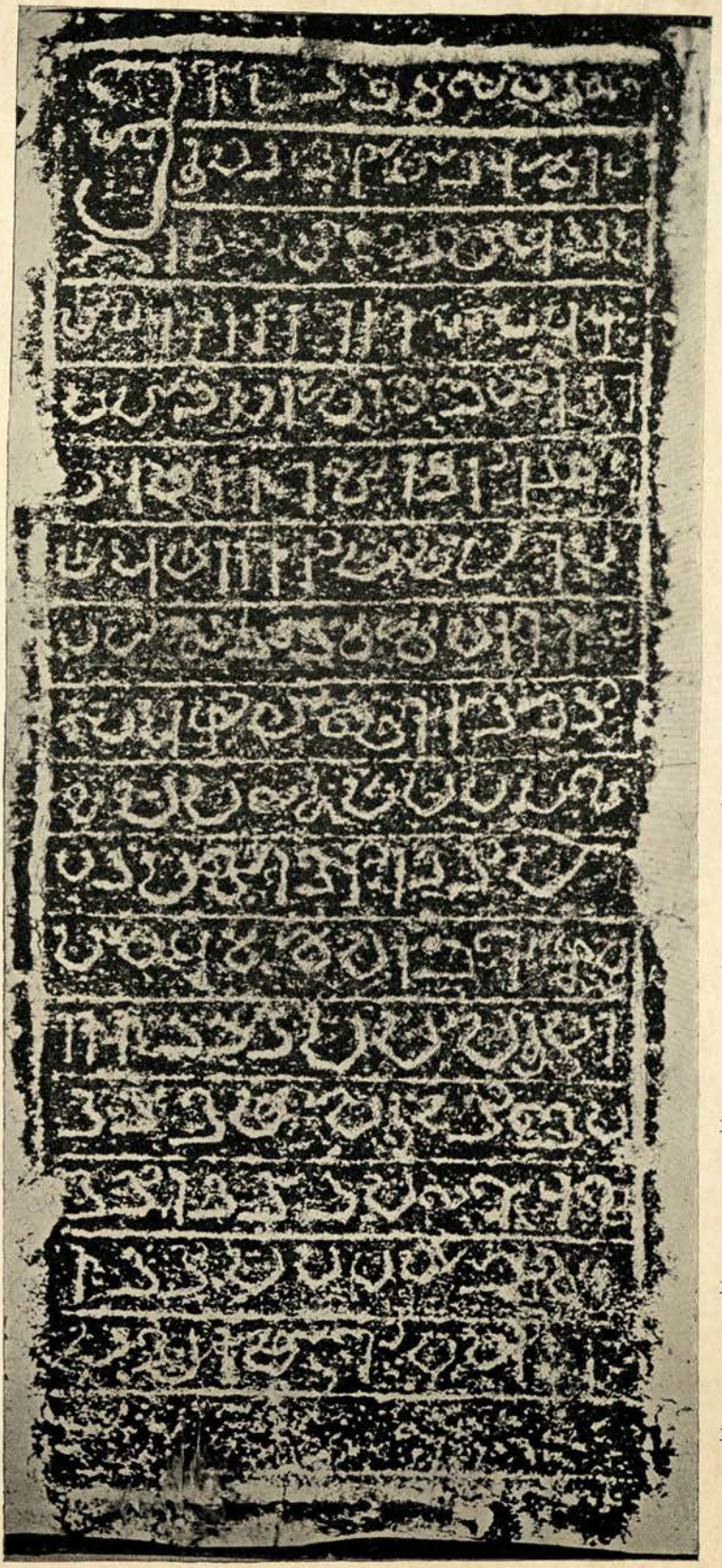
([1]) This inscription together with an eye copy has been published in the Travancore State Manual. I republish it from inked impressions prepared by my copyists.

([2]) Read விழிஞத்து.

([3]) Read மிக்குளம்

([4]) Read அழியாமே.

Trivandram Museum Inscription of Maranjadaiyan



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0. 3 HALF-TONE BLOCK BY M. E. PRESS.

10. ...த்து பலரும் பட்ட இ-
11. ...டத்து இரணகிர்த்தி உள்-
12. ...மீட்டுச்சேவகன் கொழுஅ-
13. ...ர்கூற்றத்துப் பெருமூர்-
14. ...த்தாதம் பெருந்திணை [அ]-
15. ...த்திரத்தாற் பலரொடு [ங்]-
16. ...குத்திப்பட்டான் (5) இ[ரு].
17. பது-கமாளி.....

Translation.

In the twenty seventh year of (the reign of) the prosperous king Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ ; while the army of the Śêramâṉar that was left in confusion (6) outside Viḻuñam, came for the purpose of destroying (the fort of Karaikkôṭṭai, Iraṇakirtti (Ranakirtti) one of the very loving servants of the Perumâṉ (7) (the Pâṇḍya king, Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ) fought in defence of the fort together with the *orṟai-chchêvagar* of *uḻvîdu* (8) against the army of the Chêra which was contending (9) to destroy it, and after stabbing several, died where several others had fallen, by the arrow of the orṟai-chchêvagan of uḻviḍu, Tâḍan-Perundiṉai (10) of Perûmûr in the Koḻuvûr-kûṟṟam . . . .

(5) I am not able to make out the sense of what follows.

(6) *Uḻattal* means getting confused or distressed in mind. Cf. *கண்ணிலான் பெற்றிழந்தானெனை உழந்தான் காலசேவலான்*, The wielder of the spear that resembles Kâla (Yama), felt distressed like that blind man who lost his sight (immediately) after he got it (by a miracle). Kamba Râmâyaṇam, Bâlakâṇḍam.

(7) Supreme lords are generally referred to as the Perumâṇaḍigaḷ or Perumâṉ. We have the prominent instance of this usage among the Western Gaṅgas, who add *perumânaḍi* to their names as almost a part of it : e.g., Eraha-vemmaḍi, Râjamalla Perumâṇaḍigaḷ, Nîtimârgga Perumâṇaḍigaḷ, etc. Madirai-koṇḍa Kô-pparakêsari varman is similarly styled Perumâṇaḍigaḷ in the Kiḻ-Muṭṭugûr inscription (Ep.Ind.Vol.) ; but Dr. Hultzsch, the editor of the paper on that inscription, suspects if it cannot refer to a Western Gaṅga king. It appears that this suffix is no characteristic of the Gaṅgas only. In the Kiḻ-Muṭṭugûr inscription it refers to Parântaka. He is called by the same appellation Perumâṇaḍigaḷ and also Emberumân in his Uttaramallûr inscriptions. (Nos. I and 2 of the Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1898.).

(8) Compare *malaiyâṇa orṟai-chchêvagar* occurring in an inscription of Tirukkôyilûr published by Dr. Hultzsch in Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 141. There the compound has been interpreted as 'the unrivalled warriors of Malayâḷam'. It would surely have that meaning if *oru* instead of *orṟai* had been used : for example, *oru tâṉ-âgi*, being oneself unrivalled by others ; *oru suḍar*, 'the unrivalled light', (the sun) ; *oru sêvagaṉ*, 'the unrivalled warrior' etc. *Orṟai* always signifies single, one only as opposed to many ; e.g., *orṟaikkâsu*, 'a single cash', *orṟai-kkâl Ori*, 'the single-legged Ori' etc. Orṟai-chchêvagar might possibly be related to the word *orṟu* meaning a spy : the term *orṟai-chchêvagar* might then be taken to mean the soldiers who are employed as spies.

(9) *Amar-kaḷidal* is a compound made of *amar* and *kaḷidal* meaning *battle* and *finishing* respectively. The literal meaning of the compound therefore is finishing the battle.

(10) Perundiṉai appears to be the name of an office, and is here applied to the holder of it.

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No. VIII

Six Chola Inscriptions at Kanya-Kumari.

SIX CHOLA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANYA-KUMARI.

Five out of the six inscriptions edited below were copied from the **Guhânâthasvâmin** temple at **Kanyâkumâri**. They are all written in Tamiḷ language and alphabet and are generally in a good state of preservation. The old name of the temple was, according to its inscriptions, Râjarâjêśvaram, evidently called after Râjarâja, the Great, of the Chôḷa dynasty. Kanyâ-kumâri is, in some inscriptions, called **Kaḷikkuḍi** and is said to have been situated in the Puṟattâya-nâḍu, a sub-division of the Uttama-śôḷa-vaḷa-nâḍu, in the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi-nâḍu (or *maṇḍalam*).

The Guhânâthasvâmin temple is at present situated at a distance of about half a furlong from the Brâhman village of Kanyâkumâri, and is in a bad state of repair. Round the *adytum* there is a dark circuit, (now filled with bats and snakes), which seems to have given the temple its present name.

No. 1.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the *arddah-maṇḍapa* of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple. The end of the last four lines are built in but the purport of the record is easily made out without it.

It belongs to the twenty-fourth year of the reign of **Parakesarivarman Râjendra-choḷadeva**, who took the 'eastern country, the Ganges and Kaḍâram'. It records that **Śoḷa-kula-valli**, the woman who cooked the meals for the king and who belonged to Pâlaiyûr Tiṭṭai in the Puliyûr-nâḍu, a sub-division of Arumoḷidêvavaḷa-nâḍu, made a gift of fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp. They seem to have been taken charge of by a person who bound himself to supply daily one *uḻakku* of ghee as measured by the temple measure called Pavittira-mâṇikkam, for burning the lamp.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] பூர்வதிஶையும் மங்கையுங் கடாரமுங்கொண்டருளின கோ- (2)
2. ப்பரகேசரிபன்மராயின உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜேந்திரசோழ தேவர்க்-
3. குயாண்டு இருபத்து நாலாவது [॥*] ராஜராஜப்பாண்டி நாட்டு உத்த-
4. ம சோழவளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டு குமரி ராஜராஜ [ன்]ஸ்வர-
5. ம் உடையார்க்கு உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜேந்திர சோழதேவர்க்கு திருவமுது அடும்
6. பெண்டாட்டி அருமொழிதேவவளநாட்டுப் புலியூர்நா[ட்]டுப் பாலையூர் தி-
7. ட்டை சோழகுலவல்லி வைச்ச திருநூந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றுக்கு வைச்ச சா-
8. வா மூவாப்பேராடு ஐம்பது [॥*] இவ்வாடு ஐம்பதுங்கொண்டு இத்தேவர்
9. நாழி பவித்திர . . . . . .
10. த்த நெய் உ[ழ] . . . . . .
11. ட்டுவதாகக் . . . . . .
12. வன வியாள் ெ . . . . . (4)

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(1) From inked impressions prepared by any copyists. (No. 13 of 1085 M. E).

(2) The letters *ppa* are engraved next to *kô*, but seems to have been rejected, as the next line begins once again with the same letters *ppa*.

(3) The letter ê is engraved above the line.

(4) The last four lines have their ends built in.

Translation.

ll. 1—3. Hail ! Prosperity ! (In) the twenty-fourth year of (the reign of) **Parakesarivarman** *alias* Uḍaiyâr **Śri Râjendracholadeva**, who took ' the eastern country, the Ganges and Kaḍâram'.

ll. 3—8. Śôḷa-kula-valli, of Pâlaiyûr Tiṭṭai in the Puliyûrnâḍu of the Arumoḷidêva-vaḷanâḍu, the woman who cooked the food for Uḍaiyâr Śrî Râjêndraśôḷadêva, set up a perpetual lamp, (to be burnt before) the god, Râjarâjêsvara, of Kumari, (which is situated) in the Puṟattâya-nâḍu, (a sub-division) of the Uttama-śôḷa-vaḷa-nâḍu, in the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi-nâḍu ; (to maintain this lamp) she gave fifty large sheep, which neither die nor become old.

ll. 8—12. Having received these fifty sheep ..... naviyâḷaṉ (bound himself) to supply a *uḻakku* of ghee (as measured by the) *nâḻi* called the Pavittira (mâṇikkam).

No. II.

This record is engraved on the north base of the central shrine of the Gubânâthasvâmin temple. It is dated the thirtieth year of the reign of **Râjakesarivarman Râjâdhirâjadeva**, who took the ' head of Vîra Pâṇḍya, Îḻam and the *śâlai* of the Chêra'. It records that the supply of salt that was being received from the saltpans of Maṇaṟkuḍi for the **Śrivallabha-pperuñjâlai** *alias* the **Râjarâjâ-pperuñjâlai**, situated in the village of Kaḻikkuḍi, had for some time been discontinued. This charity was revived by the king at the request of **Arikulakesari** *alias* **Pavittiramânikka-ttonga-pperaraiyaṉ** of Tiṭṭai, who was holding some sort of office under the queen, **Ulagamuḻuduḍaiya-pirâttiyâr**. The royal order was addressed to the officers who supervised and taxed the salt-pans in the Râjarâja-ttenṉâḍu, belonging to the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi-nâḍu. In the olden days it was the custom of the Maṇaṟkuḍi salt-pans to set apart a *nâḻi* of salt for each *kalam* of it that came in or went out of the pans, as *uṟai* for the use of the Śrîvallabha-pperuñjâlai. The king ordered that this custom should be once more adopted.

The term *uṟai* is even now commonly used in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts. When grain or other things are measured, for every stated quantity, say sixty *marakkâls* as it now is in the Trichinopoly district, a handful of the article measured is kept, as a mark, in a small heap. The number of such heaps give the number of sixty *marakkâls* measured. That quantity of the grain etc. that is kept as an index of measure, is called the *uṟai*. The measurer, when he measures, cries aloud the number of *marakkâls* he is measuring and when he finishes the fifty-ninth cries out ' *aṟubadukku uṟai* ', meaning a *uṟai* for (this) sixty. In the case of the salt to be used as *uṟai* for each *kalam*, it was not a handful but a *nâḻi* that was ordered to be set apart.

Evidently the *śâlai* or the boarding house was originally established by (perhaps a Pâṇḍya king by the name of) Śrîvallabha. After conquering the Pâṇḍya country, Râjarâja seems to have, as is usual with him, changed the name into Râjarâja-pperuñjâlai. But old names generally never die out by the mandate of any king; therefore the old and the new names have often to be coupled for at least a short time till the people get accustomed to the new name. Thus, Taḻaikkâḍ, the capital of the Gaṅgas, was renamed Râjarâjapuram, when, Râjarâja stormed and took it. But it had to be called Taḻaikkâḍ *alias* Râjarâjapuram. In some instances the old names died out giving place to the new and often the new perished without affecting, in any manner, the old one, as for instance Taḻaikkâḍ, which even to this day retains this name.

The village of Maṇaṟkuḍi, which is a very important salt producing centre of the Travancore State even at the present day, is situated in the Agastîśvaram Tâlûka of the Padmanâbhapuram Division. In the inscription, it is called Mahipâla-kula-kâla-ppêraḻam, (the great salt

district of Mahipâlakula-kâla). We know that of the several kings vanquished by Râjêndrachôḷadêva I., Mahipâla was one. The name therefore has been given to it after this surname, Mahipâla-kula-kâla, of Râjêndrachôḷadêva.

From the fact that the salt officers are mentioned to belong to the Râjarâja-ttenṉâḍu, we can infer that there was a regular Salt Department with officers in all the salt producing districts, just as we have at the present day.

The names of the places that occur in the inscription are Kaḷikkuḍi, Maṇaṟkuḍi and Tiṭṭai. In No. IV edited below it is stated that Kaḷikkuḍi was the other name of Kanyâ-kumâri. Maṇaṟkuḍ we have already identified. Tiṭṭai is in the Tanjore district.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்ரீ [॥*] வீரபாண்டியன் தலை[யு]ம் சேரலன் சாலையும் இலங்கெயும் தண்டாற் கொண்ட [ீ]காவிரா(ெ)ஜகேசரி-
2. பற்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜாதிராஜதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு முப்பதாவது ராஜராஜப்பாண்-டிநாட்டு உத்தமசோழவளநாட்டு புறத்-
3. தாயநாட்டுக் கழிக்குடி ஸ்ரீ வல்லவப்பெருஞ்சாலைய[ர]ன ராஜராஜ பெருஞ்சாலைக்கு நாஞ்சினாட்டு மணற்குடியான மஹி-
4. பா[ள] (2) குலகாலப்பேரழத்து கெ(ய்)உறை கொள்ளுமுப்பு முட்டிகிடஹமெ-யில் ராஜாதிராஜதேவர்க்கு உலகுடையபிராட்டியா-
5. ர் திருப்பள்ளித் தொங்கலுடையான் திட்டையரிகுலகேசரியான பவித்திரமாணிக்-கத்தொங்கப்பே[ர*]ரையன் விண்ணப்பஞ் செய்துகொடுவந்த திரு-
6. முகப்படி [॥*] கோனேர் இன்மெ கொண்டான் ராஜராஜப்பாண்டிநாட்டு ராஜராஜத்-தென்னாட்டு உப்பளங்கழுக்கு (3) கூறு செய்வார் கழுக்கு (3) கண்காணி செய்வார் கழுக்கும் (3) குமரி ஸ்ரீ-
7. வல்லவப்பெருஞ்சாலையான ராஜராஜப்பெருஞ்சாலைக்கு உத்தமசோழவளநாட்டு நாஞ்சி-னாட்டு மணற்குடியான மயில்வாள (2) குலகாலப்பேரளத்து உப்புமு-
8. தலிலும் செலவிலும் கலத்துவாய் நாழிகெய்யுறெகொண்டு இச்சாலைக்கு முன்புநிவ-ந்தம் செலு [த்]திவந்தமெயில்லிப்போது உப்பு உறை பிடித்து.
9. கொள்ள [வி ?] டுகலிரென்று கேட்டோம் [॥*] முன்பு இப்பரி[சு] செய்-
10. து வரு[ம்] ...தில் உறை உப்பு மு[த]லிலும் செலவிலும் கல-
11. த்துவ[ாய்] நா [ழி] உறை உப்பு ராஜராஜன் பெருஞ்சாலை ச-
12. . . வச[ம] . . டட[கு]டுக்க [எ]ன்று திருமந்திரஓலை செம்பியன் தென்-
13. . னநாட்[டு]க்கோனர் எழுத்தினல் திருமுகம் பிரசாதஞ்செய்த[ரு]ளி வச்ச திருமுக-ப்படி.

Translation.

ll. 1—2. Hail! Prosperity! (In) the thirtieth year of the (reign of) the king **Râjakesari-varman** *alias* Uḍaiyâr Śrî **Râjâdhirâjadeva**, who took, with the help of his army, the head of Vira Pâṇḍya, the *śâlai* of the Chêralaṉ and Ceylon.

ll. 2—6. (This is) the royal order obtained on the petition of Tiṭṭai Arikulakêsari (that is, of Tiṭṭai) *alias* Pavittiramâṇikka-ttoṅga-ppêraraiyaṉ, who was (or held the office of) the

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Read மஹிபால . . . . . பேரளத்து

(3) Read ஒளுக்கு

tiruppaḷḷittoṅgal under **Ulaguḍaiyapirâttiyâr**, the queen of Râjâdhirâjadêva, regarding the *kai-uṟai* of salt (the supply of) which was received from the great salt district of Maṇaṟkuḍi in the Nâñjinâḍu, for the Śrîvallabha-pperuñ-jâlai *alias* Râjarâja-pperuñ-jâlai at Kaḷikkuḍi situated in the Puṟattâyanâḍu, a sub-division of the Uttamaśôḷa-vaḷa-nâḍu, belonging to the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi-nâḍu.

11. 6—9. (This order is addressed) to those (officers) who assign taxes and those who supervise the salt pans in the Râjarâja-tteṇ-ṇâḍu of the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi-nâḍu of the unrivalled among kings.

" We heard that you do not permit the Śrîvallabha-pperuñjâlai *alias* Râjarâja-pperuñ-jâlai, to take, in the old customary manner, the *uṟai* salt at the rate of a *nâḻi* per *kalam* of salt, that is added to (the stock) or spent (from it), in the salt district of Maṇaṟkuḍi *alias* Mayilvâḷa-kula-kâla-ppêraḷam in the Nâñjinâḍu, (a sub-division) of the Uttamaśôla-vaḷa-nâḍu.

" You shall (henceforth) give, as of old, through the (*śaṭṭars*) of the Râjarâja-pperuñ-jâlai, the *uṟai* salt at the rate of a *nâḻi* per *kalam* added to or spent from the stores."

(This is engraved here) in accordance with the royal order written down in the writing of the (officer called) *irumaṇḍira-ôlai*, Śembiyaṉ Teṉ . . . . ṉâṭṭa Kôṉar.

No. III.

On the north wall of the first *prââra* of the Kanyâkumâri temple is engraved the accompanying large inscription of the reign of **Râjendradeva.** It is not in a very good state of preservation. However, it is not difficult to make out the whole of the important portions of it. The record is dated the fourth year of the reign of the king **Parakesarivarman Râjendradeva.** At the time of the grant the king was seated on the cot called the Kâḍuveṭṭi in the palace, Kêraḷaṉ-mâḷigai, in the capital city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśôḻapuram. The king commanded that from the fourth year the taxes on the various articles mentioned, which were collected from the *dêvadânam* villages of the goddess Kanyâkumâri, of the Râjarâjêśvaram and of the Râjarâja-pperuñjâlai and which seem to have been utilised for the public purposes of the villages, be set apart as follows :—(1), the taxes from the *dêvadânam* villages of Kanyâkumâri to be utilised for the celebration of a festival on the day of the *janma-nakshatra* (natal star) of his queen **Kiḻâṇaḍigaḷ** ; (2), those from the villages of Râjarâjêśvara, for the expenses of the temple ; (3), those collected from the villages of the Râjarâja-pperuñjâlai, for its expenses.

In the historical introduction at the beginning of the inscription the king is said to have taken the Raṭṭappâḍi seven and a half lakhs, defeated Âhavamalla at Koppam on the banks of the Pêrâṟu, took his elephants, horses, women and treasures and performed the *Vîrâbhishêka*.

Kanyâkumâri is herein called Gaṅgaikoṇḍachôḻapuram, evidently after Râjêndrachôḻadêva I. It is remarkable that this document has a very large number of names of officers of the various branches of the revenue administration. A number of taxes is also mentioned ; of these some are intelligible and others are not.

Text. (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] கோநேர் இன்மெகொண்டான்
2. யாண்டு நாலு நாள் நூற்றெம்பத்து நாலினால் இரட்டபாடி ஏழரை இலக்கமுங்கொண்டு பேராற்றங்கரைக் கொப்பத்து ஆஹவமல்லனை அஞ்சுவித்து ஆனையுங்-
3. குதிரையும் ெ[ப]ண்டிர் பண்டாரமுங்கொண்டு விஜய அபிஷேகஞ்செய்து வீரஸிம்ஹாஸனத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின கோப்பரகேசரிபன்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜேந்திரதேவர் கங்கைகொண்[ட]-

(1) From inked impressions.

4. சோழபுரத்து . . . . கேரளன் மாளிகையில் ெ[வ] . . . ெ . . பானத்-துக்காடுவெட்டியில் எழுந்தருளி இருந்து ராஜராஜப்பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவள-நாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டுக் குமரியான க[ங்]-

5. . . [கொ]ண்ட சோழபுறத்துக் கன்னிய[ர] படாரியார் தேவதான [மான ஊர்கள் க]டவ ஊர்க்கழஞ்சு குமரக்கச்சாணமு மீன்பா(ர)ட்டமும் உ[ள்ளி]ட்ட கீ-

6. . . . . கட்டமும் மோரமும் இலவாணியப்பா[ட்ட]மும் திங்கள்க்காசும் காலள[வு] . . பாடிகாவல்கூலியும் (1) கால்கூலியும் கோல்கூலியும் ஆட்டுப்பாட்டமும் பேர்-முதலாயமும் தரகுகூலியும் உ-

7. . . . அந்தராயங்கள் கரைக்குடலாய் வருகின்றபடி யாண்டு நாலாவது முதல் தவிர்ந்து நம்பெண்டுகளில்க் கிழானடி பிறந்த அத்தத்தினாளால் இத்தேவர்க்கு திங்கள் விழா எழுந்தருள ை-

8. . . . . ண்டும் நிவந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்பதாகவும் [||*] இவ்வூர் ராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரமுடெயார் தேவதானமான ஊர்கள் கடவ ஊர்க்கழஞ்சு குமரகச்சாணமுமீன் பாட்டமும் தறி இறை தட்டாரப்பாட்டம் உள்ளிட்ட கீழிறெப்பா-

Continued on the north wall.

9. . . . . யாரமும் இலவாணியப்பாட்டமும் காலளவுபாட்டமும் பாடிகாவற்கூலியும் ஆட்டுப்பாட்டமும் பேர் முதலாயமும்...கூலியும் உள்ளிட்ட அந்தராயங்கள் கரைக்குடலாய் வருகின்ற[படி] யாண்டு நாலாவது மு[தல் த]விர்ந்து இத்தேவர்க்கு வேண்-

10. நிவந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்பதாகவும் [||*] இவ்வூர் ராஜ ராஜன்சாலைக்கு சாலாபோகமான ஊர்கள் கடவ ஊர்க்கழஞ்சு குமரக[ச்]சாணமும் மீன்பாட்டமும் மோரமும் இலவாணியப் பாட்டமும் காலளவுபாட்டமும்

11. பாடிகாவற்கூலியும் ஆட்டுப்பாட்டமும் பேர்முதலாயமும் தரகுகூலியும் உள்ளிட்ட அந்தராயங்கள் கரைக்குடலாய் வருகின்றபடி யாண்டு நாலாவதுமுதல் தவிர்ந்து இச்சாலைக்கு வேண்டு[ங்கி] வந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்பதாகவும் [||*] ஆக இப்படியாண்டு நாலாவ-

12. துமுதல் இறையிலியாக வரியிலிடத்திருவாய் மொழிந்தருளினார் என்று **திருமந்திரவோலை** ஜயங்கொண்டசோழ மகதராஜன் எழுத்தினாலும் திருமந்திரவோலை நாயகம் உத்தம சோழகோனும் ராஜராஜபிரமராயனும் காலிங்கராஜனும் தொண்டைமானும்

13. திரிபுனவல்லப வன்னுடையானும் மூவேந்தர் சோழக்கந்திருவப்பெ[ரி]யானும் **ஒப்பிட்டுப்புகுந்த** (2) **கேழ்விவரியிலிட்டுகோள்க** வென்று வில்லவராஜரும் காடுவெட்டிகளும் எவ இவர்கள் ஏவினபடியே(ய்) **உடன்கூட்டத்து அதிகாரிகள்** ராஜராஜமழவராஜரும் ராஜராஜ-

14. ச்சோழ பிரமராயரும் ஜயங்கொண்டசோழவிழுப்பரையரும் அதிராஜேந்திர மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ராஜராஜ அணுக்கப்பல்லவரயரும் திருச்சிற்றம்பல மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ராஜகேசரி மூவேந்த வேளாரும் உத்தம சோழத்திருவிந்தளூர்நாட்டு மூவேந்தவேள்-ரும் மஹிபாலய் (3) விழுப்பரையரும்

15. அழகியசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ஜனனிதநல்லூருடையார் காளி ஆதித்தகோன் ராஜேந்தி . . . மூவேந்த வேளாரும் பரசிவமங்கலமுடைய ராமனச[னி] ஓலோகபுத்-

(1) Read கூலியும்.

(2) Read கேள்வி

(3) Read மஹிபாலம்

திரனாரான நிருபேந்திரசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் சிவ[ன]டியுடையார் பற்பனாபன் பள்ளிகொண்டானாராயண வ(?) நாராயண மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ப்ரஹ்ம-

16. பல்லவரையரும்[நடுவ]ாக்கும் கொற்றமங்கலத்து பற்பநாபசே[ர]பரசய . . தாலூர் சக்கரபாணி ப்ரஹ்மாற்ப்[ப]ட்டரும் **விடையில் அதிகாரிகள்** சொழ மூவேந்த வே[ளாரும்] மும்முடி சோழப்பல்லவரையரும் ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழ சேநாமுகமூவேந்த வேளாரும் உத்தமசோழமூவேந்த வேளாரும் மனுகுல-

17. மூவேந்த வேளாரும் உய்யகொண்டசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் நித்த வினோத மூவேந்த வேளாரும் க்ஷத்திரசிகாமணி (1) மூவேந்த வேளாரும் கங்கைகொண்டசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் உதை[ய மா]த்தாண்ட மூவேந்த வேளாரும் கங்கைகொண்ட சோழப்பல்லவரையரும் பார்த்திவேந்த (2)மூவேந்தவேளாரும் [ந]ரபாலதொங்க மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ராஜராஜ அணுத்திரப்பல்லவ[ர]-

18. யரும் அறிஞ்சிகை விழுப்பரையரும் அபிமானமேரு மூவேந்த வெளாரும் மதுராந்தக விழுப்பரையரும் சிங்களாந்த (3)மூவேந்த வேளாரும் விக்கிரமசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் வளவன் மூவேந்த வேளாரும் வீரசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் சுந்தரசோழப்பல்லவரையரும் அதுலபராக்கிர[ம*] மூ-

19. வேந்த வேளாரும் அழகியசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும் பார்த்திவே ந்த்ர விழுப்பரையரும் வில்லவந்மூவேந்த [வே*]ளாரும் வீரபாண்டிய மூவேந்த வேளாரும் வழுதிகுலாந்தக [மூ]வேந்த வேளாரும் ராஜாதித்த மூவேந்த வேளாரும் தெலுங்ககுலகால மூவேந்த-வேளாரும் ஜயங்கொண்ட சோ[ழ*] மூவேந்த வேளாரும் கிடாரங்கொண்ட சோழ மூவே-

20. ந்தவேளாரும் ஸ்ரீகாந்த மூவேந்த வேளாரும் மீனவந் மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ஒலோக விஜ்ஜாதிர மூவேந்த வேளாரும் ராஜேந்த்ர (4)திருந் ளூர் நாட்டு மூவேந்த வேளாரும் . . உத்தரமதெரியாரும் நிறைமதிசோழ [மூவே]வந்த வேளாரும் வளவகேசரி மூவேந்த வேளாரும் நடுவிருக்கும் ஸாஹணை [சு]திராத்திரயாஜியாரும் கே[ரள]மங்-

21. கலத்துப்பட்டச்சோமயாஜியாரும் பசலை பெரியநம்பி[யும்]மஹாஹிதாங்கியாரும் ஏ[வ] **உள்வ்வரி திணைக்களத்துக்கண்காணி** குமரவிஜாதர மூவேந்த வேளானும் கோதண்டராம மூவேந்த வேளானும் அதிசய சோழ மூவேந்த வேளானு மூவேந்தி. சேர-மூவேந்த வேளானும் ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழலோக வே-

22. ளானும் **புரவரிதிணைக்களம்** அரிந்தவன் மூவேந்த வேளானும் விக்கிரம சோழபாண்டிய மூவேந்த வேளானும் வளவசுந்தர மூவேந்த வேளானும் குவலையதிவாகர மூவேந்த வேளானும் தேவமங்கலமுடையானும் [சூ]ரதொங்க மூவேந்த வேளானும் வீரநாராயண மூவேந்த வேளானும் **வரிப்பொத்தகம்** விடற்கருடையானும் சிற்றம்பல உடையா-

23. னும் சுந்தரசோழ நல்லூருடையானும் **முகவெட்டி** மணற்குடையானும்(5) . . . த்த

(1) Read க்ஷத்திரிய॰ (2) Read பார்த்திவேந்திர॰ (3) Read சிங்களாந்தக.॰

(4) Could be it திருவிந்தளூர் ?

(5) Compare புதுக்குடையான், occurring in No. 40 of the South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 66, as also the foot-note on this name. புதுக்குடையான் does not mean, one who owns a new umbrella and therefore one who has been raised to royal dignity, but it is a corruption of புதுக்குடியுடையான். Compare the names மணற்குடையான் (= மணற்குடியுடையான்), வடுகக்குடையான் (= வடுகக்குடியுடையான்), பருத்திக்குடையான் (= பருத்திக்குடியுடையான்) etc.

ங்குடையானும் ஆந்தெகிழானும் சோழமாதேவி உடையானும் வல்லமுடையானும்-
வடுகக்குடையானும் மெ[ழெயூ]ர் உடையானும் **வரிப்பொத்தகக்கணக்குச்** சங்கத்தி-
மங்கல முடையானும் பருத்திக்குடையானும் முர . . -

24. கந்த நல்லூருடையானும் **வரியிலீடு** பாவை உடையானும் கீரமங்கலமுடையானும்
நாவல்லூருடையானும் [**ஆட்**]**சிபாட்டமும் கரைப்பேரால் கடமையும்** [கடமை] .
. . விக்கிரம சூளாமணி மூவேந்த வேளானும் நெற்குப்பை உடையானும் கிழாற-
வாருடையானும்

25. **வரியிலிடுவித்த புரவு வரிதிணைக்களநாயகம்** ஏவ சுந்தர மூவேந்த வேளானும் ஆட்சிபாட்-
டமும் கரைப்பேரால் கடமை . . . எழுதும் விக்கிரம சூளாமணி [மூவேந்த வே-
ளானும் . . . . . [ந]ாசகம் [வி]டங்கனார் உடையானும் **வரியிலிடுகிற** மங்கல-
முடையானும்

26. பட்டோலை எழுதினார் ராஜேந்திர சோழமண்டலத்து **புரவு வரிதிணைக்களத்துவரியில்-
லிடு**. . . . . .

27. விழுப்பரையனும் இருந்து யாண்டு நாலாவது ள ருயஎனா[ல்]வரியிலிட்ட இவ்விந்த . .

28. ஞ்செய்வரியிலிடுவித்தான் ராஜராஜப்பாண்டியநாட்டு முடி(கொண்ட) கொண்ட சோழ
வளநாட்டு கீழ் . . . . . .

29. ம[ரி] நாட்டு காமந் அமரபுயங்கநாந ராஜராஜவெள்ளப்ப நாடாழ்வாந் [|| *] மடுக்கும்
புனல் த.....[ண்]பொருனைத்துரை.....

30. குங்கதிரப்பன.....

ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

ll. 1—8. Hail ! Prosperity ! The one hundred and fifty-fourth day of the fourth year of the matchless king. While the king **Parakesarivarman Râjendradeva**,--who took the seven and a half lakhs of the Raṭṭapâḍi ; who frightened Âhavamalla at Koppam on the bank of the Pêrâṟu (Kṛishṇa) river, took away his elephants, horses, women and treasure ; and performed the *vîjayâbhishêa* and was pleased to ascend the throne,—was pleased to be seated on the (cot called the) *kâḍuveṭṭi* on the *sôpâna* (known as) ..... in the (palace named) Kêraḷaṉ-mâḷigai at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-śôḻapuram ; it was commanded by the king that the taxes *ûr-kaḻañju, kumara-kachchâṇam, mîṉ-pâṭṭam* etc., among the lower ..... ; *moram, ilai-vâṇiya-pâṭṭam, îṅgaḷ-âśu, kâl-aḷavu, kôl-aḷavu, âṭṭu-pâṭṭam, pêr-mudal-âyam, taragu-kûli*, etc..... *andarâyams*, which are due from the villages, which form the *dêvadâna* villages belonging to the goddess Kanyâ-piḍâriyâr of Kumari *alias* Gangaikoṇḍa-śôḻapuram situated in the Puṟattâyanâḍu of the Uttamaśôḻavaḷanâḍu (a sub-division) of the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi nâḍu, and which was utilised for these villages, should from the fourth year be taken and given to this goddess for meeting the expenses of celebrating a festival every month on the Hasta nakshatra, the natal star of **Kiḻânaḍigaḷ** one of the queens (of Râjêndradêva).

ll. 8—10. The above enumerated taxes (1) collected from the *dêvadâna* villages of the god of Râjarâjêśvaram of this place, should be paid from the fourth year to this god for whatever expenditure the temple might require them (the taxes).

ll. 10—11. The above mentioned taxes (2) collected from the *śâlâbhôgam* villages belonging to the Râjarâjaṉ-śâlai of this town should be paid to this *śâlai*, from the fourth year, for its expenses.

(1) This is the symbol for நாள்

(2) All these taxes are repeated in the inscription in these two instances also.

ll. 11—28. That these commands which were graciously given by the king was communicated in the writing of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśôḷa-Magadarâjaṇ, the *tirumandira-ôlai* and which was ordered by Villavaraiyar and Kâḍuvetṭi to be entered into the register signed by Uttamaśôḷa-kôṇ, Râjarâja-brahmamârâyaṇ, Kâliṅgarâjaṇ, Toṇḍaimâṇ, Tribhuvana Vallavanâḍuḍaiyâr, Mûvêndarśôḷa-kkandiruva-ppêraraiyar, the *tirumandira-ôlainâyakams.*

The order was accordingly entered into the books by a number of officers, (whose names are given at length in the text and which are omitted here), who came under the various designations *uḍaṇ-kûṭṭattu-adigârigaḷ, viḍaiyil-adigârigaḷ, uḷ-vari-tiṇaikkaḷattu-kaṇ-kâṇi, puṟa-vari-tiṇaikkaḷam, varippottagam, mukavetṭi, varippottaga-kaṇakku, variyilîḍu* and *puṟa-vari-tiṇaikkaḷam*

ll. 28—29. There is a verse at the end, which is very much damaged ; it seems to be a precis of the preceding record.

No. IV.

The following inscription engraved on the west base of the central shrine of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple belongs to the reign of **Râjakesarivarman Râjarâja** and is dated in the 31st year of his reign. It records that the servants of the temple sold the land adjacent to the temple to a body of persons called the ' nâṟpattennâyiravar' for the purpose of establishing a watershed ; the watershed was named Jayaṅgoṇḍaśôḷaṇ-tannîr-ppandal, after the surname of Râjâdhirâja.

The boundaries of the land sold are : on the north, the south wall of the temple which encloses the shrine of Ayyappaṇ Vêdiya Śâstâ in the south-east corner of the temple ; on the east, the road which leads from Kumari to the Chakra-tîrtha, the east bank of the Uttamaśôḷa-ppêrêri ; and to the west, side in general ; on the south, the Uttamaśôḷa-ppêrêri. The extent of the land, that was sold, measured ten *kôls* on the north that is, east to west, and twelve *kôls* on the east, that is north to south. The conditions of the sale are that the purchasers must erect a *pandal* for the watershed, fence the ground and plant in it fruit-bearing trees.

The king mentioned in this record seems to be Râjarâja II. If this identification is correct, the date of the inscription will be about A. D. 1167.

The names of places etc., mentioned in this document are the shrine of Ayyappaṇ Vêdiya Śâstâ, Uttamaśôḷa-ppêrêri, Kumari and Chakratîrtham. There is a small dilapidated structure a little distance from the temple but in the south-east corner of it. This might most probably be the Śâstâ shrine that is referred to in the inscription. Within a mile and half from Kanyâkumâri is the fisherman hamlet of Kôvaḷam. Near it is a large natural tank, which served for several years past as the source of water required for irrigation purposes ; now that the Tôvâḷai channel has been brought into that part of the tâlûka, the tank has fallen in disuse. This tank might be the Uttamaśôḷa-ppêrêri of the inscription. From the fact that it is named after Uttamaśôḷa, one of the surnames of Râjêndrachôḷadêva I., it must be as old, if not older than, the time of this king. Kumari is the quarter where the Kanyâ-Bhagavati's temple is situated. Chakratirtha is the substantially built tank which one meets on the way as one enters the village of Kanyâkumâri.

Text (1)

1. ....பெரும்புகட் கோவிராஜகேஸரிவர்ரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜ தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு கூய ஆவது [||*] ராஜராஜப்பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாய நாட்டுக் குமரிக்கழிக்குடி ராஜராஜ ஈ-

(1) From inked impression.

2. ஸ்ரீ முடையார் தேவர் கற்மிகளோம் நாற்பத்தி[ண்]ணுயிரவர்க்கு விற்றுக்குடுத்த நில மாவது [1*] இத்தேவர் கோயிலின் தென்கீழ்பக்கத்தெழுந்தருளி இருக்கும் ஐய்யப்பன் வேதியச்சாத்தன் கோயி-

3. லின் தெற்கில் திருச்சுற்றுலேக்குத் தெற்கும் உத்தமசோழப் பேரேரிக்கு வடக்குப் பதி-ன்தோலகலமுங் குமரி நின்றுஞ் சக்கரதீர்த்தத்துக்கு உத்தமசோழப் பேரேரி[யி]ன் கீழ்கரைக்கு மேற்கு உள்ளிடப்போக்-

4. த பெருவழிக்கு மேற்கும் பன்னிருகோல் நீளமும் ஆக இப்பெருநான்கெல்லேக்க (2) நடுவு ஜெயங்கொண்ட சோழநென்று தண்ணீர்ப்பந்தலும் எடுத்து

5. காவணமும் இட்டு இன்னன்கெல்லையினுள்ளுஞ் சுற்றுமடைத்து மற்றும் பயன்படுமர-மும் வைத்துக்கொள்வாராக எம்மிலிசைந்த விலைபொரு[ள்]ளல்லாங் கைப்யிலே யறக்-கொண்டு விற்றுக்குடுத்தோ-

6. ம் ராஜ ராஜ ஈஸ்வர முடையார் தேவர்கற்மிகளோம் நாற்பத்தெண்ணுயிரவர்க்கு [||*] இவர்கள் சொல்ல எழுதினேன் இத்தேவர் கணக்கு அரயன் [க]ந்தன் எழுத்து

Translation.

. . . . The 31st year of the (reign of the) king **Râjakesarivarman** *alias* **Râjarâjadeva**, of great fame. The land sold by us, the authorities of the temple of the god of Râjarâjêśvaram, situated in Kumari-kKaḷikkuḍi of the Puṟattâyanâḍu belonging to the Uttamaśôḷa-vaḷanâḍu, (a sub-division) of the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍi-nâḍu, to the Nâṟpattennâyiravar ; it is situated to the south of the circuiting wall near the Ayyappaṉ Vêdiya Sâstâṉ shrine situated on the south east of this temple ; to the north of the great lake, Uttama-śôḷa-ppêrêri,—thus a breadth of ten poles (*taḍis*) ; to the west of the main road from Kumari to Śakkiratîrtham which goes close to the west of the eastern bank of the Uttama-śôḷa-ppêrêri, thus a length of twelve poles (*taḍis*).

It is agreed between us, the temple authorities and the Nâṟpattennâyiravar, that the latter should establish a watershed under the name of Jayaṅgoṇḍa-śôḷaṉ, within these four great boundaries, erect *pandals*, fence the land within the four boundaries, and plant fruit-bearing trees ; (on these conditions), we the authorities of the temple of Râjarâjêśvara, having received to the full the amount of the price-money fixed by us, handed over (the land) to the Nâṟpattennâyiravar. Araiyan Kandaṉ, the accountant of this temple wrote (this agreement) to the dictation of these (parties) ; (this is my) signature.

No. V.

This inscription consists of a single verse in Tamiḷ stating that **Ayyanambi** *alias* **Mangalakkâlavaṉ**, the minister of the Chôḷa king established a watershed at Teṉ-Kumari, that is Kumari in the south. It is engraved on the west base of the central shrine of the Guhanâthasvâmin temple. This watershed was perhaps the one that was intended to be established according to the sale-deed contained in No. IV above.

Text. (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ (2) [||*] [ம]தண்டிரைநீர்த் தென்குமரி மானகர்த்தணீர்ப்பந்தல் எண்டி-சையும் ஏத்த வினிதமைத்தான் [வி]ண்டிவரும்

2. ஐந்தெரியலான் அய்யனம்பி அடல்வளவன் மந்திரி தென்மங்கலக்காலமன் (3) ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ (2)

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Read ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ.

(3) Metre, வெண்பா.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! **Ayyanambi** *alias* **Teṉ-Mangalakkâlamaṉ**, the wearer of the beautiful garland of full blown flowers, the minister of the powerful Chôḷa (king), established well, a watershed, which is praised in all the eight directions, in the great city of the south Kumari, (which is surrounded by) the waves of the clear water (of the sea). Hail ! Prosperity !

No. VI.

This one also consists of a single verse in Tamiḻ recording that **Ayyaṉ Mangalakkâlavaṉ** arranged for an income of 10 *nâḻis* of paddy a day, at Maṇaṟkuḍi for the maintenance of the watershed. It is very likely that he gave a piece of land which yielded paddy sufficient enough to supply the watershed daily with 10 *nâḻis* of paddy. It is also engraved on the west base of the central shrine of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ (2) [|| *] மானமிக்க வேல் ஐய்யன் மங்கலக்கால[ம]ந் குமரித்தானமைத்த[த]
பந்தலிற்றணீரட்ட தேநரைத்த மயத்தங்குசெ-
2. [ர]ல மணற்க்குடியிலே வைத்தா நித்தம் பதினழி நெல் (3) ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ (2)

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! **Aiyyaṉ Mangalakkâlamaṉ**, the (wielder of the) noble spear, kept (that is, made arrangement for the supply of) ten *nâḻis* of paddy per day, at Maṇaṟkuḍi, which is (full of) beautiful gardens dripping with honey, for the (maintenance) of the watershed he established at Kumari. Hail ! Prosperity !

(1) From inked impressions

(2) Read ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ.

(3) Metre, வெண்பா.

(2) Read ெநல்லுக்கு

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. IX

Three Sanskrit Inscriptions of Adityavarman *alias* Sarvanganatha.

No. X

Three Inscriptions of Vira Ravi Ravivarman.

No. XI

The Fort at Pallippuram, or, the Oldest European Building in India.

No. IX

THREE SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF ADITYAVARMAN *ALIAS* SARVANGANATHA.

Of the three inscriptions edited below, one (No. 2) was first edited by Mr. Sundaram Pillai (1) and afterwards by Dr. Kielhorn (2). It is engraved on the north wall of the Kṛishṇasvâmin shrine in the Padmanâbhasvâmin temple at Trivandram, in the Grantha characters. It records that the king **Sarvânganâtha** constructed at the town of Syânandûra the shrine of Kṛishṇa, the *gô-śâlâ*, a *maṇḍapa* and the *dipikâ-gṛiham*, in the Śaka year 1296, expressed by the chronogram '*chôḷapriya*'. Dr. Kielhorn believes that the exact date of the record must have fallen between the 10th October 1374, and the 26th March 1375, A. D.

My only excuse for republishing it in this paper is to bring all the available records of the king Sarvâṅganâtha in one paper; I have therefore given the text and extracted the excellent translation of Dr. Kielhorn.

The second inscription is engraved on the north and east bases of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Kṛishṇasvâmin temple at Vaḍaśêri, one of the suburbs of the town of Nâgarkôyil. It is also written in the Grantha characters and the language is Sanskṛit. The preservation of the record is tolerably good. The inscription consists of three verses in different metres and praises of the king, whose real name is known from this to be **Adityavarman**. How he deserved the *biruda* of Sarvâṅganâtha is explained in the inscription which states that he was well versed in Grammar, was a proficient in the science and art of composition and music, was learned in the Smṛitis, *Arttha-Śâstra*, *Purâṇas*, *Âtma-Śâstra* (i. e. Vêdânta) and *Tarka*. From the fact that this inscription contains nothing more than the praises of the king and is found in a Kṛishṇasvâmin temple, it looks probable that Âdityavarman Sarvâṅganâtha might be the builder of this temple.

The third inscription is engraved on the south base of the Kṛishṇasvâmin shrine in the Padmanâbhasvâmin temple at Trivandram. Like the other two documents, this one is also written in the Grantha characters and in the Sanskṛit language. It records the construction of the shrine of Kṛishṇasvâmin, the *gô-śâlâ*, and the *maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine of Kṛishṇa by the king **Adityavarman** *alias* **Sarvânganâtha.**

From these records we learn that the real name of the king was Âdityavarman and that the name Sarvâṅganâtha was but a *biruda* expressive of the literary acquirements of the king. The period he lived in was the last quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era.

Text (3)

No. I.

1. स्वस्ति श्री[:] [॥*] सिंहस्थे च बृहस्प-
2. तौ समकरोदब्दे च चोळप्रिये
3. गोशालाञ्च सुदीपिकागृहमहो

(1) In his 'Early Sovereigns of Travancore, p.

(2) *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 203.

(3) From inked impressions of the inscriptions.

4. कृष्णालयम्मण्डपम् । भक्त्या चैव य-
5. शोर्त्थमप्यतितरान्धर्मार्त्थमप्यादरात्
6. स्यानन्दूरपुरे सुकीर्त्तिसहितस्सर्व्वा-
7. गनाथो नृपः ॥

No. II.

1. स्वास्ति श्री[:] शब्दज्ञोस्म्यथ लक्ष्यलक्षणगुरुस्साहित्यसुगीतयो[:*] स्मृत्यर्थ[त्म (?) पुराणशास्त्रनि-गमान्जाने] प्रमाणान्यपि । षट्त्रिंशत्स्वपि-
2. हेतिषु श्रमगुणैश्शोभ्ने कुलानां कुलान्यभ्यासे युधि भूपतींश्च विजये सर्व्वांगनाथोस्म्यतः [॥ १*] साहित्ये निपुणाः के-
3. चित् केचित् शास्त्रे च कोविदाः । केचित् गीते कृताभ्यासाः केचित् शस्त्रे कृतश्रमाः ।[। २*] आदित्यवर्म्मन् भवतस्साम्यमि-
4. च्छन्ति ते कथं । पारंगतेन विद्यानामेकां विद्यां समाश्रिताः ।[। ३*] नवजलदसमाभः कन्ज [नेत्रे कृतङ्कः ?] पतितचिकुरसं-
5. घं वारयन्नंगुलीभिः । व्रजयुवतिसमूहं
6. सस्मितं प्रेक्षमाणो वसतु हृदि-
7. सदा मे बालकृष्णस्य भावः ।[। ४*] स्मरामयसनाथाश्चत . कृष्णस्य ल . स्तेन गृहा.....

No. III.

1. स्वस्ति श्री[:*] ।[।*] श्रीगोष्ठकृष्णालयमण्डपानां गवाञ्च कृष्णस्य च भूसुराणाम् । निवेशनार्त्थं कृतवान्नवत्वमादित्यवर्म्मा परवीरवीरः ।[। १*] अहो दृष्टा च गोशाला ह्य-
2. हो दृष्टञ्च मण्डपम् । अहो कृष्णालयन्दृष्टमहो वक्ष्यामि किं सखे ।[। २*] आदित्यवर्म्मणा राज्ञा कृतमेतत्रयञ्जनाः । पश्यन्तु सस्पृहन्नित्यम् भजध्वं कृष्णमाद-
3. रात् ।[। ३*] मण्डिते मण्डपे चित्रं कृष्णस्य पुरतः कृतम् । प्रेक्षकाणाञ्च नेत्राणामासीन्मण्डनमञ्जसा ।[। ४*] मण्डितम्मण्डपञ्चित्रं कृष्णस्य पुरतः कृतम् । पश्यन्तु म-
4. ण्डलं कृत्वा जना नेत्र मण्डनम् ।[। ५*].

Translation

No. I. (1)

When Jupiter stood in (the sign) Simha, in the year (denoted by the chronogram) Chôḷa-priya (*i.e.* 1296), the prince Sarvâṅganâtha possessed of good report, from faith and to secure fame in abundance and for the sake of religion, reverently built at the town of Syânandûra a cow-house, a house of beautiful lamps, (and) Ah ! an abode of Kṛishṇa, an open hall.

(1) Dr. Kielhorn's translation.

No. II.

V. 1. Hail! Prosperity! I am versed in grammar; I am master of the science and art of composition and music; I know the *Smṛitis*, economics, the science of self, the *Purâṇas*, the *Sâstras*, and the *Vèdas*, as also the dialectics. I shine by the various kinds of exercises in respect of the thirty-six weapons. I practise the groups of the arts. I also conquer kings in war. Therefore am I Sarvâṅganâtha (i. e., master of all *Vèda-aṅgas*).

V. 2. Some are experts in composition (*sâhitya*), others are learned in the *śâstras*, some are well practiced in music, others are skilled in the art of missiles. How could they, who are devoted each only to one particular branch of knowledge (*vidyâ*), aspire to equality with, you Âdityavarman, who art a past master in all the branches of knowledge?

V. 3. Let the thought of Bâlakṛishṇa, whose splendour is like that of the fresh (rain laden) cloud, whose lotus eye is marked (with collirium) and who removing his flowing locks by his fingers, smilingly gazes on the group of young shepherdesses, ever dwell within my heart.

No. III.

Verse 1. The valorous Adityavarman built newly the cattle-shed, the shrine of Kṛishṇa and the maṇḍapa for the use of cows, (the good) Kṛishṇa and the Brahmans respectively.

V. 2. Ah! the cattle-shed was seen; ah! the maṇḍapa was seen; ah! the Kṛishṇa's temple was seen; O! friend! what shall I say!!

V. 3. Let people see with eagerness these three which were constructed by king Adityavarman. Worship Kṛishṇa daily with devotion.

V. 4. The carving of the decorated maṇḍapa before Kṛishṇa was as it were like an ornament to the eyes of the spectators.

V. 5. Let the people make a round and see the decorated maṇḍapa constructed before Kṛishṇa, which is an ornament to the eyes of the on-lookers.

No. X

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRA RAVI RAVIVARMAN.

The following three inscriptions belong to the reign of Vîra Ravi Ravivarman of the Tiruppâppûr Svarûpam. They are written in the Tamiḷ language and alphabet and are in more or less good state of preservation.

The first two records belong to the Adikêśava-pperumâḷ temple at Tiruvâṭṭâṟu, a place of great antiquity. In the classic anthology of verses sung by poets in praise of several ancient sovereigns of the Tamiḷ land, called the Puṟanâṉûṟu, it is stated that Vâṭṭâṟu was under the chieftainship of one Eḷiṉi-Âdaṉ, who is praised for his munificence and liberality. His panegyrist, Mâṅguḍi-kiḷâr, describes the town as வளநீர்வாட்டாறு, (Puṟanâṉûṟu, v. 496). Again, it is one of the places in Malainâḍu praised by the Vaishṇava saint Nammâḻvâr. He calls it Vâṭṭâṟu situated on the bank of a river. The temple is at present situated on a high platform which appears to have existed from very ancient times, for, Nammâḻvâr describes this temple in the following terms :—

மலை மாடத்தரவணைமேல் வாட்டாற்றான் &c.

and

வரைகுழவு மணிமாட வாட்டாற்றான் &c.

The image in the central shrine is said in the hymns of Nammâḻvâr to be lying on the serpent bed, which also is its present posture. Though at present the name of the place is pronounced as Tiruvaṭṭâṟu, it is clear from the quotations given above from the Puṟanâṉûṟu and the verses of Nammâḻvâr that the name must be pronounced as Tiruvâṭṭâṟu.

All these inscriptions belong to a comparatively modern period ; they range from **Ko. 778-782**, (A. D. 1603—1607). The first is dated the Kali year 4704, corresponding with the Kollam year 779. On a Saturday, the 26th of the month of Âṇi which coincided with the Saptami *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Hasta nakshatra and Mîna râśi, the king **Vira Ravi Ravivarman**, began to effect repairs and add fresh structures to the temple of Adikêśavapperumâḷ and the four *tirumâḷigaippatties*, the kitchen, the water-room (?), the paving of the innermost places with stones, the *oṟṟaikkal maṇḍapa*, the *dvârapâlas* the pillar of lights, and the roofing of the hall (in which) the *balikkal* stands were constructed. **Adityavarman**, the first younger brother of the king, built the flooring of the four inner *prâkâras* with stone, while the next younger brother, **Râmavarman**, ordered for the two metal *dvârapâlas* to be cast. The king's consorts, **Iṟaiyumakkuttiyammai**, and **Iḷaiya Iṟaiyumakkuttiyammai**, built the water-room and the adjacent *pattis*. The western *patti* is said to have been constructed at the expense of three ladies of whom the first is described as '*nambirâṭṭiyâr*'. The term as occurring in the inscriptions of the east coast means 'our queen' and is always employed by the kings or his subjects to denote the queen. It does not seem to possess this significance in the present instance, as the consorts of kings are described, elsewhere in this inscription, otherwise. Hence we have to surmise that the person referred to as '*nambirâṭṭiyâr*' might either be the sister or the mother of the king. The second lady is **Nâchchiyâr-ammai**, the consort of Âdityavarman and the third, **Keśavapperumâḷ-ammai**, the consort of Râmavarman.

The ceremonies in connection with the consecration were performed by Kiriṭṭaṉ (Kṛishṇa) Jâtavêdan of the Paḍiñârakkaṭṭil house at Karpagamaṅgalam. Kaṇḍan Śirî kumaran, who was managing the temple lands could not attend the ceremony ; therefore Udayaṇaṉ Dêvaṟ of Pûndôṭṭam was made to act in his stead. The temple accountant at that time was Îśvaran Âdichchan and the accountant general or the auditing officer (*mêleḻuttu*) was Kiṭṭiṇaṉ Kiṭṭiṇaṉ

(Kṛishṇan). The architects were Uḍaiyâṉ-kuṭṭi-Âdichcham Âśâri, Îchchakkuṭṭi Chintâmaṇi Âśâri, Kâttavan Sarvaṅga Âśâri and Nayinâkkuṭṭi Nîlakaṇḍa Aśâri. Of these the first was the chief architect.

The second inscription records the date of the construction of the *oṟṟaikkal maṇḍpa*. The third which belongs to the Śiva temple at Kêraḷapuram and records that the King Vîra Ravi Ravivarman repaired the central shrine, &c., of this temple.

From the first inscription we learn that in the Kollam year 779 there reigned in South Travancore a prince named Vîra Ravi Ravivarman and that he had two brothers named Âdityavarman and Râmavarman. All these belonged to the Tiruppâppûr Svarûpam and the Kiḻappêrûr *illam*. The two other inscriptions edited below state that these three princes were the sons of Umaiyammai, born in the Rôhiṇi *nakshatra*. They also state that the king Vîra Ravi Ravivarman was a votary of Padmanâbha (the god at Trivandram), that he gave the sixteen great gifts, beginning with Tulâpurusha. At present it is impossible to say when the king ascended the throne and how long he reigned. We have to wait for further discoveries for these points to be elucidated. In his "History of Travancore" Mr. Śaṅguṇṇi Mênôn admits that the history of Travancore about this period is not clearly known. But, he adds, that about the year Ko. 779 a Vîra Ravivarman was ruling. This year is said to be the last of the reign of this king; but the third inscription edited below is dated Ko. 782. Evidently Mr. Śaṅguṇṇi Mênôn seems to have been misled by some unreliable materials. The following table might be constructed from the facts gathered from these inscriptions:—

Umaiyammai, born
in the Rôhiṇi *nakshatra*.

Vîra Ravi Ravivarman born in the Jyêshṭha *nakshatra*.	Adityavarman. Nâchchiyâr-ammai.	Râmavarman. Âdikêśavapperumâḷ-ammai.
1. Iṟaiyumakkuṭṭi-ammai.		
2. Iḷaiya do.		

Text

1. ஹரி [: ||*] ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கலியுக ஸம்வத்ஸரம் சத்தளாசல் செல்லாநின்ற வ்ருஶ்சிகஶ்ஜநி யநுவ்யாஷத்தின் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற கொல்லம் ௭௱௭௰௯௵ ஆனி மீ ௨௰௬ சென்ற சனியாட்சையும் அத்தமும் ௨௵ பக்ஷத்து ஸப்தமியும் அன்று மீனம் இராசிகொண்டு திருவாட்டாற்று பள்ளிகொண்டருளின்ற பெருமாள் ஆதிகேசவப்பெருமாள் க்ஷேத்திரத்தில் நாலுதிருமாளிகைப்பத்தியும் திருமடப்பள்ளியும் நீரறையும் அகத்து தளவிசையும் ஒருகல் மண்டபமும் கூா[ர] ஸ்தன்மாரும் விளக்கு மாடமும் வெலிக்கல்ப்பிரையும் கூட கல்காரமாய்ப்-

2. பணியும் செய்விச்சு பள்ளிகொண்டு அருளின்ற பெருமாள்க்கு திருமேனியில் புழுகும் சாத்திவிச்சு மேற்படி கொல்லம் ௭௱௮௰௵ தனுச்சனி மகரவியாழம் செல்லாநின்ற வைகாசி மீ ௰௬௳ திங்களாச்சையும் பூசமும் ௨௵பக்ஷத்து பஞ்சமியும் நண்யொகவுடி அன்று கற்கடகம் இராசிகொண்டு கீழப்பேரூர் இல்லத்தில் திருப்பாப்பூர் தொரூபத்தில் ஸ்ரீவீராவி இரவிவற்ம்மராய குலசேகரப்பெருமாள் செய்வித்த திருப்பணி [||*] மேற்படி அனியனாய் ஆதித்தவற்ம்மா இருந்நருளியெடத்தின் பண்டாரத்தில் செய்வித்த அகச்சுற்றில் நாலுபிறமும் தளவிசை போடிச்சித [||*] மேற்படி அனியன் இராமவற்ம்மா இருந்நருளியெடத்தின் பண்டாரத்தில் கூா[ர]ஸ்தாரை-

3. வாப்பிச்சித [||*] இதின் இளங்கோயில்கொண்டு கலசமாடின படிஞாறக்-கெட்டில் கற்பகமங்கலத்து கிரிட்டன் சாதவேதன் [||*] இளங்கோயில் கொள்ளின்றப்போழ் மூத்தகூற்றில் திருவிடையாட்டம் திறப்பு கையாண்ட பெருங்ஙாஹூர் கண்டன் சிரீகுமரன் வாரா[த]கொண்டு இவையகூற்றில் கெய்யறமனிச்சமாய பூந்தோட்டத்து உதையனன் தேவன் கையேற்[றி] இளங்கோயில் கொள்ளிச்சித [||*] நீரறையும் அடித்தபத்தி இரண்டும் குலசேகரப்பெருமாள் இருந்தருளி-

4. யெடத்தின் பண்டாரத்தில் தேவியார் இரையுமக்குட்டி அம்மையும் இவை இரையுமக்குட்டி அம்மையும் செய்விச்சித [||*] மேற்படிக்கு மேக்குபத்தி ஒன்றும் நம்பிராட்டியார் பண்டாரத்தில் செய்விச்சித [||*] மேற்படிக்கு மேக்குபத்தி ஒன்றும் ஆதித்தவற்மமா இருந்தருளியெடத்தின் பண்டாரத்தில் தேவியார் நாச்சியார் அம்மை செய்விச்சித [||*] மேற்படி மேக்கு பத்தி ஒன்றும் இராமவற்ம்மா இருந்தருளியெடத்தின் பண்டாரத்தில் தேவியார் கேசவப்பெருமாள் அம்மை செய்விச்சித [||*] சீபண்டா-

5. ரக்கணக்கு ஈச்சுவரன் ஆதிச்சன் [||*] மேலெழுத்து கணக்குகிட்டிணன் கிட்டிணன் [||*] மூத்த ஆசாரி திருவாட்டாற்று உடையான்குட்டி ஆதிச்சமாசாரி [||*] ஈச்சக்குட்டி சிந்தாமணி ஆசாரி [||*] காத்தவன் சறுவாங்க ஆசாரி [||*] நயினக்குட்டி திருநீலகண்டர் ஆசாரி வ [||*].

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

ll. 1—2. Harih ! Hail ! Prosperity ! After the Kali year 4704 had expired, when Saturn stood in the constellation Vṛiśchika and Jupiter in Dhanu, in the Kollam year 779, on Saturday, the 26th of the month of Âṇi, which was the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight, Hasta *nakshatra* and Mina *râśi*, the following structures in the temple of Âdikêśava-pperumâḷ, who is pleased to lie in Tiruvâṭṭâṟu, were built of stone : the four *tirumâḷigai-ppattis*, the kitchen, the water-room, the flooring of the inner portions, the single stone *maṇḍapa*, the *dvârapâlas*, the structure for lights and the room of the *balikkal* ; and on Monday, the 16th of the month of Vaigâśi, which corresponded with the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, Gaṇḍa *yôga*, and Karkaṭaka *râśi*, in the Kollam year 780, when Saturn was in Dhanu and Jupiter in Makara, the image of the god Âdikêśava was bathed in (a preparation of oil mixed with civet etc.) These were done by (or in the reign of) Vira Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśêkhara-pperumâḷ of the Kiḻappêrûr Illam and Tiruppâppûr Svarûpam.

l. 2. Âdityavarman, the younger brother of the above (Vira Ravi Ravivarman), built the floor of stone of the four sides of the inner *prâkâra*. His younger brother, Râmavarman, got the *dvârapâlas* cast (in metal).

l. 3. When the *bâlâlaya* (1) was consecrated, the priest that officiated was Kiriṭṭaṇ Jâtavêdaṇ of Paḍiññârê-kaṭṭil in Karpagamaṅgalam. On this occasion, Kaṇḍaṇ Śirî Kumaran of Peruññâvûr, belonging to the elder branch of the family that was in charge of the management of the temple lands was not (able to be) present ; in his stead, Udayanaṇ Dêvaṇ of Pûndôṭṭam who was in charge of the ghee room (?), was made to act (for the absentee during the ceremony).

ll. 3—4. Iraiyumakkuṭṭi Ammai and Iḷaya-Iraiyumakkuṭṭi Ammai, the consorts of the king Kulaśêkhara-pperumâḷ built the water-room and the next two *pattis*. The *paṭṭi* west of the

(1) The word *iḷaṅgoyil* occurs in one of the inscriptions of Tirumala ; this term has been taken by Mr. Venkayya to mean the temple of Subrahmanya, that it does not refer to a Subrahmanya temple would become patent from this instance ; it means the *bâlâlaya* that is generally constructed to lodge the images before pulling down temples for repairs.

above mentioned ones was built by the Nambirâiṭṭiyâr. The *paṭṭi* west of the above, was built by Nâchchiyâr Ammai, the consort of the prince Âdityavarman; the *paṭṭi* next to this was constructed by Âdikêśava-pperumâḷ Ammai, the consort of Râmavarman.

1. 5. The temple accountant (then) was Îchchuvaraṉ Âdichchaṉ; the auditor (or chief accountant) was Kiṭṭiṇaṉ; Kiṭṭiṇaṉ the chief architect, Uḍaiyâṉkuṭṭi Âdichchamâśâri, (and the other architects) Îchchakuṭṭi Chintâmaṇiâśâri, Kâttavaṉ Saruvâṅga Aśâri and Nayiṉâkuṭṭi Tirunîlakaṇḍar Aśâri.

No. II.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north and west bases of the *ottaikkal, maṇḍapam* in the Âdikêśavapperumâḷ temple. The preservation of the record is not good. It is written in a mixture of Grantha and Tamiḻ alphabets and the language is Tamiḻ. It is dated in the Kali year 4704 corresponding with the Kollam 778. It records that Vîra Ravi Ravivarman born in the Jyêshṭha nakshatra, to Umaiyammai born in the Rôhiṇi nakshatra, began to repair the temple on a Monday, the 7th of the month Chittirai . . . . in the Rôhiṇi nakshatra Saumya yôga and Kanni râśi. The general repairs to the temple were effected and the *oṟṟaikkal maṇḍapa* was built by the king. Vîra Ravi Ravivarman is described as a devotee of the god Padmanâbha (of Trivandram); he gave the sixteen great gifts such as Tulâpurusha etc. He is, as usual with the kings of this family, styled Kulaśêkharapperumâḷ. We have already seen that he belonged to the Tiruppâppûr *Svarûpam* and to the Kiḻappêrûr *illam*.

Text (1)

1. ஹரி: [||*] ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கலியுகஸம்வத்ஸரம் சத்தளாசல் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற வ்ருஶ்சிகவியாழம் துலாச்சனி கொல்லம் எ௱எ௰௮௵ சித்திரை மீ௴ எ௳ திங்களாட்சையும் ரோஹிணியும்.....[ஸெ]ளஹாத்ய யொகமும் அன்று கந்நிராசிகொண்டு பெருமாள் ஆதிகேச வப்பெருமாள் கோயிலில்

2. இ[ன்று] கோயில்கொண்டு பணி செய்வித்து முன்மண்டபத்தில்; ஒற்றைக்கல்லும் இடுவித்த ஸ்ரீ கீழப்பேரூர் இல்லத்தில் திருப்பாப்பூர் ஸ்வரூபத்தில் திருவானந்த புரத்தில் எழுந்தருளி [இருந்தருளி].....ரோஹிணிதிருநாள் பி.....[ம] அம்மை என்று திருநாமம் உடைய அம்மை பண்டாரத்தில் திருவகிறுவா [இத்து] அருளின

3. த்ருக்கேட்டைத்திருநாள் பிறந்த.....வாக பத்மநாபபாதாரவிந்தே[ஸ]வகரூமாய் தூலாபுருஷாதி ஷொடஶ மஹாதாநதாதாவுமாய் ஸகல வித்யாபாரமதரூமாய் ஸர்வ-ஜநரக்ஷா யுரந்தரரூ[மாய்].....ற்க.....இருந்தருளின ஸ்ரீவீரரவி இரவிவன்மரான ஸ்ரீ குலசேகரப்பெருமாள் செய்வித்த திருப்பணி [||*]-

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Harih! Hail! Prosperity! Vira Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśêkhara-pperumâḷ,—who belonged to the Kiḻappêrûr Illam and the Tiruppâppûr svarûpam, who was born to . . . . . mai Ammai who was residing at Tiruvânandapuram who was born in the Rôhiṇi *nakshatra*, whose natal star was Tirukêṭṭai (Jyêshṭha), who was the adorer of the feet of the god Padmanâbha, who had made the sixteen great gifts beginning with *tulâpurusha*, who was learned in all sciences and arts and who was ever bent upon offering protection to his subjects—built the front maṇḍapa in the Âdikêśava-pperumâḷ temple and fixed the single slab of stone as its floor, on Monday the 7th of the month of Chittirai, in the Rôhiṇi *nakshatra*, Saumya *yôga* and Kanni *râśi*, in the Kali year 4704, Kollam 778, when Jupiter stood in the constellation, Vriśchika and Saturn in Tulâ.

KERALAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRA RAVI RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west base of central shrine of the Śiva temple at Kêralapuram near Padmanâbhapuram. The language and alphabet of the record is Tamiḻ and the preservation is good. It informs us that the king Vîra Ravi Ravivarman of the Kîḻappêrûr Illam and the Tiruppâppûr Svarûpam reconstructed the central shrine and other buildings in the temple in the year 782 of the Kollam era. Herein also the king is said to have made the sixteen great gifts, to be master of all sciences and arts, to be a votary of the god Padmanâbha, etc.

Text (1)

1. ஹரிஃ [||*] ஶுபமஸ்து [||*] ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|*] ரவிஸ்து யந்யைஸ்ஸஹ கலி சக்ர-
எாஅ ஸம்வசுஸரம் செல்லாநின்ற மீநவ்யாழம் யநுஜ்ஜனி கொல்லம் எாஅடுஉ ௵ சித்திரை
[மீ] (2) ௬ ௨ வெள்ளியாட்சையும் சோதியும் சுபாபக்ஷத்தில் ப்ரதமையும் ஸிஜியொமமும்
அன்று கர்க்கடகம் ராஶி கொண்டு

2. செங்கழுநீர்வழனாட்டு (2a) முத்தளகுறிச்சியில் நயினார் ஸ்ரீவீரகொடைஶ்வரத்து
மஹாதெவசு (3) கோயில் கீழப்பேரூர் இல்லத்தில் திருப்பாப்பூர் ஸ்வரூபத்தில் திருவானந்த-
புரத்தில் எழுந்தருளி இருந்தருளின ரொஹிணி திருநாள்பிறந்த உமைஅம்மை

3. என்று திருநாமபேருடைய அம்மை பண்டாரத்தில திருவகிறுவாழ்ந்து அரு-
ளின (4) தூகெடெ (5) திருநாள்பிறந்த அனவரத பத்மநாப பாதாரவிந்தஸெவிதரூமாய்
தூலாபூரூஷாதி ஷொடஶ மஹாதாநதாதாவூமாய் ஸகலவித்யாபாரமதரூமா[ய்] ஸர்வ-
ஜநரக்ஷாயூரந்யாரூமாய் ஸமஸ்தரிபூவர்ஜ—

4. தமொஹெதஸூர்யநூமாய் இருந்தருளின ஸ்ரீவீராவி இரவிவன்மரான ஸ்ரீ குல-
சேகரப்பெருமாள் நாலுஅம்பலமும் திருமடப்பள்ளியும் ஜஷ்பமண்டபமும் கல்காரமாய் பணி-
செய்வித்து எாஅடுஉ ௵ அற்பசி [மீ] (6) உடு[உ] வியாழவாட்சையும் அநிஷமும்
பூர்வபக்ஷத்தில்

5. .. திகையும் விரிச்சிகம் இராசிகொண்டு ஸம்கோசிச்சு ஸ்ரீ [வி*] மாநம் உப[ா]ந-
முதல் ஸ்தூ[பி] (7) வரை [பி]றிச்சுசெய்து செங்கல்பணியு முகித்து மேற்படி ௵ சித்திரை
[மீ] (2) ௬ ௨ திருப்பணியும் முகித்து கலஶம் ஆடி அருளினது [||*] ஹரிஃ [||*] ஶுபமஸ்து
[||*]

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(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Symbol for the word *mâdam* (month).

(2-a) Read செங்கழுநீர்வளநாட்டு.

(3) Read தேவர

(4) Read திருவயிறு வாய்த்தருளின.

(5) Read திருக்கெடெ

(6) Read பத்மநாப

(7) The letter *pi* is corrected from *ha*.

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

Harih! Be it well! Hail! Prosperity! Vîra Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśêkharadêva,—who was born of (1) Umaiyammai born in the Rôhiṇi *nakshatra* and residing at Tiruvânadapuram who was himself born in the Tirukkêṭṭai nakshatra, who was incessantly worshipping the feet of the god Padmanabha, who had made the sixteen great gifts beginning with *tulâpurusha*, who was learned in all the sciences and arts, who was protecting all his subjects and who was a sun to the hosts of his foes,—built of stone the *nâlu ambalam*, the kitchen and the Rishabha *maṇḍapa* in the temple of the god Mahâdêva of Vîrakêraḷâśvaram in Muttaḷakkuṟichchi in the Śeṅgaḷunîr-vaḷanâḍu.

In the Kollam year 782, on Thursday, the 22nd of the month of Aṟpaśi, the . . . *tithi* of the bright fortnight, Anusha *nakshatra*, and Vṛiśchika *râśi*, the *śrîvimâna* (the central shrine), beginning from the base (*upâna*), to the top (*stûpi*), was reconstructed on a smaller scale, the brick work was finished and the *kumbhâbhishêka* ceremony was performed on Friday, the Jyôti nakshatra, on the 6th of the month of Chittirai corresponding with the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight, Siddhi *yôga*, and Karkaṭaka *râśi*, when Jupiter stood in the constellation Mînam and Saturn in Dhanu, in the Kali year 4708 of which the day is expressed by the choronogram **ravistudhanyaisseha**, which corresponded with the Kollam year 782.

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(1) Mr. Venkayya has separated the compound 'திருவயிறு வாய்க்கவுடைய பிராட்டியார்' found in several inscriptions which describe the mother of Uttamaśôḻadêva, into திருவயிறு வாய்க்க and உடைய பிராட்டியார். By itself the first part means practically nothing and the second has introduced a fictitious queen உடைய பிராட்டியார் in South Indian History. The mistake is perpetuated in his Annual Reports year after year by his successor, Mr. Krishna Sastri, who also believes that the name of the mother of Uttamaśôḻa was உடைய பிராட்டியார். Such an expression as வயிறு வாய்க்கவுடைய occurs in many places in Tamil literature, as for example, Râma is called, கௌசலைதன் மணி வயிறுவாய்த்தவனே, by Kulaśêkhara-pperumâḷ in his Perumâḷ Tirumôḻi.

No. XI

THE FORT AT PALLIPPURAM, OR, THE OLDEST EUROPEAN BUILDING IN INDIA. (1)

On the 18th of May, 1498, Vasco de Gama sighted India and anchored before Calicut on the 20th. By the good offices of a Moor named Bontaybo, who knew both the Portuguese and the Malayalam languages he was able to hold an interview with the Zamorin in which arrangements for opening trade with Malabar were effected. But the Moors who had long monopolised the lucrative business in pepper and the other produces of Malabar were alarmed by the transactions of the Zamorin with the Portuguese and hastened to poison the mind of the king against the foreigners, whom they portrayed as mere pirates who were misrepresenting themselves to him as the ambassadors of a reigning sovereign of Europe. Thereupon the Zamorin grew a bit lukewarm in his treatment of the Portuguese. De Gama therefore left the shores of Calicut about the end of August 1499. (2)

A fresh expedition was sent out to Calicut under the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral on the 15th March, 1500 and on the 13th September, after a perilous voyage, the fleet arrived off the coast of Calicut. This time the Zamorin concluded a treaty of peace and friendship with the Portuguese and Admiral Cabral opened a factory at Calicut. But perceiving that the Zamorin who was supplying the Moors with pepper and spices largely did not provide him with sufficient quantities of these commodities of Malabar. Cabral grew impatient and attacked a fully laden Moorish ship and took the cargo after killing the whole crew. Thereupon the Moors on the coast remonstrated, which only irritated more the Portuguese who ruthlessly attacked Calicut and killed 600 men. This unfortunate event obliged Cabral to leave Calicut and sail south. He reached Cochin on the 20th December, 1500. The Râjâ of this country received the strangers with great politeness and offered him all facilities to trade with his people and also provided the Portuguese with a factory. Hearing of all these transactions the Zamorin rigged up a fleet carrying 1,500 soldiers and sent it to Cochin to fight the Portuguese out. When the fleet arrived, the Râjâ of Cochin intimated its approach to Cabral and offered the latter, if needed, his assistance to attack it. Cabral immediately gave chase to the forces of the Zamorin but the fleet sailed away without coming to any engagement with the Portuguese. Cabral set sail to Portugal directly without returning to Cochin. It was thus that the Portuguese first visited Cochin.

On March 3, 1502, a third expedition under the command of Vasco de Gama was despatched by the King of Portugal for the express purpose of taking vengeance on the Zamorin ; Vasco was soon joined by his cousin Stephen de Gama. They reached Calicut, attacked the town and committed atrocities which cannot be better described than in the words of Day. "De Gama tortured messengers, executed ambassadors, and his deeds were a blot in the annals of a Christian nation, and a disgrace to the name of humanity, over which it would be well could a veil be drawn". He then sailed down to Cochin where he established a factory, left there some factors and sailed for Portugal on the 1st of September.

The alliance of the Râjâ of Cochin with the Portuguese brought him in an intensified form the already existing enmity of the Zamorin who, taking this as a pretext to invade the Cochin territory, entered it with a vast army, laid waste the country and reduced the Râjâ to take shelter in the island of Vypeen. Fortunately for him, a Portuguese fleet with Francesco de Albuquerque at its head arrived on the 20th September, 1503. He forthwith reinstalled the Râjâ in the

(1) This term excludes the early Europeans, the Greeks, the Romans, etc., but refers only to the medieval and modern nations of Europe.

(2) The historical portion of this paper is but an abstract of the chapters on the "Portuguese in Cochin" in 'Day's Land of the Permauls' which has been largely consulted in the preparation of this paper.

possession of his kingdom, attacked and routed the forces of the Zamorin, seized Eḍappaḷḷi, (whose Brâhman Râjâ was in league with the Zamorin), and looted it. The Râjâ of Cochin was immensely pleased with his new allies and permitted them to erect a fort at Cochin. The foundation was laid on the 26th September 1503 and on the 1st of October it was christened **Manuel** after the name of the reigning king of Portugal. A few years after the forts at Cranganore and Paḷḷippuram seem to have been constructed. The latter must have been brought into existence for the purpose of commanding the entrance to the back-water from the north. This building is small and could be defended by a handful of men. "The little castle is however in such a way as to leave very little doubt as to its identity by Gasper Correa who wrote in India between 1512-1550. He says it was built in 1507 to hold the entrance to the back-water, that it was garrisoned by about 20 men, that it was octagonal, that each of the facet was pierced for cannon etc. The little castle is probably the most ancient European building in India."(1) The fort at Paḷḷippuram was known at the time of its construction and subsequently by the name of Aḷikkôṭṭai or Âyakkôṭṭai ; and in the letters of Powney and others it is mentioned by the latter name. Strangely enough this fortress has been described by one and all as octagonal. We see Gasper Correa calling it octagonal in the extract quoted above. Day also calls it 'a small octagon tower'. In fact, it is a hexagonal building, as could be seen rom the plan herewith.

Of the three forts of Cochin, Cranganore and Paḷḷippuram built in the early days of the Portuguese dominancy in the West Coast the last alone still remains intact. Nothing is seen of the fort of Cochin at present. A wall of the fortification about 60 or 70 yards in length, a ruined gateway and an underground powder magazine all situated on a mound of earth about 15 feet high, are all that have survived of the once famous fort of Cranganore. The only building of the early Portuguese period not in ruins and consequently the oldest European structure extant in India, therefore, is, as we have already mentioned, the fortress at Paḷḷippuram.

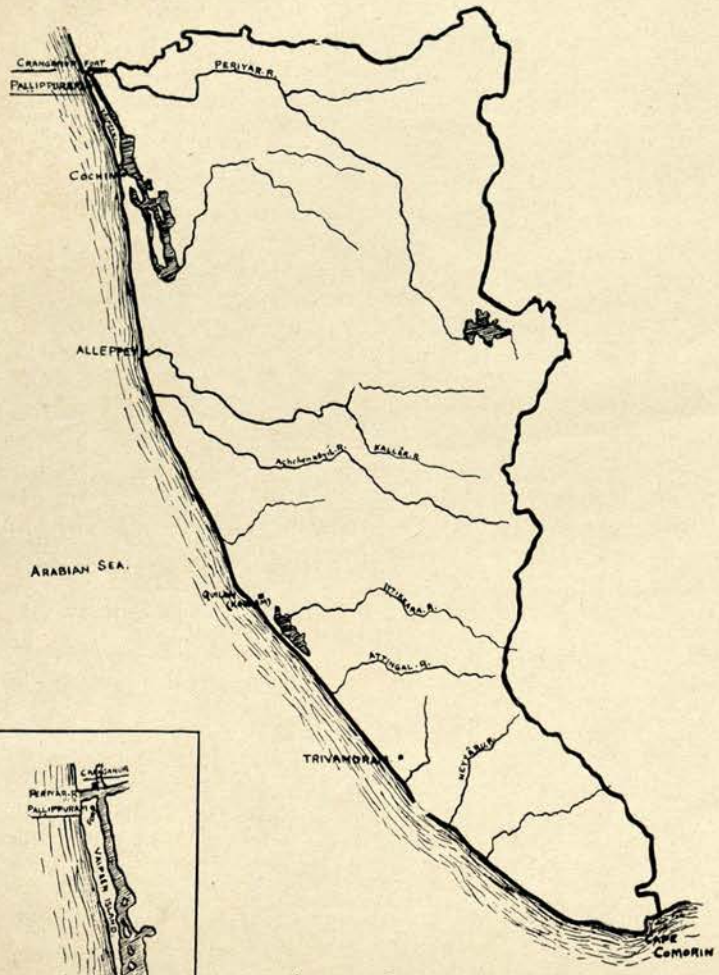
The little village of Paḷḷippuram is situated on the northern extremity of the island of Vypeen north of Cochin. This island is thirteen miles long with the breadth varying from one to three miles and is believed to have been formed by the silt carried by the streams that meet the sea about the place where it is situated now. This narrow strip of land belonged to the Cochin State when the Portuguese first visited the West Coast. On the northern extremity of Vypeen the Portuguese were permitted to build an outpost to guard the passage of foreign vessels through the mouth of the Periyâr river. It was almost due north of this and on the opposite bank of this river that the fort of Cranganore was built.

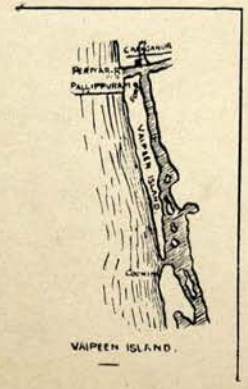
The outpost at Paḷḷippuram is a hexagonal building meant to be of three storeys in height. Inside the fort the lowest floor is raised to a height of 5 feet from the ground level. Underneath this platform, opens out a small cellar, the passage to which runs obliquely from north to south and is 3 feet broad and 3 feet high, (see the ground plan of the fort in the accompanying plate). The cellar itself is 4 feet in height and 7 feet square. It appears to have served for storing gunpowder etc.

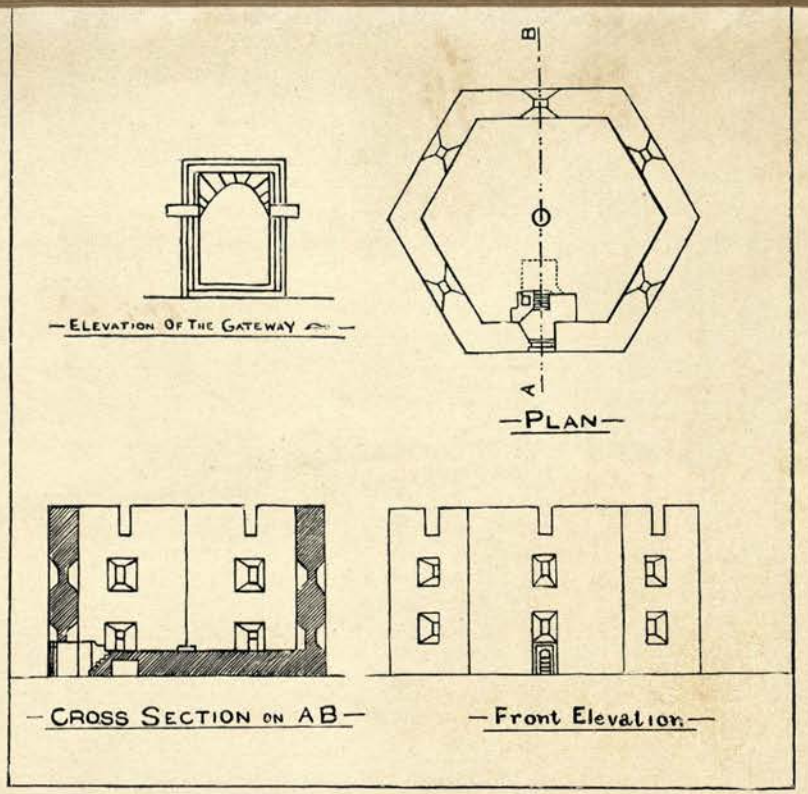
The fort is entered by a gate 5′ 3″ by 7′, constructed of finely dressed granite, (see the elevation of the gateway in the plate). The top of the gate is arched and the door-posts and lintels are well moulded. Just behind the gate, the passage widens from 5′ 3″ to 7′ 3″ and this is due to the recess being square on one side and splayed on the other. Touching the wall there is a solid piece of masonry represented in the diagram I by a. To the west of this and immediately adjoining it is a well 3′ 3″ square. The thickness of the walls of the well is 6″ and the depth

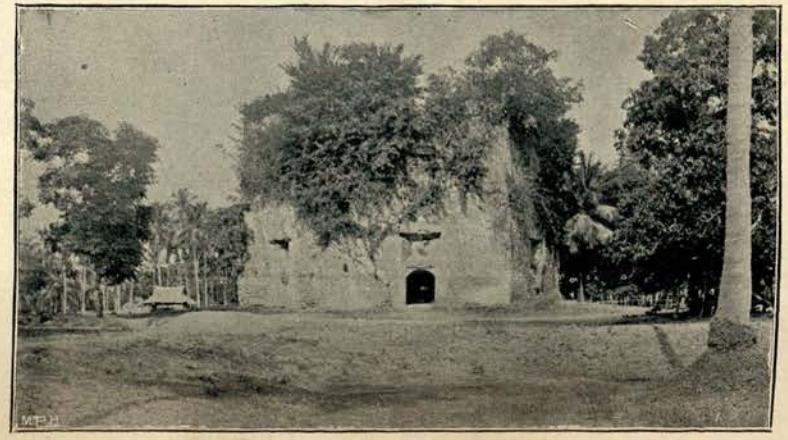
(1). Extract from the letter of Mr. A. Galletti, I.C.S. to the Resident in Travancore and Cochin, a copy of which was communicated to me.

MAP OF TRAVANCORE
SHOWING THE
POSITION OF THE ISLAND OF
VAIPEEN.









PALLIPPURAM FORT

from the top to the bottom, 16 feet; there is at present two feet of water in the well. The people of Pallippuram informed me that the water of the well used to be very good for drinking purposes, but now it is left uncared for.

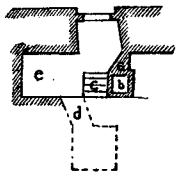


DIAGRAM I.

To the north of this well is a flight of four steps leading on to the platform already mentioned, (c in diagram I). Immediately to the north of the steps is the opening leading to the underground cellar, (d in the diagram I). In the centre of the platform lies a circular slab of stone, 3′ in diameter. It appears that on this was erected a stone pillar, (the fragments of which are seen in the bungalow once in the occupation of Mr. Vernede), on which the radiating wooden beams supporting the upper two floors must have rested as in diagram II below.

Each face of the fort measures on the outside 32 feet in length and 34 feet in height; and the walls are 6 feet in thickness, (see diagram II below). Each face of the fort has three embrasures, one above the other, belonging each to one storey. The central opening of these embrasures measures 2′ × 2½′, (see diagram III). On the whole there are eighteen embrasures and therefore the fort could have mounted as many guns commanding all quarters round it. There are a number of sockets below the lower ends of these embrasures, evidently meant for receiving wooden beams in them (a, a, a, a, in diagram III). At present, there is no trace of wood-work remaining there. All the wood was either rotten by exposure to wind and weather or was removed by the villagers for firewood; the latter seems more probable.

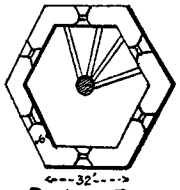


DIAGRAM. II.

In front of the gate, adjoining it on the inside, is an open space 12′ × 5′ 9″, which is on the same level as the ground outside the fort. This space (e in the diagram I), must have been left as it is, to afford easy passage to the cellar as also from the gate to the flight of steps.

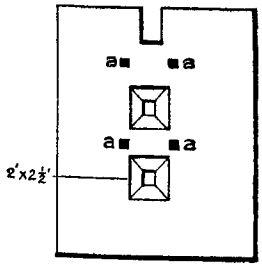


DIAGRAM III

The materials employed in the construction of the fort at Pallippuram are laterite, granite and wood. The whole of the masonry work of the fort is of laterite blocks set in *chunam* and the surfaces of the walls, etc., are thickly plastered with mortar. The doorway and the central circular stone slab mentioned above as the remnant of the central pillar are the only instances of granite employed in building.

At present, all the six sides of the fort are overgrown with vegetation and the roots of some of them are seen clinging over large areas of the walls (see photograph herewith). At present no serious damage has been caused to the building, but left to the mercy of this destructive agency, very soon the structure is sure to come to ruin. One or two stones on the top of the passage leading into the cellar are broken and overhanging, and might come down very soon.

With the banyan trees and the shrubs grown on the fort, it presents a picturesque appearance. But to preserve it from destruction, the fort has now been recommended to be freed from all overgrowth, the roots of which to be singed or tarred to prevent the plants from shooting up once again into foliage.

The small village of Pallippuram is divided into three parts, the northern belonging to Travancore, the middle to the British and the southern to the Cochin Governments, respectively. The fort stands on Travancore territory and consequently the Travancore Government has conserved this building as one of the ancient monuments of the State.

Having described the structure of the fort at Pallippuram, let us now continue its history. Vîrakêraḷavarman, the Râjâ of Cochin, was deposed by the Portuguese who, in his stead, raised to the throne Gaṅgâdharamahâdêvi, his aunt as Râṇi. He therefore sought the assistance of the Dutch at Ceylon, promising them liberal concessions in their trade with Malabar in pepper etc.

The Pâliyattu Achchan, the hereditary prime minister of the Râjâ of Cochin, had also some private grudge against the Portuguese and so both the prince Vîrakêraḷavarman and the Pâliyattu Achchan joined together and induced the Dutch to proceed against Cochin. A Dutch fleet under Admiral Ryklof van Goens attacked the fort of Cochin in the year A. D. 1662, but being unsuccessful in their attempt at capturing it, sailed north and took the fort of Cranganore and became master of it. The next year a stronger fleet was despatched; the Portuguese were obliged, after a brave defence, to capitulate and surrender the fort of Cochin to the Dutch. The Potuguese power in Malabar was thus destroyed and the Dutch became the masters of all the Potuguese possessions in the Malabar country.

Haidar Ali whose power was then growing day by day, entered Calicut in A. D. 1773. Long before that, in 1766, he was negotiating with the Dutch for the purchase of the forts of Cranganore and Âḷikkôṭṭa, which he knew were the key to get at the kingdoms of Cochin and Travancore. For one reason or other the bargain was never closed. When Tippu came to be in possession of all the petty principalities of the Malabar coast and was making active preparations to conquer Travancore, it became imperative on the part of the Travancore Government to possess these two forts and the circumstances under which they were purchased for Mârttâṇḍavarman, the then Mahârâjâ of Travancore, are given below in the words of Mr. V. Nagamiah, the talented compiler of the Travancore State Manual:—

Purchase of Ayacotta and Cranganore from the Dutch:—

"About 1789 Tippu began his march from Coimbatore with 20,000 regular infantry, 10,000 spearmen and match-lockmen, 5,000 horse and 20 field guns. At Palghaut he opened negotiations with the Dutch to purchase the forts at Cranganore and Ayacotta which flanked the defence of Travancore lines. The Mahârâjah thought it advisable to purchase these forts from the Dutch and ordered Dewan Kêśava Pillai to open up negotiations with them; otherwise according to the arrangement entered into with the Company, the British force could only be used for the protection of Travancore boundary, and hence if these forts were captured by Tippu, the Company's regiments would not assist the Travancore sepoys in the interior. The Dutch Governor consulting Dewan Kêśava Pillai as to the best method of stopping Tippu's forces at last resolved to sell the two forts to Travancore. The bargain was struck and the agreement was executed on the 31st July, 1789 A. D. This was subsequently ratified by the Government of Batavia. The following is an authentic translation of the agreement for the purchase of the fort of Cranganore and the outpost of Ayacotta, obtained from the Government Records of Fort St. George:—

"The Enlightened and Powerful King of Travancore, Wanji Bala Marthanda Rama Varma, has sent his first State Minister and Dewan, the respectable Kêśava Pillai to the most worshipful John Gerard van Angelbeck, Governor of the Netherlands India and commander of the forces of the Enlightened and Powerful Netherlands Company in the Malabar Coast with the intention of purchasing from the Company the Fort of Cranganore and the Post of Ayacotta with the gardens and lands belonging thereto; having consulted and negotiated upon this, it was adjusted on the following condition:—

"The Dewan Kêśava Pillai has bought for his Master, and the Hon'ble Governor Van Angelbeck on the part of the Company has sold to the King of Travancore for the just sum of three hundred thousand Surat Rupees, the Fort of Cranganore and the Post of Ayacotta, with the cannon and ordnance belonging to them as they now stand together with the powder-magazine, though no small arms or any other effects and further, the following lands and gardens:—

	Rs.
The Miskuton Island now leased for	300
The Garden of Kilo Barki now leased for	115

	Rs.
The Garden of Ancencio de Rosa leased for	190
The Garden of Nagachetty leased for	164
The Garden of Hendrick Meyar leased for	230
The Garden of Babo Probo leased for	64
The Garden of Alewyn leased for	310
The Garden of Dama Moosa leased for	1,220
The Garden of Arekel Ittopod leased for	199
The Garden of Konoto Barki leased for	115

"The purchase and sale is agreed to upon this condition, that the King of Travancore shall not hinder the navigation of the river past the fort, either to the Company's vessels or to the vessels of the King of Cochin or their subjects, whether the same be empty or loaded with rice, paddy or goods of any description, as also all floats of wood and bamboos, etc., in a word all goods whatever without exception shall pass and repass free and without hindrance nor shall there be any new tax put upon them.

"The King promises solemnly that the firewood which must be brought from above Cranganore shall not be prevented on any pretext or taxed with any duty whatever, but on the contrary that he will assist all in his power to forward the firewood to Cochin by every possible means.

"The Leper's House at Paliporto with the buildings, garden and further ground belonging to it remain in the full and free possession of the Company.

"The Romish Church at Cranganore and Ayacottah stands from ancient time under the Company and must remain under them. The King shall not interfere with the same or with the parsons. The Christians are to remain vassals of the Company and must not be burthened with any new tax.

"The Parson's house at Paliporto which the Governor erected and gave as a present to the Church shall remain with the Church and no new burdens be permitted.

"The inhabitants shall keep their gardens and lands that they now possess as private property, such as are Christians remain the same as the Catholic Christian vassals of the Company and must not thus under any pretence be burthened with additional taxes, only paying to the King the sum they formerly paid to the Company.

"The King promises before the delivery of the aforesaid fort and lands to make a payment in ready money of Rs 50,000 and the four following years to pay in equal instalments by furnishing an account of pepper annually to the amount of Rs. 62,500 for the better security of which, and as lawful debtors the merchants David Rahaboy, Ephraim Cohen and Ananta Setty bind themselves.

"All this was negotiated in the Fort of Cochin in the year Koilang 974 and on the 19th of the month of Karkadagom or the 31st July 1789."

The whole transaction was carried out in the presence of Powney, the British Resident in Travancore. * * * (Vol. I, pp. 390-91)

"**Palliport**—It was in the 1045 (1870 A. D.) that the Government assumed the direct management of the small but rich tract known as Palliport, which had till then been leased out successively to influential landlords for terms of years. (Ibid., p. 556)."

When all the Dutch possessions fell into the hands of the English, the enclave in Pallippuram on which the Romish Church and the Leper Asylum stand also became theirs. The asylum and the hospital attached to it are maintained by the British Government at present and this bit of land like Anjengo, Tangassery, etc., is placed under the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin.

2226—2

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Travancore Archaeological Series

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Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore State

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. XII

Two Inscriptions of Vikramaditya Varaguna

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMADITYA VARAGUNA

A. PALIYAM PLATES OF VARAGUNA OF THE VRISHNI-KULA

The subjoined inscription is engraved on two copper-plates which are the last ones of a set, the first portion of which is lost. These were found, along with others, in the house of the Pâliyattu Achchan, who kindly gave me a short loan of them for taking their impressions; from impressions so prepared I now edit this inscription.

The record is in a very good state of preservation. The first side of the first plate contains the end of the Tamiḷ portion of the document which is lost and which is also referred to in the Sanskrit portion. The Sanskrit portion begins on the second side of the first plate and is continued on both sides of the second plate. The **alphabet** of the Tamiḷ portion resembles the early Chôḷa and later Pallava records, while the Sanskrit part is in Nâgari of the type that is employed in the Mahâbalipuram inscription of the Atiraṇachaṇḍêśvara cave-temple (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. X, pl. II, facing page 14), and in the Karhâḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, plates facing pp. 284—5) etc. The language of the Tamiḷ portion is Old Tamiḷ and that of the Nâgari portion, Sanskrit. The Tamiḷ fragment contains the boundaries of the land that was granted. The second part of the record in Sanskrit begins with an invocation to **Śauddhodani** (i. e. Buddha, the son of Śuddhôdana) the **Dharma** and the **Sangha**; then comes a description of the **Yâdava-vaṁśa**, which is said to have come from the moon, who became free from his dark spots by giving birth to this illustrious family. The Astagiri, the Udaya-parvata, the Himâlaya, and the Malaya-śaila resemble the pillars of victory set up by the members of this family, to which the four oceans served as servant-maids, waving white *châmaras*, the foam-crested waves. Though the earlier kings of this dynasty are dead, the memory of the clouds of smoke that arose from the horse sacrifices made by them is revived by the clouds in the sky resembling them closely. These very clouds imitate the kings of this line in munificence by bringing from the four oceans their substance (water) and bestowing it upon land and obtain thereby merit for themselves. Then, the family (*vaṁśa*, bamboo), which produced the pearls, the kings, whom it wishes to be above all kings (*kshiti-dhara*, mountain), as long as the moon and the stars last, is blessed. On **a Thursday, in the Mṛigaśirsha nakshatra, in the month Paushya, when the Sun was in the Makara-râśi**, the king granted land, the boundaries and other details of which are said to be given in the *Draṁiḍa-vachana* (Tamiḷ language), which the reader is referred to. The land was placed under the protection of Vîra Kôta. The document ends with an exhortation from the king Varaguṇa addressed to his successors for protecting this charity. The donee is said to be the Bhaṭṭâraka of Tirumûlapâdam. From this name it cannot be made out if the God is Buddha, Śiva or Vishṇu; nor am I able to find out where this temple of Tirumûlapâdattu Bhaṭṭâraka was situated.

The name of the king is given merely as Varaguṇa. The possibility of mistaking this prince for the Pâṇḍya king of that name is precluded by the mention of the fact that he belonged to the Vṛishṇi-kula. The only other identification that can be attempted is with the Vikramâditya Varaguṇa of the Huzur Office Plate, (*Trav. Arch. Series*, No. 11, pp. 17-19). In my paper on that grant, I have shown that Vikramâditya Varaguṇa must be the immediate successor of Kô-kKaruṇaṇḍaḍakkar and must therefore have lived shortly after A. D. 866. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, M. A., LL. B., very kindly calculated the date of this inscription for me and wrote that "the required date is **Thursday, 30th December, A. D. 868**, which fell in the month of Makara, Lunar Pushya, Śukla Dvâdaśi, the day of Nakshatra Mṛigaśira. On Thursday, 30th December, A. D. 868 which fell in the Solar month Makara, Pausha Śukla Dvâdaśi ended at 24½ *ghaṭikas* after mean-sunrise and Nakshatra Mṛigaśira at 43 *ghaṭikas* after sunrise." This year, the

inscription says, was the **15th of the life of Varaguṇa**; therefore the first year of the life of Varaguṇa, that is, the year in which he was born must be A. D. 853. As Kô-kKarunandaḍakkan lived, at least, till 866, and Varaguṇa could not have begun his reign before that date; when he ascended the throne, he must have been quite a young man of about 13 years of age.

The invocations to Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha have not hitherto been met with in inscriptions of the Tamiḻ kings, such as those of the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyas, the Chêras, etc. It is only from literature that we learn that the worship of Buddha existed in the Tamiḻ country and that some of the Pâṇḍyas and Chêras were of Buddha persuasion, but no epigraphical confirmation of it was hitherto forthcoming. In some places on the west coast, like Mâvelikkara, etc., we meet with images of Buddha, clearly corroborating the fact that the worship of Buddha existed in the Tamiḻ land so late as the 9th Century A. D.

In the Huzur Office Plates of Kô-kKarunandaḍakkar, I stated, on the authority of Mahâmahôpâdhyâya V. Svâminâtha Ayyar, that a place called Âykkuḍi was the capital of the Ây chieftains. This Âykkuḍi is generally identified with a place of that name near Śeṅgôṭṭai, in the eastern border of the Travancore State. The utter absence of even the smallest trace of antiquities, not even a comparatively old temple with a few old inscriptions, clearly indicates that this insignificant village could not have been the capital of a race of kings who passed for one of the seven great *vaḷḷals* (*mahâdâtâs*, great givers) of the Tamiḻ land. No place in India remains great which had not been so from the earliest times,—(excepting those very few towns like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta which have grown to eminence in modern times)—witness Delhi, Kâśi, Kañchi, Tanjore, Madura etc. If Âykkuḍi was similarly a place of importance in earlier times it could not have become so completely insignificant that, to-day, it possesses not even a mound of earth covering the *debris* of some old structure, a temple or traces of fort-wall etc.; it is not also situated in any favourable position as on the bank of a fairly big river, near a strong mountain chain, etc., to deserve, according to the notion of the early Hindus, being the capital of a kingdom. On the other hand the popular belief that this Âykkuḍi is the ancient capital of the Ây chieftains is directly opposed to the fact that, according to Puṟanâṉûṟu, it was situated near the Podiya mountain. This Aykkuḍi is at least 35 miles from the Podiya mountain. Dr. Caldwell in this Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages states that the Greek Geographers who visited South India in the early centuries of the Christian era have described many places of which Kottiara is one. About this he writes "This is the name of a place in the country of the 'Aii' or 'Paralia' (identical with South Travancore), which is called 'Kottiara Metropolis', by Ptolemy, 'Kottara' by Pliny. Undoubtedly the town referred to is Kôṭṭâṟu, or, as it is ordinarily spelt by the Europeans, Kotaur, the principal town in South Travancore, and now, as in the time of the Greeks distinguished for its commerce." But then Caldwell has not said anything about the Aii or Paralia. The first name evidently refers to the chieftains of the **Ay** family, while the second name is that of a river, the **Paṟaḷiyâṟu**; by 'the country of Paṟaḷia' we must understand the country watered by the river Paṟaḷi; this is no other than the South Travancore. This is also the same country as the Vêṇâḍu mentiond in inscriptions. It is curious to note here that Mr. Venkayya calls this the country of Vêṇ. "The ruler of Vêṇ is then conquered and put to death; his town of Viḷiñam, 'whose fortifications were as strong as those of the fort in Laṅka', is destroyed. . . ." (1) The same scholar writes that the Pâṇḍya king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ or Jaṭilavarman Parântaka I., conquered the 'Âyavêḷ', by which, I believe, he means Ây-vêḷ. I do not know if the metre,—(if the record is written in verse),—requires the name Ây-vêḷ to be read as Âyavêl for the sake of metre, or if Mr. Venkayya has misread it. Whatever it might be, there is no justification for taking Vêṇmaṉṉaṉ, as the ruler of Vêṇ. The compound Vêṇmaṉṉaṉ is divisible into *vêḷ* and *maṉṉaṉ*, the *vêḷ* prince, or the prince of Vêṇâḍu (the land or country of the *vêḷs*). The facts referred to in the Madras Museum and the Vêḷvikuḍi grants about the conquest of the prince of 'Vêṇ' and the 'Ayavêḷ' points to only one

(1) *An. Rep.* on Epigraphy for the year 1908, p. 63, para. 19.

event, which took place in the reign of Jaṭilavarman Parântaka, who ruled about the middle of the 8th century A.D. This king, Mâṟañjaḍaiyaṉ as he is called in the Kaḻugumalai epigraph, which I have published in No. I of the *Trav. Arch. Series*, invaded the Malainâḍu belonging to Karunandan in the 23rd year of his reign, apparently a second time; for, the Vêḷvikuḍi grant, which is dated the third year of his reign, claims for him the conquest of Ây-vêḷ, even so early as the third year of the reign of the king; and the fact is repeated also in his 17th year in the Madras Museum grant. It then appears that early in the reign of the Pâṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman Parântaka, the kingdom of the Ây chieftains was overrun by him and the then ruling Ây killed. The king who suffered death in the hands of Parântaka might be the father Karunandan, of Karunandaḍakkaṉ. The latter evidently became the vassal of the Pâṇḍyas and as is usual with vassals, he assumed the name Śrîvallabha of his overlord for himself and gave the name Varaguṇa to his son. After the Chôḷa conquest of the Vêṇâḍu, its chieftains were suffered to continue as vassals for a very long time. In the inscriptions of the kings of the Kiḻappêrûr Illam and the Tiruppâppûr Svarûpam, they are all distinctly called the rulers of Vêṇâḍu. This latter family branched off into the Jayatuṅganâḍu, Tiruppâppûr etc. divisions, all of which became amalgamated into one and are represented to-day by the present dynasty of the Travancore kings. In an ancient Malayâḷam work called **Uṇṇunili-sandeśam**, the author addresses a prince, **Ravivarman** (perhaps his patron), as *Vêṇâḍar-koṉ*, a fact which clearly shows that the Travancore kings were known also as the Vênâḍu kings. (1)

Text (2)

First Plate : First Side

1. இலைஞத்துக்கு மேலெல்லை மேல்காணியார் குளத்துக்கும் பிடாரி கோயிலுக்குங்-
கிழக்கு வடவெல்லை வண்டாழங்கோட்டுக்கு தெற்று பண்ணி குடித்திருக்கு-

2 கரைத்தேவர் பழஞ்சிக்குத் தெற்கு மண்ணறை இரண்டுங் கீழ்குளத்து படுவன ஒற்-
றிக்காணங்கோவாக இலை[ஞ]த்தோடே சென்றுவருவன சிற்றிடைச்செ தென்வா-

3. [ழு] போய் இலைஞத்து நீர்ச்சாய்வு இலைஞத்து வடபுறவழியே போய் இலைஞத்துக்-
கொற்றிகோட்டமகப்படக் கோவன்குளத்தொடு காலநெரிக்குளத்தினிடைபரம்-

4. பே போய் காலனெரிக்குள மிலைஞத்துக்கு புரவாக தெரிதிண்டிவயலுக்குந் தெங்-
கறைக்கு நடுவாக-

5. ப்போயின இடைகழியாகப் போயின கீழிடுவைக்கு மேக்கு முதிச்சிபழஞ்சியோடு
நெடுமண்-

6. டையார் பழஞ்சி நடுவுபோயின இடைகழிக்குமிடத்திற் பழஞ்சிக்கு புருகே போ-
யின இடுவை-

7. க்குங் கோற்புளிப் பழஞ்சிக்கு மேக்கு கிடந்த இறவைக்கு தெற்கு இடைக்காட்டு
நல்லிளையானைய்யன் கோயிலுக்கு தெற்கு கரு-

8. நந்தருமன் குடி இருந்த வளர்வகப்பட கடலங் குளத்துக்கு தெற்கு பாறைக்கு தெற்கு
வலிபலாவிற்கு இருவிற்தெல்ல தெற்கு குருந்துக்கு

9. தெற்கு கீழெல்லை ஒற்றைப்பனைக்கு மேக்கு நடு கல்லுக்கு மேக்கு தென்னெல்லை
நாடும்புமுள்ளியும் படுநிலனீக்கி இதனகம் தொளிக்கோ-

10. ட்டொடு கூடப் புன்செய் கூட்டுந் தறிக்கூறையுழுகோடு செல்லுப்பு[லை]யரும்
மற்றுங்கோயிற்குரிய தெல்லாமகப்பட திருமூலவாதத்து பாடாரர்க்கட்டிகுடுத்-

(1) Compare also the Kaṇḍiyur Inscription published in a subsequent number of this Series.

(2) From inked impressions.

First Plate: Second Side.

11. ओं स्वस्ति ॥ यः कल्याणमय[ः*] स्वयम्वितनुते[1] यः कल्पकस्य स्थितिं यस्मादभ्युदितस्तमांसि
हरते सद्ध[र्म्मो]घ[र्म्म]द्युतिः[।*] यत्पादाश्रयि[णो]

12. भवन्ति सुखिनस्सर्व्वे गणाः प्राणिनान्धेयान्मेरुरिवापरस्त्रिजगतों स०र्वा
स शौद्धोदनिः ॥ [१*][2] आत्माकारग्रहणविमुखा-

13. वाहृतापाङ्गलीलो प्रापो[3] नित्यं श्रुतिमवितृषानेकरूपावबोधो [।*] दिव्या
भूमेनिखिल[4] कुमतिध्वान्तरोधान्विता-

14. याः ने[त्रा]येतां जितकुवलयो धर्म्मसंघो चिराय [२*][5] निष्यन्द(ा)मान
करुणामृतवारिपूर(ः) निर्द्धौ[त]-

15. नि[र्म्मि]लतरेव विराजमाना [।*] लक्ष्मीश्चिराय भजतामवलोकितस्य
दिश्यात्तु नः शिशिरदीधितितुल्यकान्तिः ॥ [३*][6]

16. ज्यो[त्स्ना]पूर इवामलश्शशधरादाह्लादयन्मेदिनों यः
प्रावर्तत यद्भवेन शशिनन्मत्का[7] कलङ्कः क्वचित् [।*]

Next Plate: First Side.

17. यस्यास्तोदयहिम्यशैलमलयाः सैन्येभदन्तावली-
टङ्कक्षुण्णतटा भवन्ति विजय-

18. स्तम्भा जगान्निर्जये ॥ [४*][8] आसाद्यस्य विलोल-
वीचिकलिकाबाहाग्रफेनावलीप्रेङ्खच्चा-

(1) Read स्वयंवितनुते.

(2) Metre, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

(3) Read प्राप्तो०.

(4) Read ०भूमेर्निखिल०.

(5) Metre, मंदाक्रान्ता.

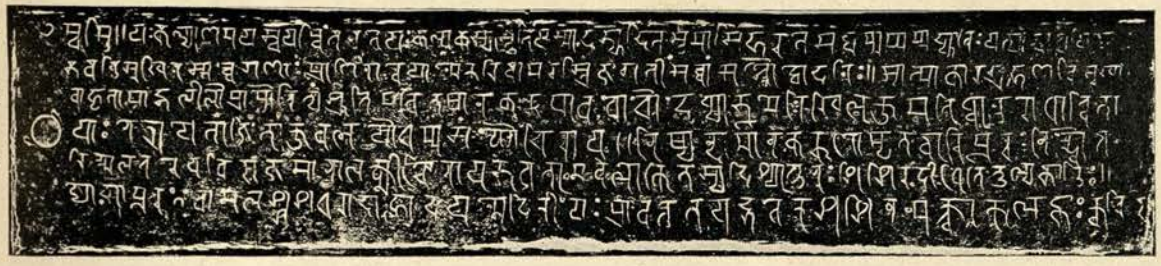
(6) Metre, वसन्ततिलका.

(7) Read शशिनंमुक्तवा०.

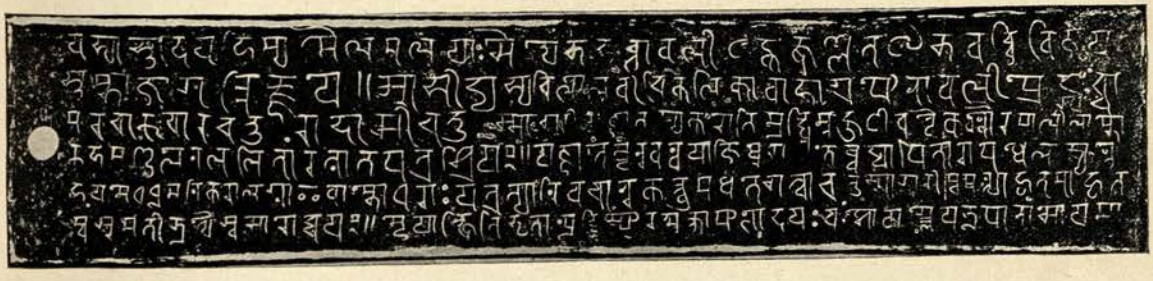
(8) Metre of verses 4—6 शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

I.a.

I.b.



II.a.



II.b.

19. मरचारुचारचतुरा दासी चतुस्सागरो [।*] य[ज्ञा]तस्य
करोति मूर्द्धि मुकुटीबन्धैकबन्धो रमा लीलाम्भो-

20. रुहमण्डलेन ललितां रत्नातपत्रश्रियम् ॥ [५*] यज्ञातेष्व-
नुबन्धयाजिषु गतेष्वद्यापि तारापथे लक्ष्यन्ते

21. हयमेधधूमनिकरा लग्ना इवाम्भोधराः [।*] यत्त्यागिव
चानुकर्त्तुमथ ते गत्वा चतुस्सागरोम्वर्षन्त्याहृतमाहृत-[9]

22. म्वसुमतीभूत्यै खसारोच्चयम् ॥ [६*] स्थेयाल्लिखितिभृतान्मूर्द्धि[10]
स्फुरन्मुक्ताफलोदयः [।*] वंशो वार्ष्णेयभूपानां सोयमा.....[11]

Next Plate : Second Side.

23. विभूषणेन [।*] भक्त्यानतेन बलराजिपरागधूम[च्या]-
रोदितारिवनितेन विलि[ङ्ग]भ[त्रा] ॥[12] मकरजुरि[13] दिनेशे मासि पौषे दिने वा मृगशि-

24. रसि गुरौ स प्राप्तप[ञ्चत्रि]कायुः [।*] अवनिमदिशदस्या(:) दिक्षु
सीमादि सर्व्वेन्द्रमिडवचन एवालोक्यताम[त्र] पत्रे ॥[14] रक्षार्त्थ-

25. मस्याः स्वयमेव रा[ज्ञा] सुस्थापितो राजति [वी]रकोतः [।*]
बाहूपधानामुरसि प्रसुप्तां लक्ष्मीन्दधानो विजयानुरक्तां ॥[15]

26. या[च्ञा]क[र्म्म]ण्यभवदनिशं प्रीत[ये] क[र्म्म]भावो न स्वप्नेपि
प्रणयिसुहृदः कर्तृता यस्य चासीत्सोयन्देवो[16] वरगुण इ-

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(9) Read सागरोंवर्ष० and हृतं वसु०.

(10) Read भृतांमूर्द्धि०.

(11) Metre, अनुष्टुप्.

(12) Metre, वसन्ततिलका.

(13) Read मकरजुषि०.

(14) Metre, मालिनी.

(15) Read ०रक्ताम्. Metre इन्द्रवज्रा.

(16) Read चासीत् । सोऽयंदेवो०.

27. ति प्रार्थ्यस्यात्म ंश्यां[17] पुण्यात्मासौ न खलु भवतामन्वयो नायः शनी॥[18]
भूयोप्येष क्षितिप[वृ]ष[भो] भाविनो न-

28. म्रमौलिः [सर्व्व]ानेव प्रणयिसुहृदो याचते यादवेन्द्रः [।*]
भूमिः सेयं हृदयनिहिता रक्षणीया भवद्भिः काले का-

29. ले स्वयमिव वधूरन्य[भो]गप्रमादात् ॥ पुण्यारम्भे त्वरयत
मनो मानवा वः कृतान्तः कालाकाङ्क्षी निकटमटति व्यावृतास्यप्र-

30. चण्डः [।*] तस्यैवासौ प्रियमिव पित्राः[19] कर्तुमाशुप्रयाणै रह्वामीशो नयति
भवतामायुषश्शेषिमाशु [20] ॥ स्वस्ति श्री न गोद्द्वादशि.

Translation [1]

Ôm, be it well. He who is himself full of happiness, who manifests the condition of the *kalpaka* tree, from whom having risen, the sun of the right path dispels darkness, at whose feet seeking refuge, all kinds of living beings become happy,—may he, the son of Śuddhôdana, support all the three worlds like another Mêru.

V. 2. Averse to the assumption of the nature of the self, (unable to perceive their own form), bearing the forehead mark called the *apâṅga* as an adornment, (casting sportive side-glances), listening daily (to the Dharma) without satiety, (always and without cessation extending up to the ears), possessing knowledge of various kinds (perceiving multifarious forms), and victorious throughout the globe, (surpassing in beauty the blue lily), may the Dharma and the Saṅgha be, for a long time, like two eyes to the goddess Earth who is infested with the darkness of all bad religions.

V. 3. Brilliant as if well washed and purified by the flood of the nectar of mercy flowing out, may the moon-like radiance of the Buddha long grant prosperity to us, his worshippers.

Vv. 4—6. Which originated from the moon, pure (white) like a flood of moonlight gladdening the world, owing to whose origin the stain has left the moon and is somewhere, and in respect of whose conquest of the world, the mountains of sunset and sunrise, the Himâlaya and the Malaya become pillars of victory, their slopes being cut into by the rows of chisel-like tusks of their army-elephants; for whom the oceans become a servant-maid clever in beautifully waving their *chauri*-like rows of foam with the palm-like crests of their moving billows; for any one born in which, the goddess Lakshmî, with her round sportive lotus, furnishes a beautiful umbrella of gems over his head ever accustomed to wear a crown; though whose members that were incessantly performing sacrifices are no more, yet the clouds appear like the volumes of smoke from their horse-sacrifices still sticking to the firmament; and, as if in imitation of whose members

(17) Read वंश्यान्पुण्या०.

(18) Metre of this and the following verse, मन्दाक्रान्ता.

(19) Read पिता.

(20) Read शेषमाशु. Metre, मन्दाक्रान्ता.

(1) The Tamil portion of the record being fragmentary, has been left untranslated.

they (the clouds), fetching water from time to time from the four oceans, pour forth their whole essence for the prosperity of the world; may this dynasty of Vṛishṇi kings, shining like (a jewel of) pearls, remain at the head of kings as long as (the sun and moon last).(1)

(The incomplete verse is left untranslated).

V. 7 to the end. **When the sun was in Makara, in the month of Pausha, on a Thursday when the moon was in Mṛigaśira**, he made a grant of land. The boundaries, etc., on all sides thereof may be seen in the Tamil portion of this document. For its protection was appointed by the king himself Vîra-Kôta on whose breast Lakshmî, enamoured of victory, is sleeping with his arm for a pillow. To whom it was always a pleasure to be the object of begging, but who, the friend of devotees, was not, even in dream, the subject thereof; he, king **Varaguṇa**, entreats the member of his dynasty as follows:—"This meritorious dynasty of yours should not be ruined." Once again the best of kings, the greatest of Yâdava kings, with bowed head entreats all his successors, friends of their devotees, as follows: "This land, like a wife, should be kept at heart and personally safeguarded by you time after time from the possibility of enjoyment by another. O men, hasten your minds to deeds of merit. The god of Death, terrible with mouth wide open, is roaming near awaiting (his) time; and, as if to show him favour, his father, the lord of day, with quick marches, hurriedly leads away the remainder of your lives. Be it well! Śrî (na) Gô-dvâdaśi.

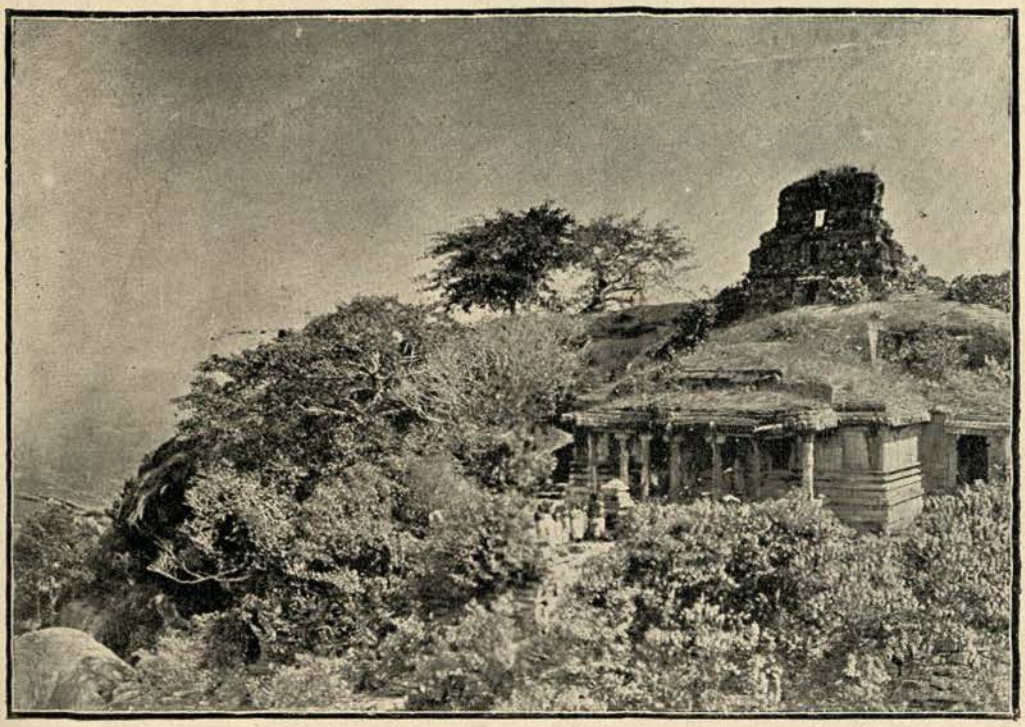
B. CHITARAL INSCRIPTION

Chitarâl is a village situated about four miles to the north-east of Kuḷitturai, the head-quarter of the Viḷavaṅgôḍ tâlûkâ in the Southern Division of the Travancore State. Near this village stands the small craggy hill called the **Tiruchchâṇattu-malai**. On the top of it there is a natural

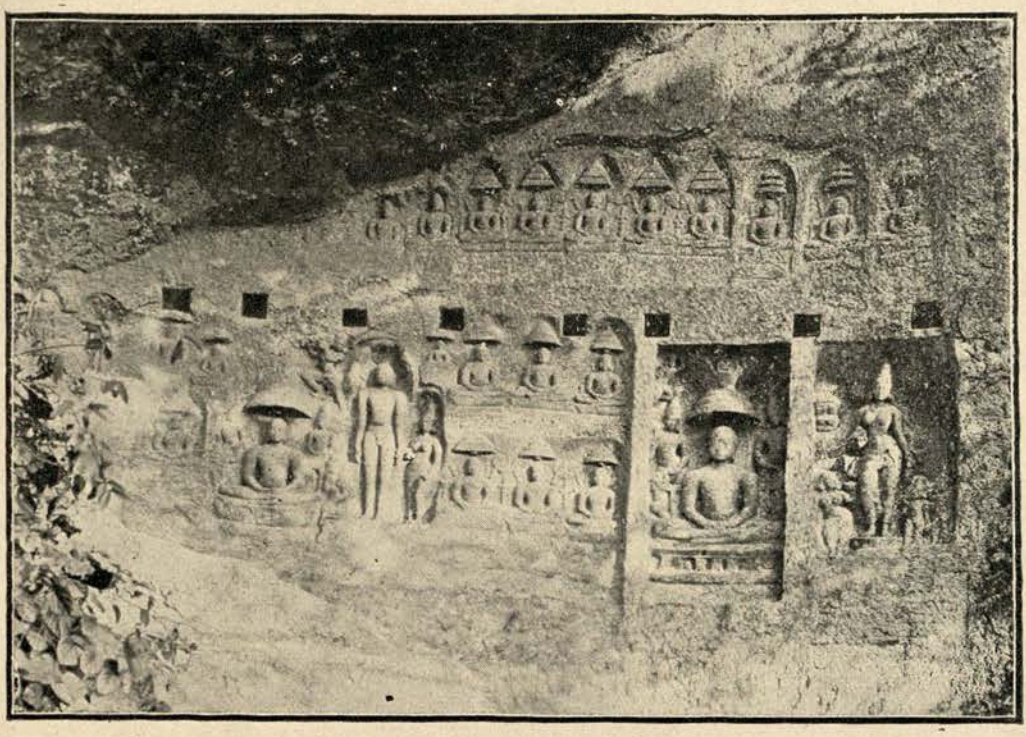
Mahavira-Tirthankara in the central shrine in the temple

cave formed by an overhanging rock resting upon another. This cave has been improved by masonry work into a temple, with, in front, a *maṇḍapa*, a verandah, the *bali-pîṭha* and a kitchen. All of them are at present in a bad state of repair. The cave is facing the west; on the north of it, on the over-

(2) Here is a break, in the record, which is inexplicable.



General view of the temple of Bhagavati on the Tiruchchanattu-malai.



Sculptures on the overhanging rock on the north of the temple.

hanging rock, are carved in half-relief a number of figures of the Tîrthaṅkaras and of the goddess Padmâvatîdêvî (?). The central shrine (which is the original natural cave) is divided into three chambers, in the proper right of which was the plaster figure of the **Devi**, in the middle, **Mahâvira**-Tîrthaṅkara and in the proper left, **Pârśvanâtha**-Tîrthaṅkara. The temple was recently broken into by thieves and the plaster images were all destroyed. Fortunately, the pretty stone images of **Mahâvira** and **Pârśvanâtha** have been spared and are at present occupying their old position in the middle and the left chambers of the central shrine. On the top of the overhanging rock immediately above the central shrine is built a brick *gôpura* with here and there a Jaina figure; a portion of the *gôpura*, being struck probably by lightning, is ruined.

At present the temple is worshipped by the Hindus which they believe to be the temple of Bhagavati and a Tamiḻ brâhmaṇa is doing the *pûjas*. Even so early as Ko. 425 (A. D. 1250), it appears to have been converted into a Bhagavatî temple; for, an inscription engraved on the rock south of the temple, written in Tamiḻ characters, states that one Nârâyaṇaṉ. . . Tamiḻap-Pallavaraiyaṉ of Râjavallapuram in the Kiḻ-Vêmbanâḍu gave some money for expenses of the temple of the Bhagavatî at Tiruchchâṇam. The front *maṇḍapa* contains brahmanical sculptures on some of the pillars showing that at the time of its construction the temple had passed into the hands of the Hindus. Even in the early days, the Dêvi seems to have been the chief deity of the place; because it will be seen in the inscription edited below, gifts are made to the Bhaṭâriyâr.

The Tiruchchâraṇattu-malai, as it is known to be the correct name of the hill from the inscriptions, means the hill holy to the *châraṇas*; the **Chuḍâmaṇi-nighaṇṭu** informs us that *châraṇas* are the eight classes of *Śamaṇas* who have attained *ṛiḍḍhi* and consequently are capable of concealing themselves in flowers, water or sky. The eight classes are given as follows: *sthala-châraṇas jala-ch.*, *phala-ch.*, *pushpa-ch.*, *tantu-ch.*, *chatur-aṅgula-ch.*, *śaṅkha-ch* and *âkâśa-ch.*; they always go out two at a time for the purpose of preaching *dharma*. The **Śeṇḍaṇâr Divâkara-nighaṇṭu** states that the name *châraṇa* might be applied to any Jaina ascetic. I suppose we must understand the meaning of the name Tiruchchâraṇattu-malai to be the hill sacred to the Jaina ascetics or where these people lived in large numbers. The place seems to have been sufficiently famous in earlier times so as to attract Jainas from such distant places as Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai, in the Tirukkôyilûr tâlûkâ of the S. Arcot district, from Kuḍavâśal, in the Tanjore district, etc. These persons have left votive images cut on the rock with inscriptions under each of them giving the name, etc., of the individual who caused it to be sculptured.

The inscription published below is engraved on a rock on the south of the temple and is not well preserved, being exposed fully to hot sun throughout the day. Besides this one, there are a few others very much more worn out than this; and, excepting one record, the rest are not so old as this inscription. The subjoined record, written in **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḻ** language, belongs to the 28th year of the reign of the king **Vikramâditya Varaguna**; it records that **Guṇandângi-kurattigaḷ**, the disciple of **Araṭṭanemi-bhaṭâra** of Pêṟayakkuḍi gave some golden ornaments to the **Bhaṭâriyâr** of the **Tiruchchâraṇattu-malai**. There are not many orthographical or grammatical peculiarities in the document which require any special notice here. Tiruchchâraṇattu-malai and Pêṟayakkuḍi are the only two places mentioned in the document. The first needs no identification. The second appears to be Kaḻugumalai, for, in one of the inscriptions found there the name Pêṟayakkuḍi occurs, but I am not certain of its correctness; I only say that there is a likelihood, because Kaḻugumalai also happened to be an important Jaina settlement in the olden times.

Text

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோவிக்கிராமதித்த வாகு-
2. ணர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு [இ]-

3. ருபத்தெட்டு [||*] இவ்வாண்டு பேரயக்கு-
4. டி- அரட்டநேமிபடார மணக்கிகள் குண-
5. ந்தாங்கிக் குரத்திகள் திருச்சார [ண*] த்துப் ப-
6. டாரியார்க்கு♦ [....க்காட்டப் பொன்க்கர்ட் டி]
7. .....பட்டமும் பொற்-
8. ப்பூவுமா.....ங்கழஞ்சு கழஞ்சு.....
9. ..... ண.....பட இட்டது [||*]

Translation

Hail ! Prosperity ! The year twenty-eight (of the reign) of the king Vikramâditya Varaguṇa (was current). This year, Guṇandâṅgi-kkurattigaḷ, the disciple of Areṭṭanêmi-bhaṭâra of Pêray-akkuḍi, gave . . . . gold . . . . . fillet, golden flower . . . . *kaḷañju* . . . . *kaḷañju* . . . . . .

Travancore Archaeological Series

No. XIII

Tirupparappu Fragmentary Set of Copper-Plates.

THE TIRUPPARAPPU FRAGMENTARY COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION.

Tiruppaṟappu is a village situated on the bank of the Kôḍaiyâṟu in S. Travancore. In the middle of the village is a large Śiva temple, and a short distance from it the river falls to a depth of about twenty feet. The Tiruppaṟappu falls are one of the picturesque falls of S. India.

The fragmentary document edited below was discovered in the temple of Śiva mentioned above. It is engraved on two copper-plates which are the first and last ones of a set, the middle plates of which are lost. The search for the lost plates has proved hitherto useless. The two plates were bound together by a ring which was already cut. The first side of the first is engraved on the inner or the second side only, while the second plate has writing on the first side only. The **language** of the first portion of the record is **Sanskrit** while that of the second portion, **Tamiḻ**. The inscription begins with an invocation to Śiva. It breaks off unfortunately at the most important part, that is, where it begins to trace the genealogy of the Yâdavas, to whose race the donor of the document belonged. As it is the inscription is of no historical value, but the Tamiḻ portion of it presents a number of palaeographic peculiarities, for which at least it is worth publishing.

The secondary *â* symbol is as often affixed to the consonant as written separately; nor is the distinction between the long *â* symbol and the letter *r* marked. Sometimes the secondary *â* symbol has a greater length than *r*, which is against the custom in vogue at the period to which this inscription belongs. The consonant *ṉa* is written once as in modern Tamiḻ alphabet; compare the *ṉ* in *dêvaṉ* in *l.* 2. In all other instances it is similar in appearance to the modern Tamiḻ secondary *ai* symbol. The long *ṉâ* is formed by the addition of a separate secondary *â* symbol as in the formation of *kâ*, *châ*, etc., and not by attaching a curvilinear stroke in continuation with its end vertical line. Compare *ṉâ* in *Udâraviraṇâyiṉa* occurring in *l.* 1. in *Nâgaṉ* in *l.* 4 and in *perumpaṇaikaṇâyiṉa* in *l.* 9.

The secondary *nâ* has a very curious shape. The curvilinear stroke which is usually affixed to *ṉ* to produce the long *ṉâ* is added to the common *n*; secondary *nâ* looks in the present form like *nra* of the Grantha alphabet: compare the *nâ* in *Nârâyaṇaṉ in ll.* 3 and 5, in *Nâgaśaṉmaṉ* in *l.* 4, in *Nârâśaṇaṉ* in *ll.* 6 and 7 and in *nâṭṭu* in *l.* 8.

The rules regarding the usage of the letters *n* and *ṉ* are utterly disregarded and they are used promiscuously. In the word *Sêṇḍaṉ*, for instance, occurring in *l.* 1, *ṉ* is employed next to *śê*; the same peculiarity might be observed repeated in the same word occuring in *l.* 4; in this instance, the perversion is complete in that even the final *n* is *n* instead of *ṉ*. In the name *Mâdavan* in *l.* 7, the final *n* is also a common *n* instead of *ṉ*, with two rings.

The secondary *ai* is formed by the addition, in all cases without exception, of the two ringed *ai* symbol: cf., *kai* in *Kaḍigaipaṭṭanam* and *ṟai* in aṟai in *l.*1, *ḍai* in *maṇṇuḍaiyân* in *l.* 2, *paṅguḍaiyâr* in *l.* 3, *rai* in *karai* in *l.*3, in *mullai* and *talai* in *l.*4 and in *ṇai* in *paṇai* in *l.* 9.

The short *śu* (*chu*) is written quite differently in this document from other inscriptions of the same period. Instead of the end being carried to the right and then the secondary *u* formed by the addition of a vertical line below, it is curved down in the centre of the letter and drawn to a short distance below : cf. *chu* occurring in *Achchudaṉ* in *l.* 5. The long *śû* (*chû*) is obtained by adding the lengthening symbol, a short curve, opening at the top, at the end of the descending stroke of *śu* short, adverted to above. Compare *śû* in *śûḻ*° in *l.* 2.

Distinction between short *ku* and the long *kû* is drawn by taking round the end of the short *ku* far to the left of the letter to convert it into *kû*; cf. *ku* in *Kumaraṉ* in *l.* 5 and *kû* in *Kûḍal* in *l.* 3, *gu* in *paṅguḍaiyâr* in *l.* 3 and *gû* in *Veṇgûr* in *l.* 7.

The Grantha vowel *i* is of special interest now that Dr. Fleet has traced the evolution of this letter of the Telugu-Kannaḍa group of alphabets in the recent issue of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Here, as in other old Grantha inscriptions of about the age of this document, it is composed of two parts; the first resembles the Tamil *l*, but, with this difference, *viz.*, that it ends in a circle; the second part consists of a small circle drawn immediately below the loop of the first part. Cf. the vowel *i* occurring in *ilèkhai* in *l.* 9.

The *pulḷi* or the sign of *virâma* is employed in several instances; for example, in *ṉ* and *ṅ* in *Śèṉḍan* in *l.* 4; on *r* in *ivvûr* in *l.* 3, etc.

A full stop is represented by a short horizontal line and the termination of the record is shown by five vertical lines of decreasing lengths and ending with a short straight line.

The grant under consideration is said to have been engraved by one Aviyalaṉṟaḍakkaṉ, who bore the title, Śrîvallava-pperumbaṇaigaṉ and who was the manufacturer of arms to the king Karunandaḍakkaṉ. The record, from its palaeography and the mention of the name of the arms manufacturer to Karunandaḍakkaṉ, might be assigned either to the reign of Karunandaḍakkaṉ or that of his successor, Vikramâditya Varaguṇa, and hence the date of the inscription is referrable to the last quarter of the 9th century A. D.

Text [1]

Second Plate: First Side.

1. नमो नारायणाय ॥।–बिभ्रत्बभ्रुजटावलीवलयिनीम्
   स्वामुक्तमांगश्रीयं[1] बिभ्राणं ल-
2. लिताक्षसूत्रवलयं व्यालम्बि कृष्णाजिनं
   सर्गारम्भविधावथानविलसत्प्रज्ञाप्रपञ्च-
3. श्चिरम् वैरिञ्चं वपुरातनोतु भवतामम्भोरुहा-
   सिश्रीयम्[2] ॥।–कामान्नामुचभीमकायविधुति-
4. ध्वस्तान्तरायं रयादाकल्पं कमलेक्षणस्य भवता-
   म्प्रोज्जृम्भमाणं पदम् शुभ्रैरात्मभुवः कम-
5. ण्डलुभवैः प्रक्षालितं वारिभिः पुण्यैः पूरयतु
   त्रिलोकसरसीसंरूढमम्भोरुहम् ॥।–[3] दशान्वयो त्रिपु-

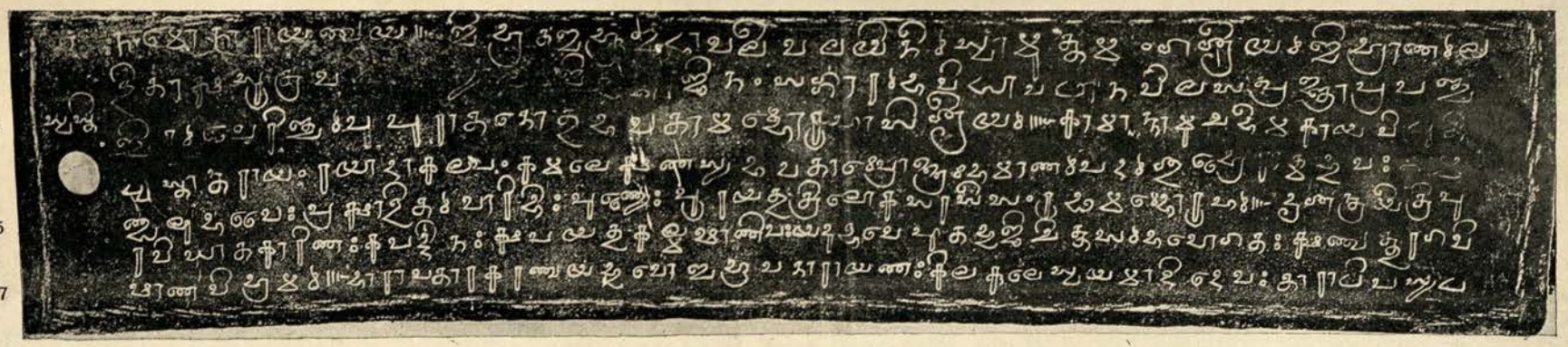
(1) Read. ०श्रियं.

(2) Read. ०श्रियंः Metre, शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्.

(3) Metre, शार्दुलविक्रीडितम्.

[1] From inked impressions.

1.b.



Next Plate a.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.6 HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

6. रविघातकारिणः कपर्द्दिनः क्षपयतु कल्मषाणि वः
यदुद्भवे हुतभुजि चित्तसम्भवो गतः क्षणात्तुरगवि-

7. षाणविभ्रमम् ।।।–[4] भारावतारकरणाय भूवो बभूव
नारायणः किल कुले स्वयमादिदेवः ताराधिपस्य ध.[5]

Last Plate : First Side

1. வித்துப்பாடு கடிகைபட்டனத்து உதாரவீரன்னாயின சோரகஞ்சேன்தன் அட்டின பூமி அவ்வூரே பனங்காட்டு வயலில் வடவர் அறை [।*] இது சோரகஞ்சேந்தன் மக்கள்

2. மக்களே தேவன் கீழ்பாதி உழுதூட்டுவது [।।*] சூழ்மண்ணுடையான் அட்டின பூமி குறுப்பன் கோடு [।*] விதைகலம் [।*] இதன்றலைக்கரையும் [।।*]

3. இவ்வூர் பங்குடையார் வாதாபிநாராயணன் கோவிந்தன்—இடைத்துறை வரசெஶ்வர ஹட்டர்—உயரியத்து கோவிந்த ஹட்டர்—।।।। கூடலிலாவி யஜ்ஞந்—காரைஊர் பாண்-

4. டன் சங்கரன்—முல்லை [1] ஊர் சேன்தந் னாகன்—நாய்த்தோட்டு ததன் துப்பன்—திருவல்லவாழ் தலைமனெ நாகசந்மன்—இவ்வூரே மற்றத்து சங்கரன் சங்கரன்—

5. இவ்வூரே நயசித்தமங்கலத்து சேந்தன் சங்கரன்—இவ்வூரே பூந்துருத்தி குமரந் அச்சுதன்—இவ்வூரே சேரியில் மணியன் கண்டன்—பெருமலூர் கண்ட் நாராய-

6. ணன்—இவ்வூரே சடையந் நாராசணன்—இவ்வூரே வலம்புரிச்சேரி சடையன் நாரா-சணன்—இவ்வூரே கண்டந் துப்பிரமணியன்—இவ்வூரே ஸவ்வு க்ரு துயாசி அக்கி

7. இவ்வூரே சங்கரன் சடையன்—இவ்வூரே கடம்பந்தாயன்—கோடனூர் நாராசணன் சக்கிரபாணி—இவ்வூரே நக்கன் மாதவந்—இவ்வூரே அங்கிதாயன்—வெங்கூர்—கண்டன் சாத்-

8. தன்—நீர்வான்ஊர் சிரிதரங்குமரன்—இவ்வூர்க்கு ஊர்உடையான் வள்ளுவநாட்டு அருபூனை மூட்டுகோட்டு கண்ணஞ்சாத்தன் ।।—ஸ்ரீ கோக்கருநந்தடக்ககற்கு ஆயுஷஷ் கள் செய்வா-

9. ன் விழிஞத்து ஸ்ரீவலு லுவப்பெரும்பணைகனாயின அவியலுன்றடக்கன் ஐலெவெ ।।।—

Translation [2]

Ll. 1—2. .....of seed (-growing capacity). The land given by Chôrakañjêndaṉ *alias* Udâra-vîran was (the plot called) Vaḍavar-aṟai in the field called Paṉaṅgâḍu, in the same village. This, Chôrakañjêndaṉ, his sons and sons' sons, shall cultivate and pay the god's half. The land given by Śûḻmaṇṇuḍaiyâṉ is (called) Kuṟuppaṉ-kôḍu. Its seed (-growing capacity) is a *kalam*. Also the plot in this nearest the source of the irrigation-channel.

Ll. 3—8. (The following are) the share-holders in this village :—Vâtâpi Nârâyaṇaṉ Gôvîndan, Gôvindan of Uyariyam (*illam*) of Iḍaittuṟai, Âvi-yajñan of Kûḍal, Pâṇḍaṉ-Śaṅkaraṉ of Kâraiyûr

(4) Metre, रुचिरा.

(5) Metre, वसन्ततिलका.

(1) The ல் in முல்லை is engraved below the line.

(2) The Sanskrit portion is left untranslated, as it is of no importance.

Śendaṉ Nâgaṉ of Mullaiyûr, Tanduppaṉ of Nâyttôḍu, Nâgasarman of the Talaimaṇai (*illam*) of Tiruvallavâḷ, Śaṅkaran-Śaṅkaraṉ of Maṟṟattu (*illam*) of this village itself, Śêndaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ of Nayaśittamaṅgalan (*illam*) of this village itself, Kumaraṉ-Achchudaṉ of Pûndurutti (*illam*) of this village itself, Maṇiyaṉ-Kaṇḍaṉ of Chêriyil (*illam*) and Kaṇḍaṉ-Nârâśaṇaṉ of Perumalûr (*illam*) of this village itself, Śâḍaiyaṉ-Nârâśaṇaṉ of this village itself, Śaḍaiyaṉ-Nârâaśṇaṉ of Valamburichchêri (*illam*) of this village itself, Kaṇḍaṉ Tuppiramaṇiyaṉ (Subrahmaṇya) of this village itself, Akki Sarvva kṛiṣuyâji of this village itself, Śaṅkaraṉ-Śaḍaiyaṉ of this village itself, Kaḍambaṉ-Tâyaṉ of this village itself, Nârâśaṇaṉ-Śakkirapâṇi of Kôḍaṉûr, Nakkaṉ-Mâḍavan of this village itself, Aṅgî-Tâyaṉ of this village itself, Kaṇḍaṉ-Śâttaṉ of this village itself, Śiridaraṉ-Kumaraṉ of Nîrvâṉûr. The officer in charge of this village was Kaṇṇaṉ-Jâttaṉ of Arupûṉai-Mûṭṭukkôḍu of the Vaḷḷuvanâḍu.

Ll. 8—9. This is the writing of Avîyalaṉ-Raḍakkaṉ, the Perumbaṇaikaṉ of Śrîvallabha of Viḷiñam, the arms-manufacturer to the king Śrî Karunandaḍakkar.

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. XIV

Some Chola Inscriptions, with a Chapter on the Evolution of the Tamil-Grantha Alphabet

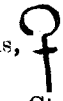
SOME CHOLA INSCRIPTIONS WITH A CHAPTER ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE TAMIL-GRANTHA ALPHABET

It was half a century ago that it was first discovered that all the various alphabets now in use in the different parts of India had all been got from that of the famous inscriptions of Aśôka, the great. Though apparently differing widely from one another, the Dêvanâgari, the Telugu-Kannaḍa and the Tamiḻ-Grantha characters are all closely allied and can be distinctly traced to the Brâhmi variety of the Aśôka alphabet. Almost all the eminent scholars that have worked in the field of Indian Paleography have almost exclusively confined themselves to the alphabets of Northern India, so that no great attention has been paid to those of the South. I therefore propose in this short paper, to trace in some detail the evolution of the Tamiḻ-Grantha alphabet and to point out, here and there, its close resemblance to the sister-groups—the Dêvanâgari and the Telugu-Kannaḍa.

Before proceeding to a systematic treatment of the subject of this paper, I may be permitted to state that two natural and simple laws will be seen to control the various changes in the different stages of the evolution of the modern alphabet. They are :—

(1) Curves are substituted for straight lines and conversely,

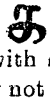
(2) Straight lines take the place of curves.

It is certainly difficult satisfactorily to account for these contrary tendencies which have brought such vast changes in the extremely simple proto-type and I can at best, only suggest a probable explanation. The former tendency is perhaps to be attributed to indolence in the first place ; the scribe, in his anxiety to do his work quickly could not be expected to pay great attention to the angularities of the letters, and would therefore, not unnaturally, substitute curves instead. For example in Aśôka, the letter *ki* was written thus :— Here the right angle bit at th top of the Latin cross represents the sound *i* and serves to form the sonant consonant *ki*. This became in the Cave characters, (what immediately succeeded the Aśôka), almost a circle, thus,  . It will be noted that the opening is still to the left, whereas the letter is changed in the Chola period to where the horizontal stroke in the body of the letter is curved downwards and the secondary *i* takes the shape of a semicircle capping the letter. At this stage the secondary *i* is disconnected from the body of the letter. In a later period the same mark is attached to the letter but with the curve opening to the right thus, , *i. e.*, the tendency to describe the stroke from right to left is given up in favour of the contrary tendency which necessitates the opening of the curve being to the right.

These substituted curves are then made to appear graceful and beautiful, only according to the writer's notions of grace and beauty. This will become clear in the body of this paper where the evolution of individual letters is traced. Thus it can be fairly assumed that primarily at least this tendency had its origin in the indolence of the copyist and I may be allowed to call it ' The Law of Indolence.'

The second tendency—that of replacing curves by straight lines—is the exact opposite of the first. Here the scribe has to take all the trouble of shaping angular strokes in the place of the

much easier curves. The extra effort involved in doing so can be justified only by a desire, on the part of the writer, for supposed effect. Let me illustrate it by means of an example. The letter *v* is written in the Aśôka alphabet thus, . This becomes , in the course of two or three centuries (in the Cave characters.) This is also the form of the letter in the early Pallava-Grantha characters. In the early Chôḷa Inscriptions, (and in the later Pallava-Grantha) this assumes the form ; and in the inscriptions belonging to the reign of Râjarâja I., and his successors, it is written . I shall, for convenience' sake, call this tendency the 'Law of Æsthetic Instinct'.

There is yet another important factor that contributed much to alter the shapes of letters considerably. Disinclined to lift his writing instrument every time a letter ends and a fresh one begins, the scribe introduces many an originally unwarranted stroke, which by force of sheer repetition acquires in the long run, the reputation of being a part of the original letter itself. Suppose now the writer wants to write , (*ṭ* and *k*), together. In doing this in the cursive style, he drags on the instrument from the end of the first letter to the top of the second, thus, . Again in writing the cross curve of the second letter he once more connects the lower end of the vertical stroke with the cross curve and the result is . In course of time the letter *k* comes to be written as it is to-day (in Tamil),  . This indolence of the scribe is monumentalised in the modern alphabet which abounds with many a stroke and a curve, non-existent in the pristine characters. Such a thing is manifestly not easily possible at the present day, now that the art of printing has fixed the shapes of the letters more or less permanently and unalterably. With the help of these premises, I shall pass on to a detailed analysis of the Tamiḷ-Grantha characters. (1)

In this group the early Tamiḷ employs the *puḷḷi* to differentiate between the short and long *e* and *ê*, and *o* and *ô* both primary and secondary. In the earlier inscriptions, such as of the Pallava period, the short primary vowels *e* and *o* have a *puḷḷi* on their top, and in the secondary ones, the *puḷḷi* is marked on the top of the consonant- This *puḷḷi* is employed in consonance with the *rules of grammars*. (2) From about the beginning of the 11th century A.D. the *puḷḷi* disappears; the distinction between the long and short *e* and *o* are to be made out only from the context. The modern device that introduces this difference is generally attributed to Beschi. (3)

Tamiḷ had, as in modern times, only 18 consonants. The *puḷḷi* corresponding to the Sanskrit *virâma* is found only in the inscriptions before the reign of Râjêndrachôḷa I. It must evidently have been in disuse for about eight centuries thereafter till it was revived again recently. The Grantha has all the consonants of the modern Nâgari.

I shall now proceed to the subject of this paper tracing the evolution letter after letter, taking up the vowels first, and then the consonants. I need hardly mention that in a subject such as this a certain dryness and monotony is incidental and unavoidable for which I trust to be excused.

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(1) This group includes, the Tamiḷ, the Grantha, the modern Malayaḷam, the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the Singalese.

(2) The function of *puḷḷi* is to reduce the length of a sound by half a *mâtra*. Hence, in the case of the short *e* and *o*, the Tamil Grammars insist upon a *puḷḷi* being placed over the vowels and on the consonants in the case of secondary vowels; *e.g.*, the word *poṉ* is written , and *pôṉa* as , *eṟi* is written while *êṟi* as .

(3) Burnell's S. I. Paleography, p. 4, 5, f. n. 4. But this is not the case; it is found in several inscriptions prior to Beschi.

TAMIL VOWELS

A. The earliest form of Aśôka *a* was A little later it was written . (These two are perhaps the different renderings of a hypothetical original). The Tamiḷ *a* has been derived from the latter. The earliest form of *a* we are acquainted with in Tamiḷ is which occurs in the Kiḻ-Muṭṭugûr inscription of Narasiṁhavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV plate facing page 182) and in the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription. is the form in which the letter occurs in slightly later inscriptions.(4) About the reign of Râjarâja I, it now and then assumed the shape . (This form occurs also in some of the inscriptions of the Later Pallava period). In the later Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya inscriptions the letter is changed into which has given birth to the modern , where the horizontal line has been doubled and the hook at the top made very pronounced.

Â. The long *â* in the Aśôka character was formed from the short *a* by the addition of a short horizontal stroke added to the vertical stem of the letter, thus . This stroke was, in the course of a couple of centuries converted into a curve, the line descending below thus . In the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription occurs the form , which is the same except that the curved left limb is connected with the vertical straight limb from the bottom and the lengthening piece is attached to the bottom of the straight vertical stroke. The letter appears in the Later Pallava and the early Chôḷa periods thus and with the occasional flourishes thus :— . In the later Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya inscriptions it is written which is almost the modern .

I. The letter *i* was written in Aśôka as and in the later writings (as in the Jaggayyapêṭa inscription of about the 3rd century A. D.) it was represented by . It is seen in the earliest known Tamiḷ inscription in the form of .(5) This is evidently the result of the tendency to weld all the three parts of the letter together so as to admit of being easily written at one stroke. This form was practically maintained till the later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya periods when the end began to curl round the body of the letter thus . At the present day, the angle at the middle of the letter is lengthened to the left thereby allowing a loop to be formed in the process which got intersected by the ascending curve, thus :— .

(4) Here note the resemblance to the Nagari letter .

(5). This letter with a top line gives the Nagari *i*. This is identical with *d* and to differentiate it therefrom, a small change was introduced at the bottom which made it .

I. The prototype of the long *î* seems to be the peculiar modification of the short *i* of the Gupta inscriptions where it occurs as . This form seems to have been adopted by the Tamiḻ-Grantha alphabet, to represent its long *î*. The Later Pallava and the Early Chôḻa inscriptions have it thus which shape is practically retained in latter Chôḻa and Pâṇḍya periods. The indolence of the scribe alluded to in the introduction accounts for the additional stroke in the left, in the modern . [6]

U. *U* short was represented in the Aśôka alphabet by a right angle opening to the right, thus , from which the Tamiḻ is easily got.

Û. The long *u* is formed by the addition of a short stroke to the right of the short *u* thus, . This form of the letter occurs in the Kûram plates of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla (S. I. I. Vol. II, plate XII facing page 344; *l.* 66). In the Later Pallava and the earlier Chôḻa inscriptions the straight lengthening stroke curves down thus . This form is seen in the Tiruvallam rock inscription of the reign of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, (S. I. I. Vol. III, part I, plate facing page 91) and in the Ukkal inscriptions of Râjakêsarivaram (S. I. I. Vol. III, part I, plate facing p. 2).

E. The original Aśôka form of *e* adapted by the Tamiḻ alphabet was written . Afterwards, (in Cave characters), the curved part of the letter was transposed to the left thus. . This became in the inscriptions of Râjakêsarivarman and the later Chôḻas , . This is the same as the modern . (The Devanagari *e*, , is only the old letter with a top line).

Ai. In the Hathigumpha inscription *ai* is represented thus , *i. e.*, with a horizontal stroke to the left of *e*. (Such a stroke is the sign of the secondary *e* about which we shall speak later on. The vowel *e* with a symbol for the secondary *e* on it is the Nâgari *ai* thus .) The letter *ai* of the Hathigumpha with a few flexures yields the Tamiḻ *ai* thus, . This is one of the few letters that have remained almost unaltered throughout the evolution of the Tamiḻ alphabet.

O. The earliest known Tamil *o* is or . It was slightly changed in the early Chôḻa inscriptions into . This form is retained to the present day.

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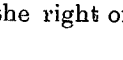
[6] The Telugu-Kannaḍa *i* is formed thus :— , , , .

Au. Tamiḷ *au* must have been formed in just the same way as the long *û*, by the addition of a straight horizontal line to the right of the letter *o*, thus, . This stroke was curved down later on thus  . The modern form of the letter is , *i. e.*, the top of the added curve becomes and the mark is separated from the body of the letter. Persons not well acquainted with the language may mistake the letter for *oḷa*.

TAMIL CONSONANTS

K. I have incidently referred to the evolution of *k* of the Tamiḷ alphabet at an earlier portion of this paper. Let me now trace it more systematically here. The Aśôka *k* was a simple Latin cross . Up to the later Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya days a slightly modified form of it in use. A further slight change was introduced after this period by which the letter becomes and in the Vijayanagara inscription it assumed the modern form. At the time of these inscriptions this letter was almost identical with *t* and had to be distinguished therefrom only from the context. (7)

Ch. The Aśôka symbol for *ch* was . This is almost the form in which it occurs in the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription, thus . In subsequent writings, it appears with slight modifications as , . The only further change introduced in the modern Tamil is, that the cross line cuts the vertical right line thus, .

N. In the Cave characters *ñ* was written . This letter was slightly modified in the Jaggayyapêṭa inscriptions into and in the early Pallava inscriptions into . It is easily seen that this letter became of the earlier Chôḷa records. The only change in this form is, that instead of the middle vertical stroke being lengthened and curved the final vertical stroke is curved round. The various small changes it has, from time to time, been subjected to are indicated below :

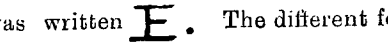
.

T. The Tamiḷ *ṭ* has practically remained the same from the earliest times to the present day. The Aśôka *ṭ* was simply (2). This primitive form was retained till the later Chôḷa and

(7) The simple Latin cross had undergone a series of changes before it assumed the modern Kannaḍa form of *k*, The earliest modified form was and from thence into . It might here be noted that the early Tamiḷ had the same symbol for k as the modern Nagari.

(2) A top line added to this gives the modern Nagari ṭ.

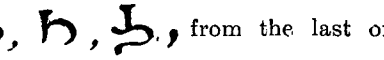
Pâṇḍya periods, in which the curve was a well-defined right angle with the lower line horizontal thus, .

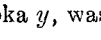
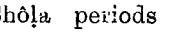
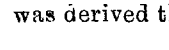
N. Tamiḻ *ṉ* had undergone many changes before it came to assume its present shape. The Aśôka letter was written . The different forms of the letter assumed successively in Tamiḻ-Grantha at different times are  .

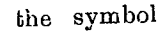
T. The Aśôka *t* was written . This gave rise to the two forms & ; the former was the Nâgari prototype and the latter, the Dravidian. The earliest form of Tamil *t* is in the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription and occurs thus . In the early Pallava records the angle is distinctly developed into a loop thus . Later on it became , which has remained practically unaltered ever since and in the modern Tamiḻ alphabet the end is lengthened below to distinguish it from the letter *k*, as has already been incidentally observed on a former page.

N. It is very interesting to trace the evolution of Tamiḻ *ṉ*. The Aśôka letter was , which is almost identical with the *n* of the earliest Tamil alphabet. In the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription it was written . In the Pallava period the horizontal part of the letter was curved thus . We come across various types of the letter in the inscriptions of Râjarâja I, some of which are , from the last of which the modern , it is very easy to see, has been got.

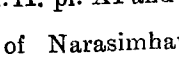
P. *p* was represented in the Aśôka alphabet by . This was changed two centuries later into , which last yields at once the modern Tamiḻ *p*. The various forms of this letter are . The Aśôka letter with the top and side line gives the modern Dêvanâgari . The Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet got its present form , thus .)

M. The Aśôka *m* as found in his edicts is . This was changed in the course of about two centuries into  , i.e., it was turned through a right angle. From this form Tamiḻ got its . The earliest Tamiḻ *m* found in the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription was written . In the earlier Chôḻa inscriptions we find it written which form has been retained to the present day. (The Telugu-Kannaḍa letter was formed thus .)

Y. The Aśôka *y* had a very interesting series of changes in passing on to the Tamiḻ, the Nâgari, and the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabets. The original, Asôka *y*, was written  Both these forms were used as such in Tamiḻ but with the central line also brought to the level of the two ends of the letter thus . The latter form is used in the Kiḻ-Muṭṭugûr stone of the reign of Narasiṁhavarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV. Plate facing page 182). In the early Pallava and the early Chôḷa periods the letter was written  Of these, the later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya retained the first form thus which has remained unaltered to the present day. (The second with a top line and a side line gave the Nâgari From the third, which also occurs in old Kannaḍa inscriptions as the modern Telugu-Kannaḍa , was derived thus,  Vaṭṭeḻuttu modified into and later on to The first modification still occurs in the Grantha, the Telugu-Kannaḍa conjunct consonants, thus:).

R. It is extremely easy to trace the Tamiḻ letter *r*. The Aśôka *r* was written . This sinuous line was in course of a century changed into a straight verticle line thus . In the runâṭṭar-kunṟu inscription we find it written, , which form was retained for a long period thereafter. In the Vijayanagara inscriptions the letter assumes the form which is practically the modern . (The Telugu-Kannaḍa derived its present shape thus:  ; whereas the Nâgari got its *r* directly from the Aśôka letter).

L. was the symbol for *l* in the Aśôka alphabet; the Tamiḻ *l* curtailed the right limb and got its . This is another of the few letters that have remained unaltered to the present day.

V. *v* was written in the Aśôka alphabet thus, . In the cave characters and the early Pallava-Grantha alphabet it got slightly altered , which occurs in the Trichinopoly Rock-cave, and other inscriptions (on pl. II of the S.I.I.) vol. II. and in the Kûram plates of Paramêśvaraman, var S.I.I. Vol. II. pl. XI and XII). Thence it assumed the form which occurs in the Kiḻ-Muṭṭugûr stone of Narasimhavarman. In the early Chôḷa period we find the forms  Since then it has retained its shape unaltered.

L. The letter ḷ is quite peculiar to the Dravidian languages. Old Kannaḍa represents this by ; in the Trichinopoly Rock-cave we come across, which belongs to the early Pallava period. In the inscriptions of Bâdâmi published by Dr. Fleet, in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. X, the forms occur, the former of which alone representing, at an earlier period, both the sounds ḷ and ṛ. Subsequently a differentiation would appear to have been effected, the first symbol being used for ṛ and the second, which is only the first with the horizontal line dropped, representing ḷ. In the Bâṇa inscription published in the same volume by Mr. Rice, (and this record is later than the Bâdâmi one), there was a further change to . (This is the original of the Śakaṭa-rêpha of the Telugu-Kannaḍa). Possibly to distinguish this form, the letter underwent a further change . This letter has come down to the present day almost unaltered.

R. Again ṛ is also peculiar to the Dravidian languages and the earliest symbol by which it was represented— —occurs in the Tirunâthar-kunṛu inscription. In the earlier Chôḷa inscription we find . In the inscription of the first Râjarâja the various forms are used. The later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya records have , this form is practically that of the modern alphabet.

N. ṉ with two rings, is also peculiar to Tamiḻ. The Tirunâthar-kunṛu inscription is the oldest record that uses this letter under the form . In the early Pallava period the letter appears as . A better looking form is used in the Râjarâja (I) inscriptions. This is almost the shape in which it has descended to us in modern Tamiḻ.

The *puḷḷi* corresponding to the *virâma* in Sanskrit is represented by a short straight stroke over the head of a surd consonant thus . This sign occurs in a more ornamental form thus . The *puḷḷi* is known only to older inscriptions. After a long period of disuse, it has again made its appearance in the modern alphabet.

SONANT CONSONANTS OR THE SECONDARY VOWEL FORMATION

Having traced the evolution of the vowels and the consonants of the Tamiḻ alphabet, let me proceed to explain the general principles by which the secondary vowels were formed. Here I shall just indicate the principles underlying the changes, leaving the reader to refer to the tables for exhaustive examples.

A. The sonant consonant corresponding to the long *â* sound was formed in the days of the Aśôka alphabet by the addition of a short horizontal line to the right of the letter thus, .

Wherever this addition was not possible owing to the inadaptability of the letter as in , a dot was used to mark its beginning thus . Perhaps to avoid this inconvenience, the cave characters curved down the stroke thus . This altered form of the symbol was freely used in all older Tamil documents. I think the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription used the older form. (Nowhere in this inscription do the sonant consonants corresponding to the long *â* occur; but it has , *no*, and I make the statement analogically). The altered form of the symbol was added thus:— (Kîḻ-Muṭṭugûr stones) (1). Later on it assumed the more defined form , in the inscriptions of Râjarâja I, thus . The later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya have , which is the direct precursor of the modern .

I. The secondary *i* was formed in the Aśôka alphabet by adding to the top of the consonant a right angle opening to the left thus . The law of indolence was responsible for its having been converted into almost a circle with the opening still to the left thus . This was the form used in the cave characters. Exactly similar is the addition in the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription which uses the letters . The earlier Pallava has also this mode of forming the secondary *i*:- . In the inscriptions of Râjarâja the curve was separated from the body of the letters and the letters look as if they wore caps . In the later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya days the tendency was to shove the symbol to the right thus . This is almost how the letters are written at the present day .

I. I have already said that this symbol generally served the purpose both of the short and the long *î*, the one having had to be distinguished from the other only from the context. But occasionally the long *î* was formed by the addition of a loop to the short *i*. The loop was to the left in the older inscriptions, whereas it was in later times, as at the present day, tacked on to the right — .

U. A straight vertical stroke added at the bottom was the symbol of *u* in the Aśôka alphabet, thus . Such an addition was impossible in letters which themselves ended in a vertical

(1) Ep. Ind., Vol. IV., plate facing page 182.

straight line as . In these instances the additional stroke was horizontal and added to the right of the bottom thus . The same rules were observed in the case of Tamiḻ letters also; *e. g.*:— . The letters , illustrate the other branch of the rule, the last of which, ṉu, retains the simplest form, while the first two have curved the straight horizontal stroke either up or down. (The second of the above three forms has been adopted by the modern Nâgari which forms its letters thus:— .)

U. The long *û* was formed in the Aśôka characters by the addition of an extra vertical stroke. . Tamiḻ modified the formation in an ingenious way. One stroke would appear to have been added vertically downwards and the other drawn perpendicularly that is, horizontally to the first thus

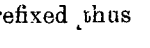
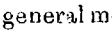
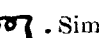
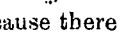
This last was always curved down and to the left thus . Or the long sound is represented by the lengthening symbol of a long *â* (which is also a corrupt form of the straight horizontal stroke added to the right at the top), thus .

E. The secondary *e* was formed in the Aśôka alphabet by the addition of a short horizontal line, at the top to the left: thus . This is exactly the form used in the Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription thus (analogically derived again from *no*); This, slightly curved, gives the symbol of the secondary *e* of the early Pallava and the Chôḻa periods thus . Later on, at about the period of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of Rajaraja I this sign was detached from the letter and placed immediately to the left of the top of the letter thus .

O. The symbol for the secondary *â* properly added to this symbol for the secondary *e* gave the secondary *o*. Thus in Aśôka . The same law holds good in the case of all the other Indian alphabets. The Tirunâthar-kunṟu inscription has to represent *no*. The secondary *e* and *â* symbol are here in one line. In the earlier Pallava and the Chôḻa inscriptions we not unfrequently meet with similar instances,— . In later times these two symbols were separated from the body of the consonants thus . (Compare .)

Ai. To represent the secondary *ai* the Aśôka alphabet added two horizontal strokes to the left of the top of the letters thus . The Tamiḻ Grantha alphabet copied the arrangement as usual, . (Compare .) After the lapse of about a century, the two separate strokes began to be welded into one by being placed side by side thus .

The older, unaltered form, was retained only by Sanskṛit. Tamiḻ had recourse to a special method of formation of the secondary *ai* of certain consonants— , obviously to avoid

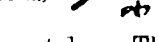
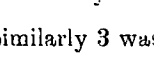
the multiplicity of rings if the ordinary mode was adopted in their case also. The symbol was prefixed thus  . There is perhaps another reason for the difference. If the general method had been adopted the suppositions sonant  was apt to be mistaken for  . Similarly might be mistaken for *ṇe* or *ḷai*, or *ṇai*: and would represent both (*ṇu*) and (*lai.*)  ,

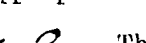
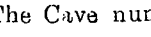
CONJUNCT OR COMPOUND CONSONANTS

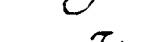
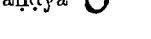
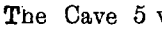
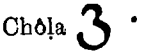
Tamiḷ, like the other Dravidian alphabets, does not use conjunct consonants extensively, mainly because there are no sounds in the language itself requiring the use of such consonants. Tamiḷ borrowed very few words directly from Sanskṛit and the words it got through Prâkṛit do not require the use of many conjunct consonants. A few instances of Tamiḷ conjunct consonants we frequently are met with in inscriptions; e.g :— etc. Of course Sanskṛit words, as a rule, are written in the Grantha alphabet, and many conjunct consonants are employed in writing them.

TAMIL NUMERALS

Tamiḷ Numerals, like Tamiḷ characters, have been directly got from the Aśôka numerals and Cave numerals; they are all given in the Table and I shall trace here the evolution of only a few.

The Cave numeral *two* was written , in the Pallava plates of Śivaskandavarman, it appears as  ; and the early Chôḷa inscriptions  which last form is used at the present day. This is but the scribe's mode of writing in one stroke the two lines welded into one.

Similarly 3 was represented in the Cave numerals of three horizontal strokes, , and in the copper-plates above-mentioned, it is modified thus  , which is a simpler form of the later . These last forms are further changed to  , the later Pâṇḍya and the modern form.

The Cave numeral 4 was written . The Śivaskandavarman plates have it as  . The early Chôḷa inscriptions have the forms  . The later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya  and the modern  have been directly derived therefrom.

The Cave 5 was written . In the early Pallava period it became and in the early Chôḷa . In the later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya days, it assumed the form which is the modern symbol for 5.

The number 6 was written in the days of Aśôka thus . The cave numeral represents it thus . The Pallava plates modify them into . The early Chôḷa inscriptions have , wherefrom the modern is got.

The numerical symbol has been evolved asunder; Cave . Pallava and ; Chôḷa .

The number 8 in the Cave numerals was written which became in the early Pallava times ; and in the early Tamiḻ . This last became , in the later Pâṇḍya and in the modern times.

The cave 9 was , and the early Chôḷas represented it by , At the time of the later Chôḷas it became , the direct precursor of the modern .

The same symbol . represented both the numeral 10 and the consonant *y* in the Cave characters. Old Tamiḻ modified it into , which has continued to represent the numeral ever since.

Unlike the cave and other numerals, Tamiḻ has never used separate signs for 50, 60, 70, etc. But its 100 is represented by and 1000. . It has not adopted the decimal notation and formed its numeral as we do: for instance, represents 4 (100) +9 (10) + 4 + ½. (²)

Tamiḻ uses a great many abbreviations of common measures of land, gold, &c., thus when added to a number represents what are known as *mañjaḍi's* (of gold). A complete list of these abbreviations is given in the appendix, on plate.

THE GRANTHA ALPHABET

VOWELS

The general tendency of the Grantha alphabet, (also in some instances in the Telugu-Kannaḍa), is to double all vertical lines; thus the Cave *a*, , is written in the early Pallava Grantha alphabet as ; . ; (similarly in Tel.-Kan., is the modification of . and

(²) It must be pointed that Tamiḻ did not (to its great disadvantage) borrow zero, O, and the Sanskrit notation—place value of figures—which gave such a great impetus to arithmetic in Europe when introduced in Venice. Hence the unmanageable number 4 (1000)+8 (100)+5 (10)+6 to represent the simple 4356.

that of . Again, the tendency to draw graceful curves is very great in the earl Grantha characters. Thus , , &c. This is freely indulged in the early Pallava Grantha characters as used in the Mahâbalipuram, Trichinopoly cave &c. inscriptions.

A. The form of early Pallava *a* is . (For the various modifications of this see plates.) A little later it was slightly modified into . In the early Chôḷa period it again changed into , the modern form of which is or . Here it may be seen how different were the courses followed by the Tamiḻ and the Grantha alphabets in deriving their *a* from the same common source. (The Tel.-Kan. formed its or , by the following series of changes , , &c.; to distinguish the short from the long *â*, a little change was introduced thus:— , .)

A. The long *â* was formed exactly as in Tamiḻ, . The modern form is, as is well-known, .[1]

I. The earliest form of *i* was, as we have already seen, the Aśôka . This becomes in later periods (about 500 A. D.) from which the Pallava Grantha alphabet got its , . The tendency to connect all the parts together was responsible for the Chôḷa form . (Compare the Tel.-Kan.).

I. The evolution of the long *î* is the same as in Tamiḻ; with this difference that the central line was doubled thus, and the modern letter is , the left leg owing its existence to the scribe's indolent scrawling from the end of the preceding letter to the beginning of this letter. *U* and *Û*. The short and the long *u* are the same as in the Tamiḻ alphabet.

Ri. The earliest form of *ṛi* is found in the Trichinopoly cave, — , which in later times was altered to , the modern form.

E. The earliest Grantha *e* found also in the Trichinopoly cave inscription is , , modifications of the Aśôka , . The next form , is used in the Kailâsanâtha temple inscription of Râjasimha, (last line of the second side of the plate in S. I. I., Vol. II., part III.) How it came to be written in the Chôḷa inscriptions as is not quite clear. The modern Grantha

(1) The Malayâḷam is derived thus:— , , .

adds a secondary *e* symbol to the short *e* to represent *ai*, thus, . Here it adopts the rule applicable to the secondary vowel formation.

The letters *o* and *au* are represented by Tamil letters.

CONSONANTS

K. The letter *k* was written exactly like the Tamil letter but with the difference that the vertical line is doubled thus, . This form was in use till quite recently it began to be written thus , .

Kh. The Aśôka *kh* is , which was written , in the Gupta period. The old Pallava Grantha uses the same form , (Trichinopoly cave). In the Chôḷa period it began to be written as it is to-day thus , , , modern).

G. represented in the Aśkôa alphabet the letter *g*, and the Cave characters round it a little more pronouncedly,— . In the earlier Pallava days it was written also in the same form or , . In the copper-plates it is found as , . In the early Chôḷa inscriptions it is written thus which in the later Pâṇḍya records became the modern form.

Gh. The Aśôka *gh* is , the only change introduced by the Cave characters in it being the shortening of the first limb also . The letter was written in the early Pallava inscriptions thus , , , which became in the early Chôḷa records ; and in the modern days .

N. The form of the nasal *ṅ* has to be inferred to be , from the compounds *ṅga*, *ṅka* which are found to be written thus , . At about the same time a slightly modified form also occurs as . The change to the modern form is exactly similar to that of the modern from its oldest forms.

Ch. *Ch* is represented in the Aśôka alphabet thus , which was modified by the Grantha into (cf. Tel.-Kan., , .) The early Chôḷa alphabet further changed it into , from which the modern is got.

Chh. The Aśôka *chh* is , which became in the cursive style of the later period. This perhaps changed again into from which the modern is obtained: or perhaps a slight addition was made to the letter *ch* to obtain *chh*, but the former course appears more probable.

J. The Aśôka *j* is or . In the old Pallava Grantha inscriptions this was very gracefully written thus . We meet with a curious form, inexplicable, of the same letter belonging to this same period, thus:— .There is a big change from this to of the early Chôḷa records. The form in the parenthesis perhaps represents the transition stage connecting the early Pallava and the early Chôḷa letters; but it is easier to connect the modern form with the first of the two earlier types. (Cf.)

Jh. The symbol for *jh* in the Aśôka alphabet is and the modern letter is . This is perhaps the modification of some such symbol as or ; The modern form is easily derivable from this old form (hypothetical).

N. The Aśôka ñ is , The Grantha alphabet converted it into , which is almost akin to the Tamil .

T. The forms of the Pallava and the Aśôka *ṭ* are the same , which has remained almost unaltered to the present day, thus, , (The Chôḷa Grantha alphabet of the time of Kulôttuṅga I., uses the form which is only an elaborate way of writing the simpler).

Th. The symbol for *ṭh* is exactly that used by the Aśôka alphabet a plain circle.

D. The Aśôka *ḍ* is which became in the early Pallava Grantha alphabet. In the later Chôḷa-Pâṇḍya period it was written from which the modern is derived.

N and *N.* The letters and are the same as in Tamil.

Th. This letter written in the Aśôka alphabet which appears in the early Pallava inscriptions thus , . In the Chôḷa inscriptions it became which is almost the modern form of the letter (cf. Tel. & Kan.).

D. Aśôka *d* was represented either by or . The former was more frequently used and appears more often in inscriptions. (But almost all the Indian alphabets got their letter from the latter. Thus, Nâgari has , Old Telugu-Kannaḍa the modern form being , old Pallava , , .) The form of the early Chôḷa inscription , is more akin to the Aśôka letter.

Dh. The Aśôka *dh* was or while in the Trichinopoly cave it appears as ; the letter got changed in the early Chôḷa inscriptions into which is almost the modern letter.

P. This letter is the same as the Tamiḻ *p*.

Ph. It is clearly seen that the Grantha letter for *ph* has been derived from Aśôka .

B. The Aśôka letter for *b* was ; At the early Pallava Grantha period it was written with sinuosities and flourishes thus , , which came to be written in the early Chôḷa period in the cursive form . In the later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya periods the letter became , which is also the modern form.

Bh. This was represented in the Aśôka thus . In the cave characters naturally it began to be written , . The early Pallava alphabet represented it by , which became in the Chôḷa period (the change can be easily understood if it is assured that the form of the letter was traced from the top and at one stroke). The later Chôḷa and the Pâṇḍya form was , .

M. The early Grantha *m* was the same as the Aśôka . It had undergone little change when it was written , in the Chôḷa inscriptions and the modern , differs very little therefrom.

Y. This Grantha letter is the same as the corresponding Tamiḻ letter and the Grantha *r* is the same as the Tamiḻ letter, with this difference that the central line is doubled, .

L. The earliest Grantha was , which was only an elaborate form of the simple Aśôka . In the copper-plates the curling was more pronounced and complete thus , , which last form has remained unaltered ever since.

V. Grantha and Tamiḻ have the same letter for *v*.

S. This in the Aśôka alphabet was represented thus , which was written at the early Pallava period . (Trichinopoly cave). We also come across the form in the inscriptions of about the same period. In the copper-plates of Kûram and Kâśâkuḍi it appears as which remained in use till the introduction of printing quite recently; then it was made square thus .

Sh. Aśôka *sh* was written or . (This is better seen in the conjunct consonant *ksh*). In the Tel.-Kan. alphabet *sh* was , and the early Pallava form was

The cursive style is responsible for the following changes: . The changes in *ksh* was similar to those of *sh* and its form in the Chôḷa period was , which is almost the modern Grantha letter.

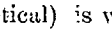
S. The Aśôka alphabet wrote its *s*, which is almost the form of the Trichinopoly cave letter . In cursive form it naturally successively became .

H. The Aśôka *h* was which was later on written in the same alphabet . The early Pallava form was . which written in the beautiful ornamental style of the Mahâbalipuram inscription appears, , , The form employed in the copper-plates is , which changed in the later Pâṇḍya inscriptions and to the modern .

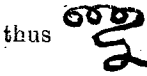
Jñ. This is well known to be a compound of j and ñ, and is written in the early Pallava alphabet , from which the modern has been formed.

L. The earliest Grantha *ḷ* we meet with occurs in the Trichinopoly Rock-cave inscription where, it appears as , the stroke at its bottom alone distinguishing it from *h*; a modified form of this letter occurs in an inscription of almost the same period, , which has evidently given rise to the copper-plate . It became in the inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga. I, which appears in the Sundara-Pâṇḍya inscription of Śrîraṅgam as . From this last, the modern form has been derived.

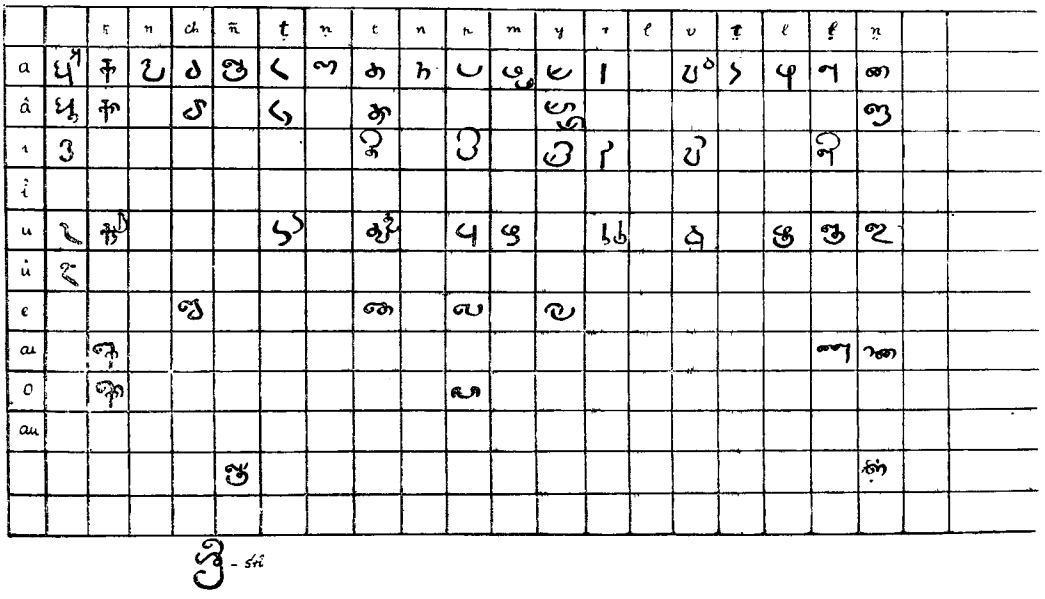
SONANT CONSONANTS OR SECONDARY VOWELS

The secondary vowels are all formed precisely as in Tamil; but all vertical lines are doubled e.g., (hypothetical) is written  . There is however an exception; the lengthening piece of the secondary *â* is not doubled, perhaps to distinguish it from *r*.

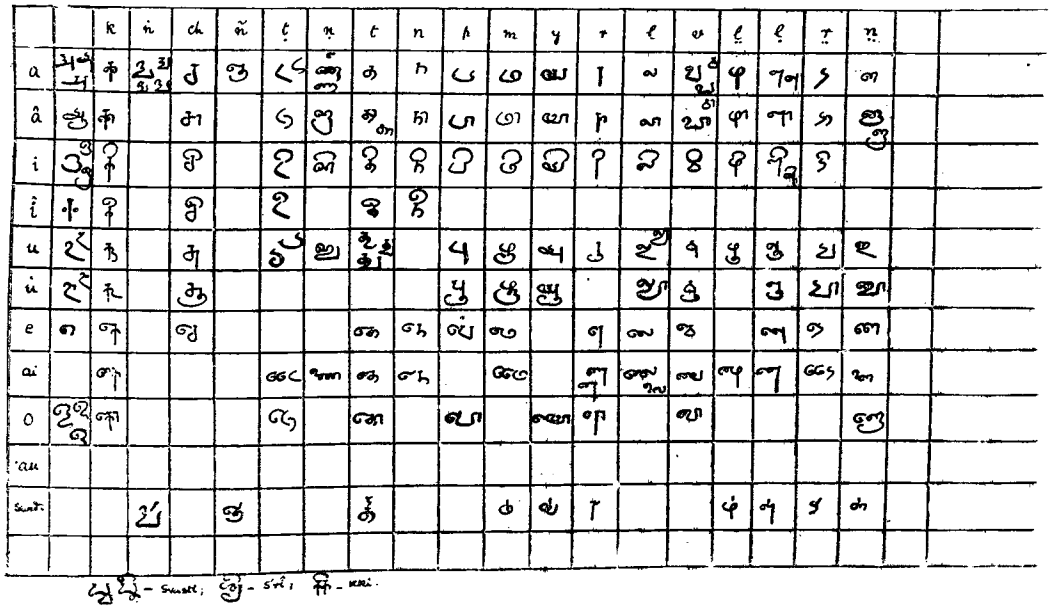
COMPOUNDS OR CONJUNCT CONSONANTS

These are formed by placing one consonant below another in the order in which they are pronounced, as in the other alphabets : thus  (ṉdya), (chch) &c.

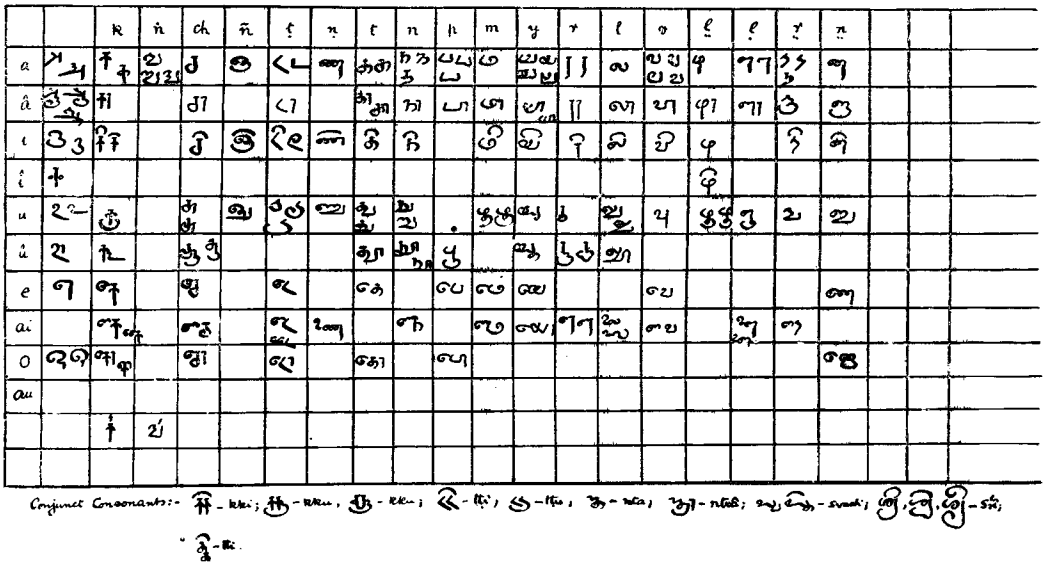
Early Pallava Tamil Alphabet (7th Century A. D.)



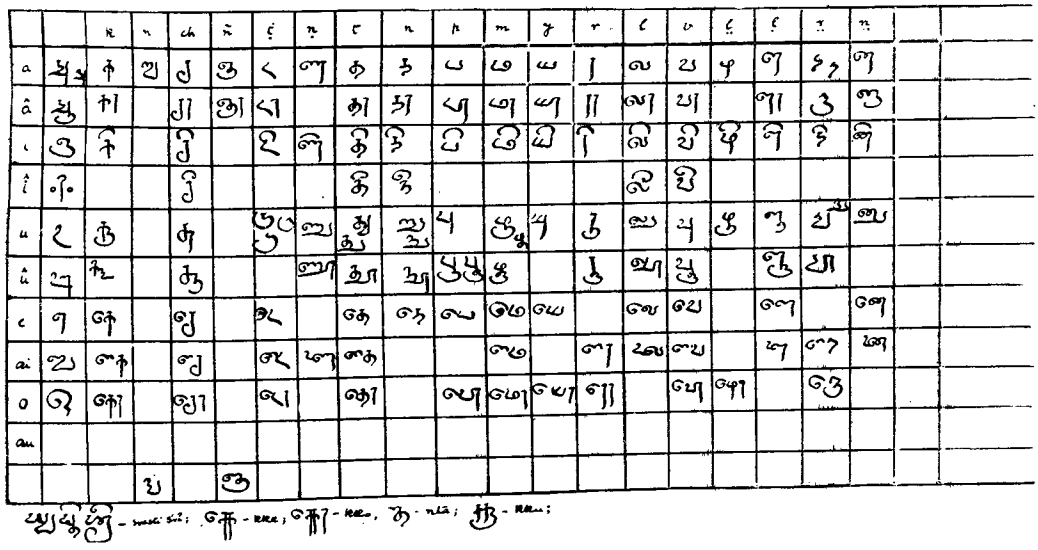
Inscriptions of Nandivarman Pallavamalla etc. (Last quarter of the 8th Century A. D.)



Inscriptions of the later Pallavas and the Early Cholas (beginning of the 9th to that of the 10th Century A. D.).



Inscriptions of Rajaraja I and Rajendracholadeva I (Last quarter of the 10th and the first quarter of the 11th Century A. D.).

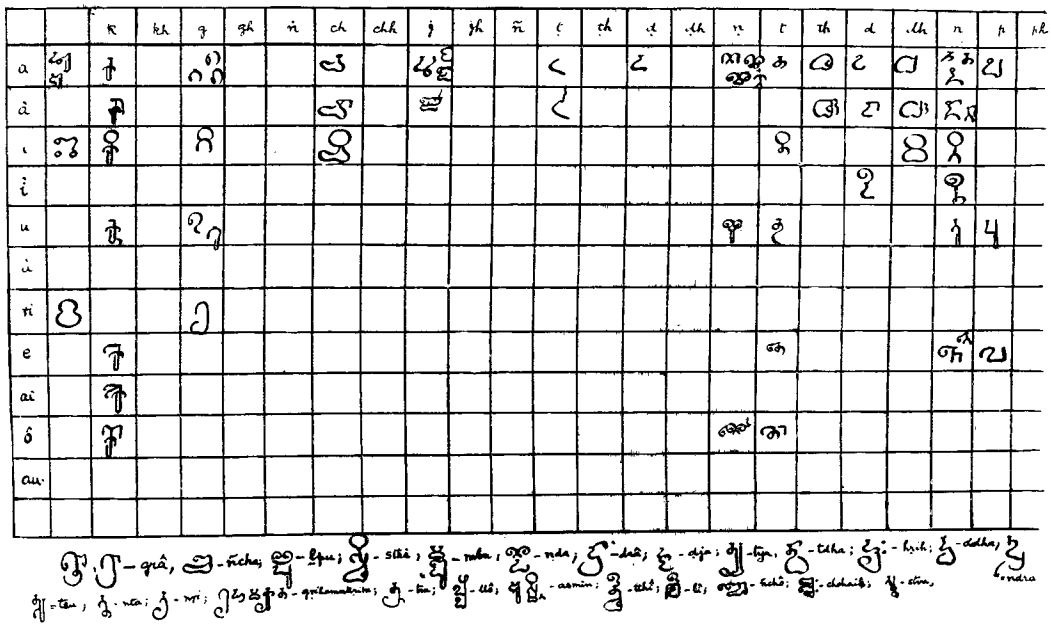


Later Pandya Period (13th Century A. D.)

		k	n	ch	ñ	ṭ	ṇ	t	n	p	m	y	r	l	v	ḻ	ḷ	ṟ	n			
a	அ	க	ங	ச	ஞ	ட	ண	த	ந	ப	ம	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள	ற	ன			
â	ஆ	கா					ணா						ரா									
i	இ	கி		ஜி		டி				ப்பி				லி	வி							
î	ஈ																					
u	உ	கு				டு		து	நு	பு	மு		ரு ரு	லு		ழு	ளு	று				
û	ஊ	கூ								பூ					வூ							
e	எ	கெ																				
ai	ஐ	கை												ஸை			ஊ					
o	ஒ	கொ																				
au																						

ஸ்ரீ - sruṣṭi; ஸ்ரீ, ஸ்ரீ, ஸ்ரீ, ஸ்ரீ - śrî; ஸ்ரீ - sti; கூ - kra; ப - ppa; ப - ppa; ம - padi; ய - ppa;

Early Pallava Grantha Alphabet (7th Century A. D.).



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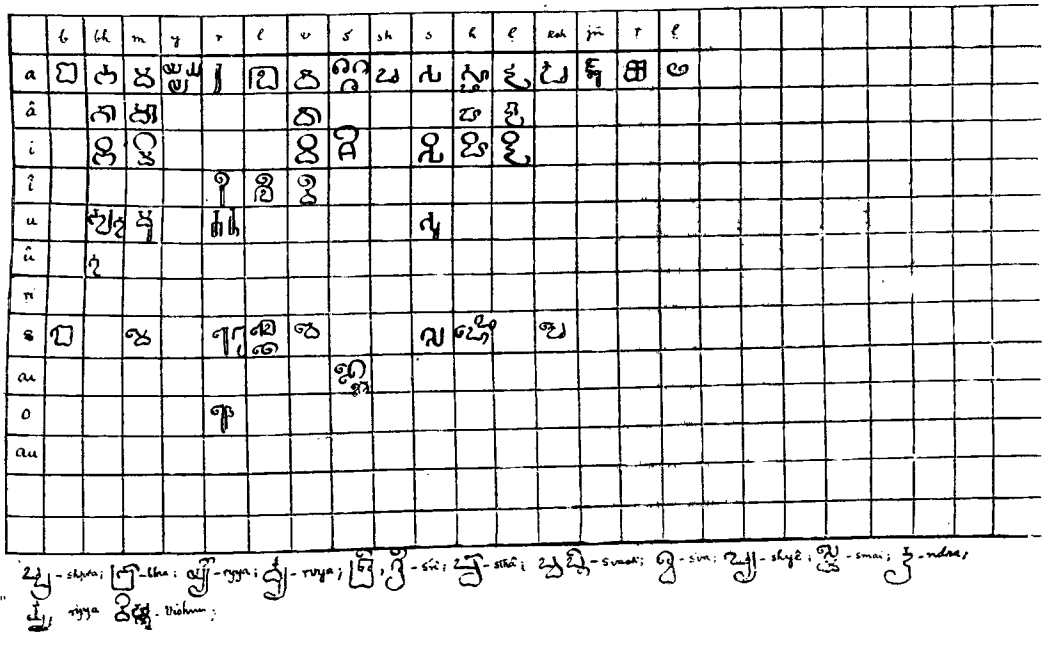
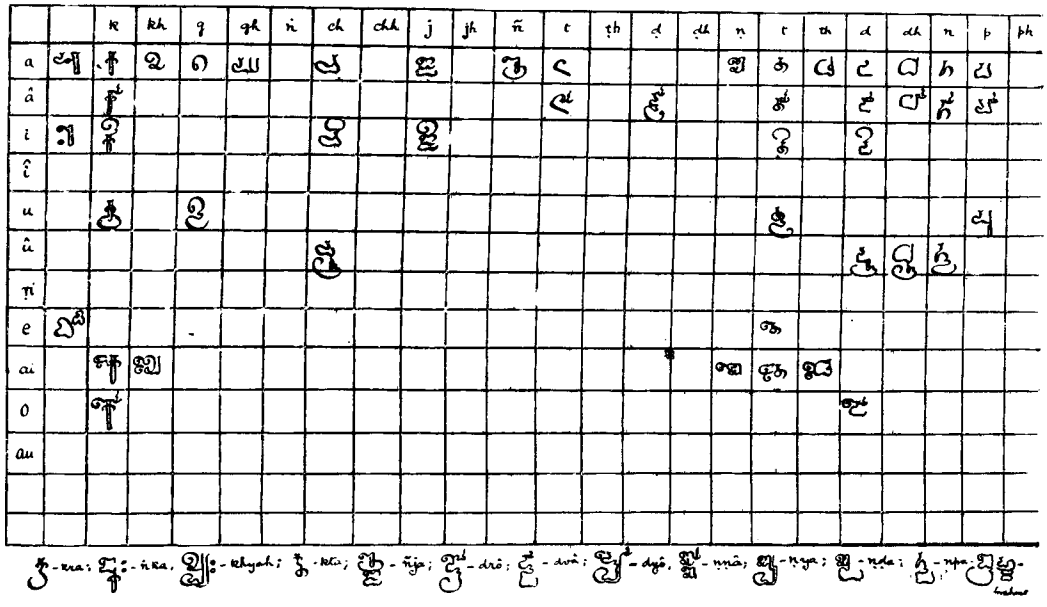


Early Pallava Grantha Alphabet (8th Century A. D.)



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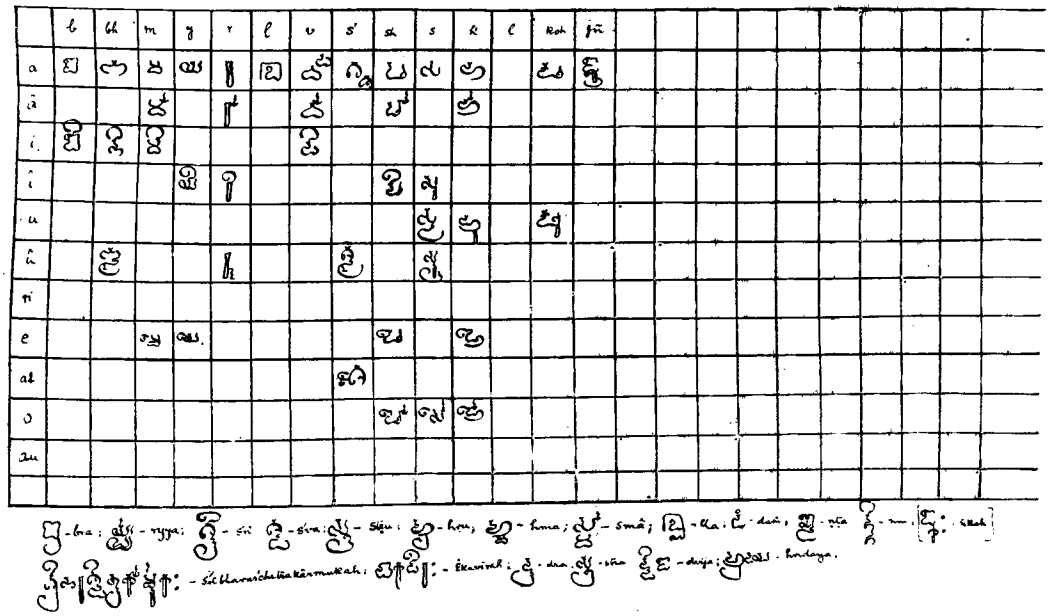
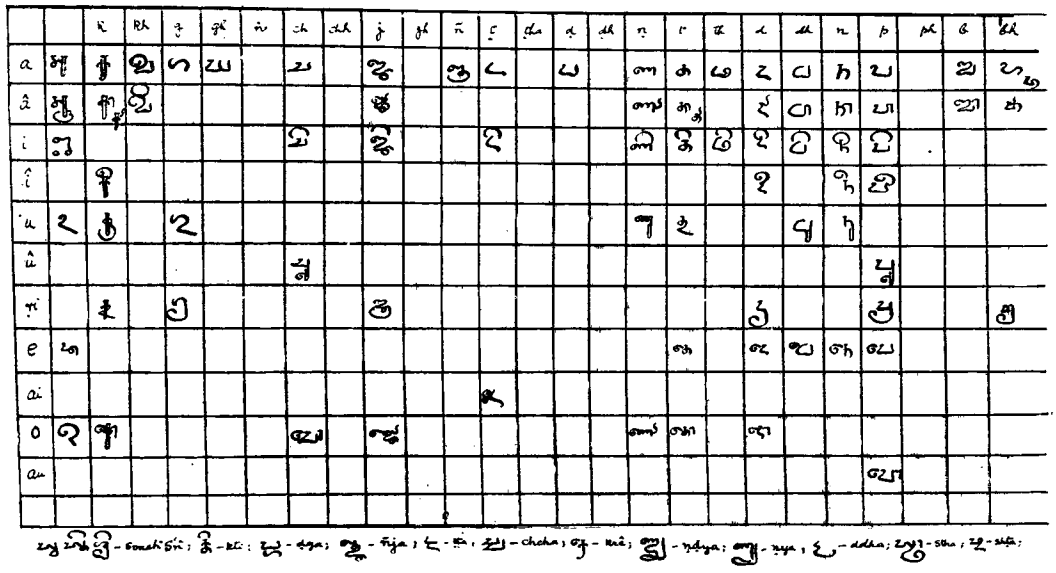


Grantha Alphabet of the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (Last quarter of the 8th Century A. D.)



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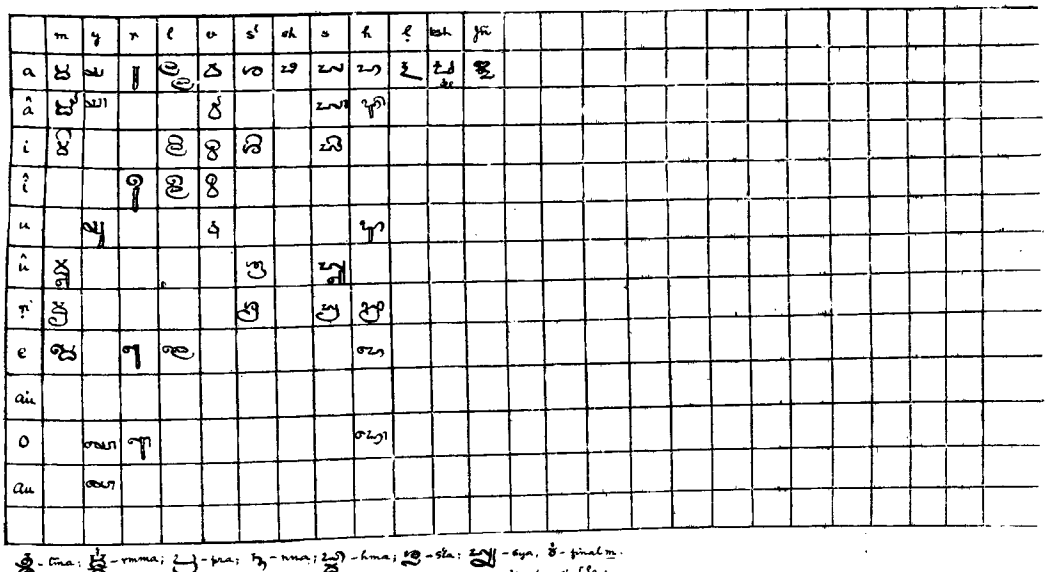
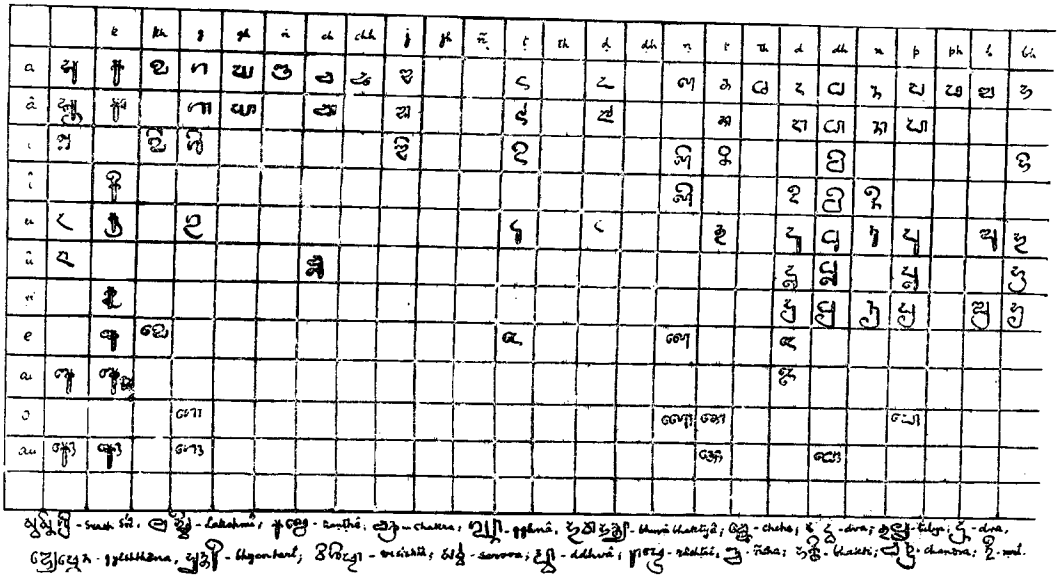


Kasakudi Plates of Nandivarman. About 750 A. D.



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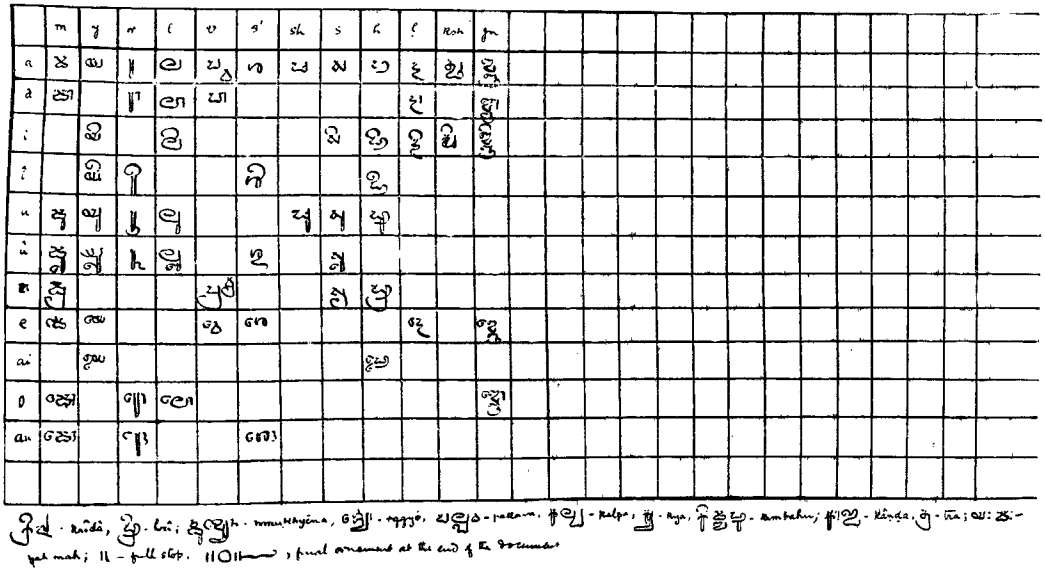
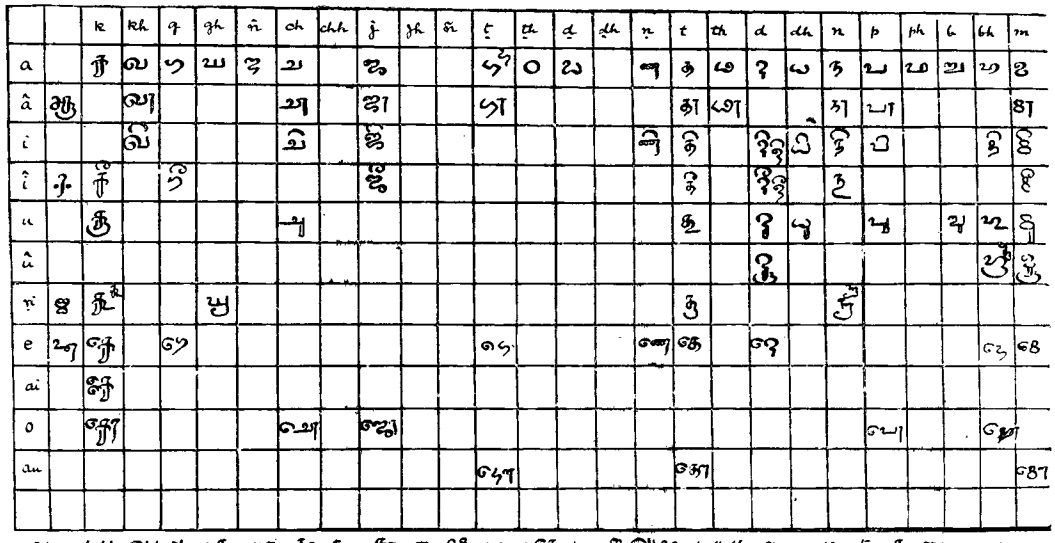
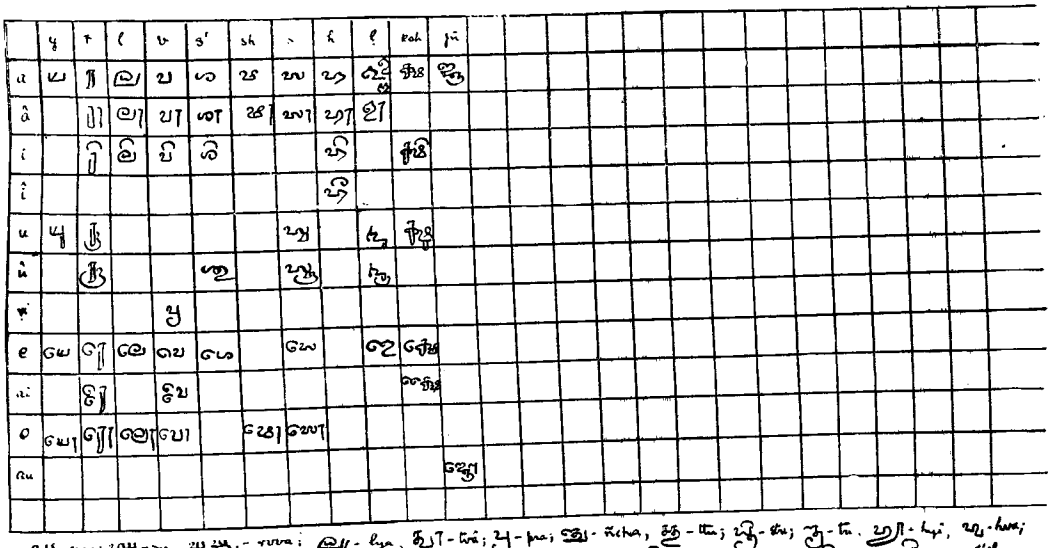


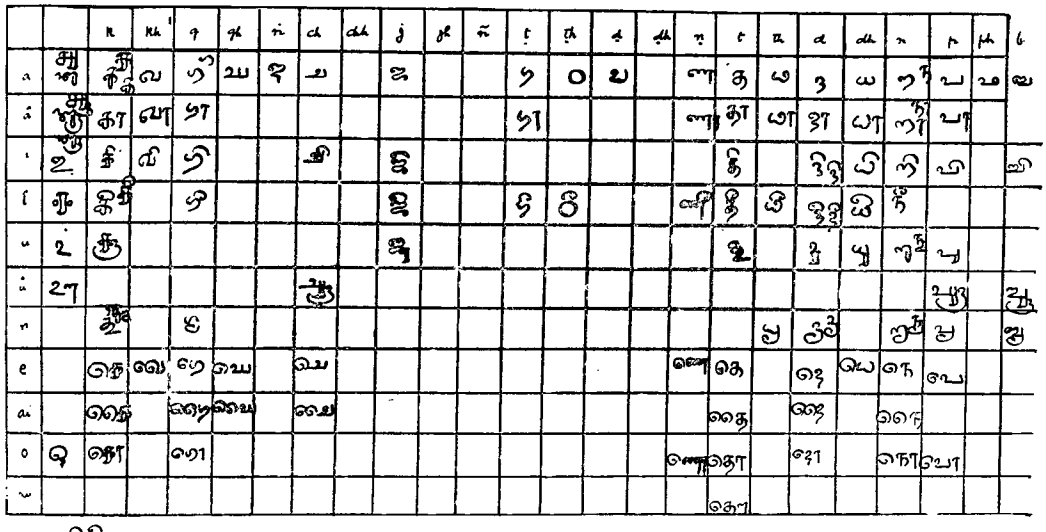
Inscriptions of the time of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Chola. About 1070-1118 A. D.



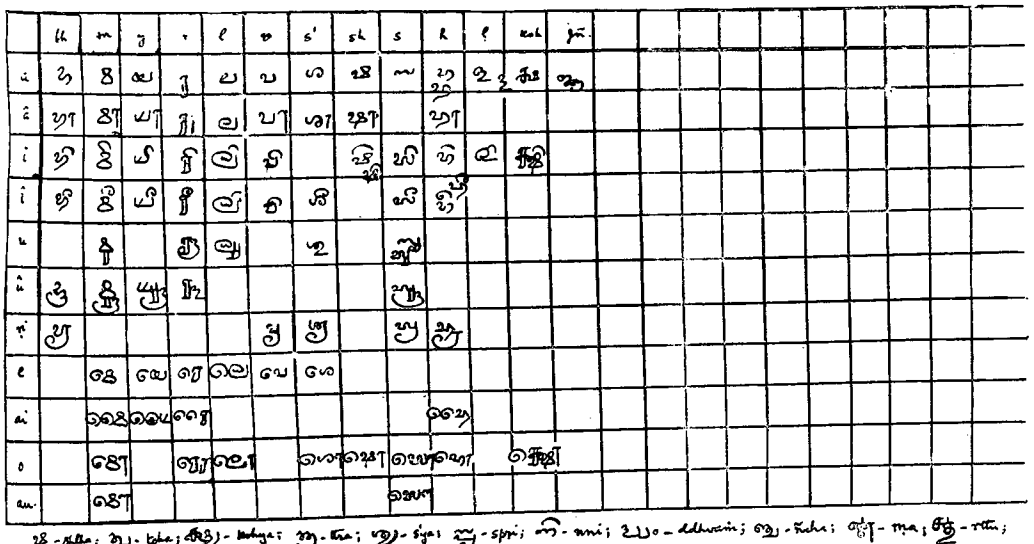
(Continued)



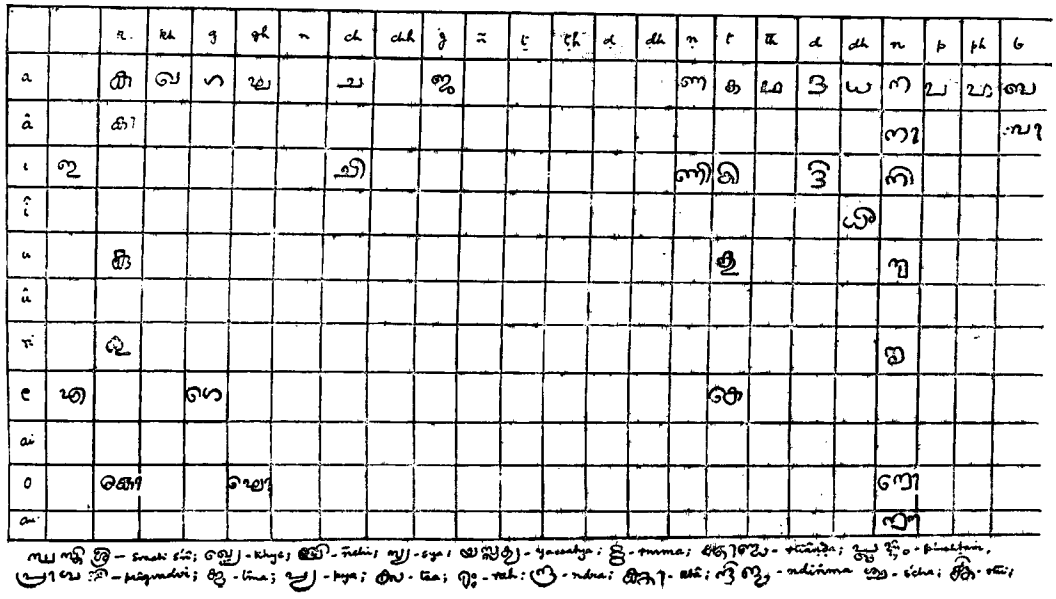
Early Malayalam, (About 1375 A. D.) and later Grantha (Same period).



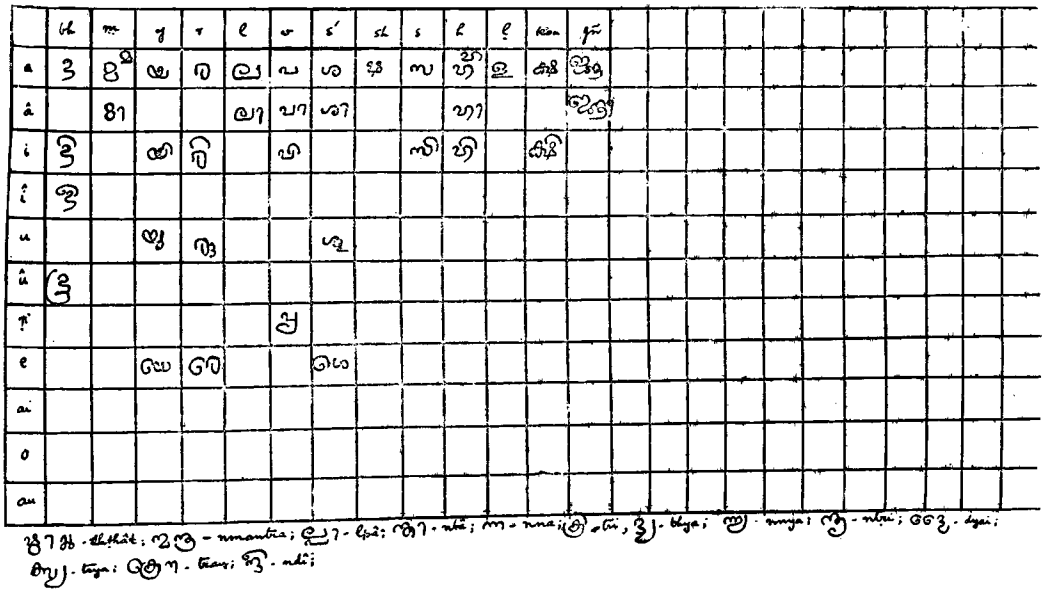
(Continued)



Later Malayalam (About 1030 A. D.)

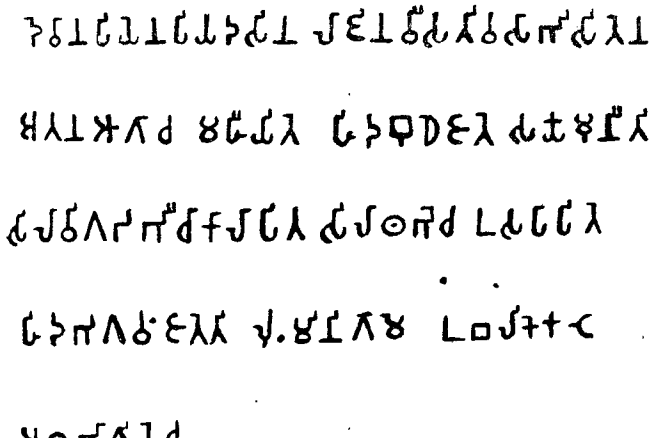


(Continued)



SPECIMENS OF WRITING

ASOKA EDICT. PADIERA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.



1 देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिनवीसतिवसाभिसितेन

2. अतन आगाच महीयते हिदबुधेजाते सक्यमुनीति

3. सिलाविगडभीचा कालापित सिलाथभेच उसपापिते

4. हिदभगवंजातेति लुंमिनिगामे उबलिकेकटे

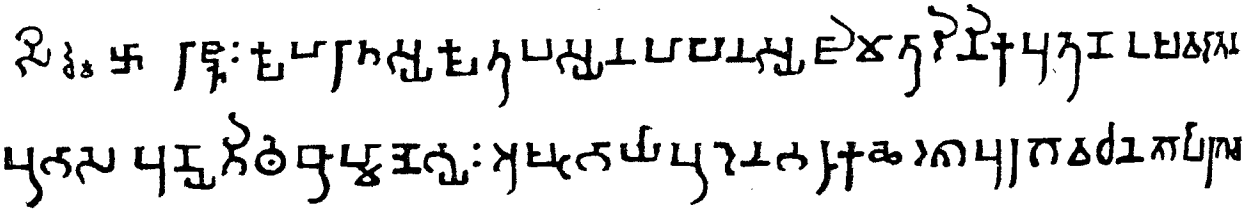
5. अठभागियेच [॥*].

Translation

King Piyadasi, beloved of the Gods, having been anointed twenty years, came himself and worshipped, saying "Here Buddha Sâkyamuni was born." And he caused to be made a stone (slab) bearing a big sun (?); and he caused a stone pillar to be erected. Because here the worshipful one was born, the village of Lummini has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth (1).

(1) The fac-simile of the original and the translation are taken from the paper published by Dr. Bühler in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume V. p. 4.

NASIK CAVE INSCRIPTION OF USHAVADATA



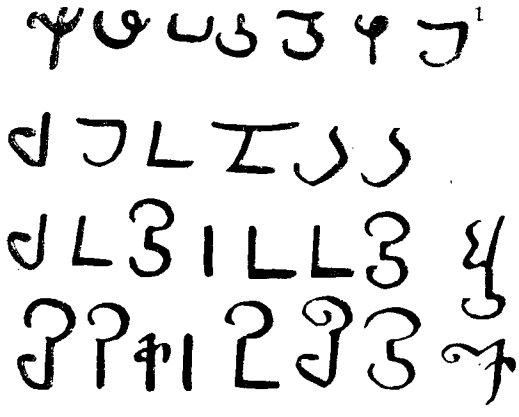
सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्यक्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दिनिक-पुत्रेण उषवदातेन···
प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्या प्रदेन भरुकछे दशपुरे गोवर्धने शोर्पारगेच····

Translation

Success! Ushavadâta, Dînîki's son, son-in-law ofKing Nahapâna, the Kshaharâta Kshatrapa, who has given eight wives to Brâhmaṇas at the religious *tîrtha* of Prabhâsa, who at Bharukachha, Daśapura, Gôvardhana Sorpâraga.....(1)

(1) Facsimile and Translation, taken from the paper on the Nâsik cave Inscriptions of Mons. Senart, Ep. Ind. Vol. VIII, p. 78.

TIRUNATHAR-KUNRU INSCRIPTION[1]



Aimbatt-ēḻ-aṉa—
śaṉannôṟṟa
Śandiranandi A—
śirigar niśidikai.

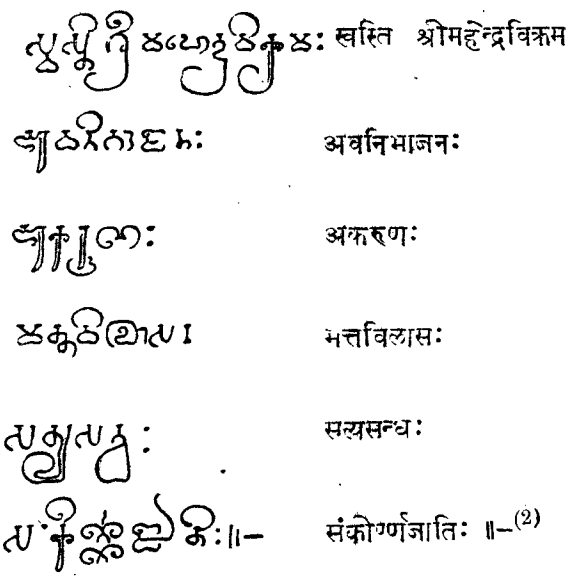
ஐம்பத்தேழன-
சனந்நோற்ற
சந்திரநந்தி ஆ
சிரிகர் நிசீதிகை.

Translation

The *niśidika* of Chandranandi Achârya, who (died) observing fifty-seven days' fasting.

(1) From an eye copy taken on the spot by me.

TRICHINOPOLY ROCK CAVE INSCRIPTIONS



स्वस्ति श्रीमहेन्द्रविक्रमः

अवनिभाजनः

अकरुणः

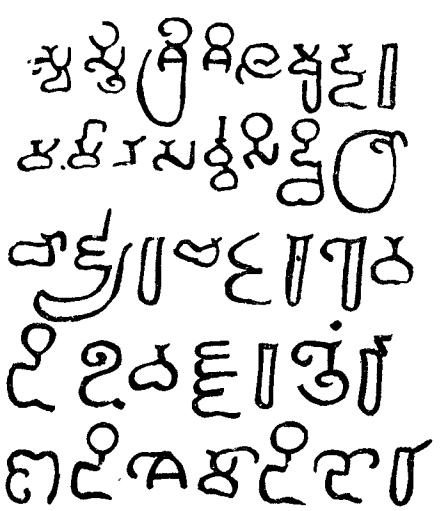
मत्तविलासः

सत्यसन्धः

संकीर्ण्णजातिः ॥–(2)

(2) From eye copies taken on the spot by me. These are strings of *birudas* of the Pallava king Mahên dravarman.

PATTADAKAL KANNADA INSCRIPTION

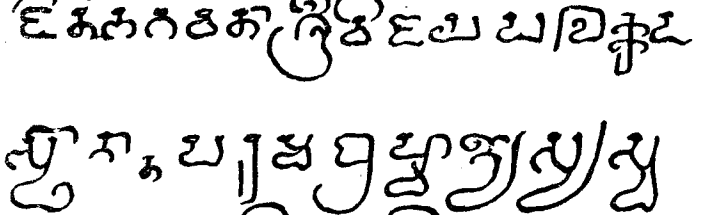


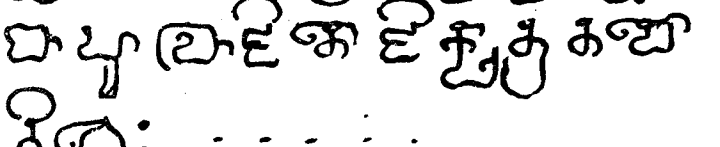
स्वस्ति श्री शिलेमुद्दर
मर्मान् सर्व्वसिद्धि आ-
चार्यर चट्टरेव-
डि उवज्जरतैक-
ण दिशे माडिदोर्(1)

Translation

Hail! Chaṭṭara-Rêvaḍi-uvajja, the grandson of Silê nudda and (disciple) of Sarvvasiddhi Achârya, constructed the southern portion.

EARLY PALLAVA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS



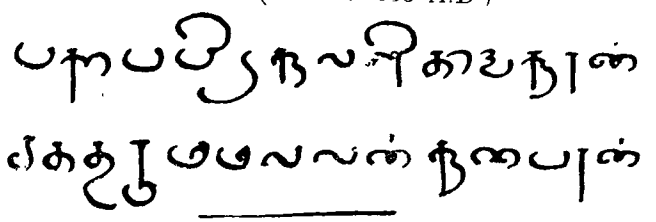


जितं भगवता श्रीविजय पल्लवकु-
स्थानात् परमब्रह्मण्यस्य स्व-
बाहु[ब*]लार्जितोर्जित क्षेत्र तपोनिधेः . . . .(2)

(1) Taken from Dr. Fleet's paper on the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions, Indian Antiquary, Vol. X. p. 170. He translates the passage thus :—"Hail Chattara-Revadi-Ovajja of the Sarvvasiddhi-Achâryas, who was acquainted with the secrets of the Śri-Śilemuddas, made the Southern Country." I have differed from him in his reading by reading the name *Rêvadi* as *Rêvaḍi* ; cf. the names Nimmaḍi, Mâdêvaḍi, Permmândi, &c, also cf. ḍi occurring in this word with the same in *maḍidôr* in l. 5. I am sorry I have to differ from him in his translation of the inscription also.

(2) Ind. Ant. Vol. V. 50.

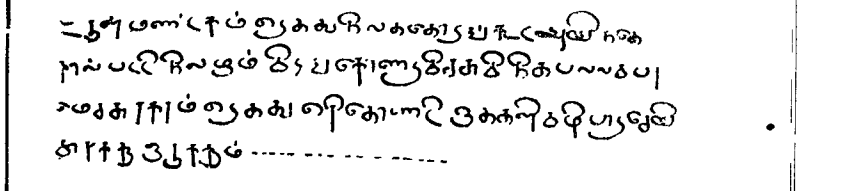
TAMIL OF THE EARLY PALLAVA PERIOD (ABOUT 650 A.D.)



பகாப்பிடுகு லளிதாங்குரன்
சத்துருமல்லன் குணபரன்.

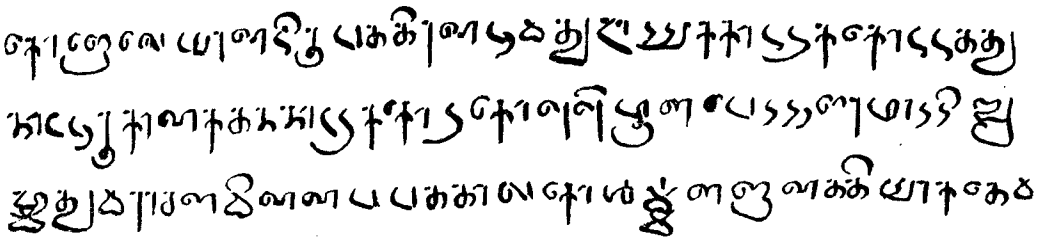
Translation

Pagâppiḍugu, Laḷitâṅkura,
Śatrumalla, Guṇabhara (1.)



ஊருள் மண்டகம் எடுத்து நிலத்தொடுங்கூட அயிந்தேகால் பட்டி நிலமும் விற்றுகொண்டு விச்சாவிநித பல்லவபரமேச்சுரகரம் எடுத்து வரிதோண்டி இத்தளி வழிபாடுசெயிவார்க்கு இருக்கும் . . . . . .

TAMIL OF THE REIGN OF NANDIVARMAN PALLAVAMALLA (760 A.D.)

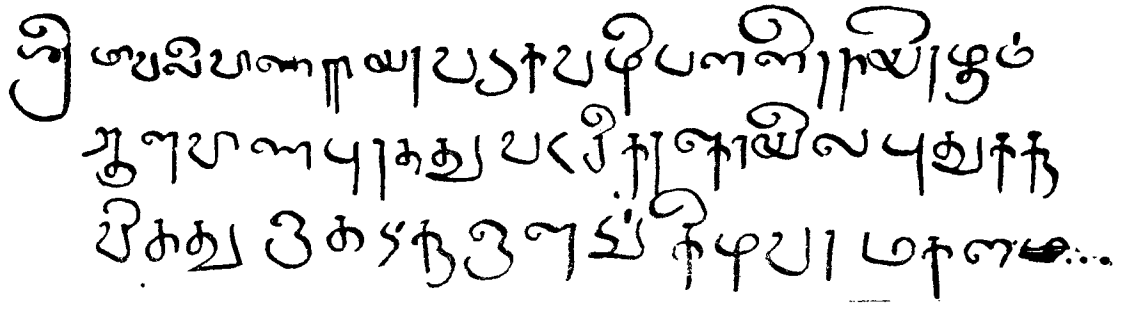


கோனோலெ யாண்டிருபத்திரண்டாவது ஊற்றுக்காட்டுக் கோட்டத்து நாட்டாரு காண்க தந்நாட்டுக் கொடுகொள்ளி முன்பேற்றாரை மாற்றிது ப்ரஹ்மதுவராசன் விண்ணப்பத்தால் கோசமஹ்மன்னாணத்தியாக தேவ .

The royal order : the year twenty-second (of the king's reign) ; Know ye ! the inhabitants of the district of Ûṟṟukâḍu, at the request of Bramahduvarâjan and under the supervision of Gôśarman, the old recipients of the village of Koḍukoḷḷi being removed . . . . . ,

(1) South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. II, pl. X. A number of epithets of the Pallava king Mahêndravarman.
(2) S. I. I., Vol. II., pl. XII. Kûram plates of Paramêśvaravarman.
(3) S. I. I., Vol. II., pl. XIV. Kâśâkudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.

TAMIL OF THE REIGN OF NANDIVIKRAMA VARMAN
(FIRST HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY A. D.)

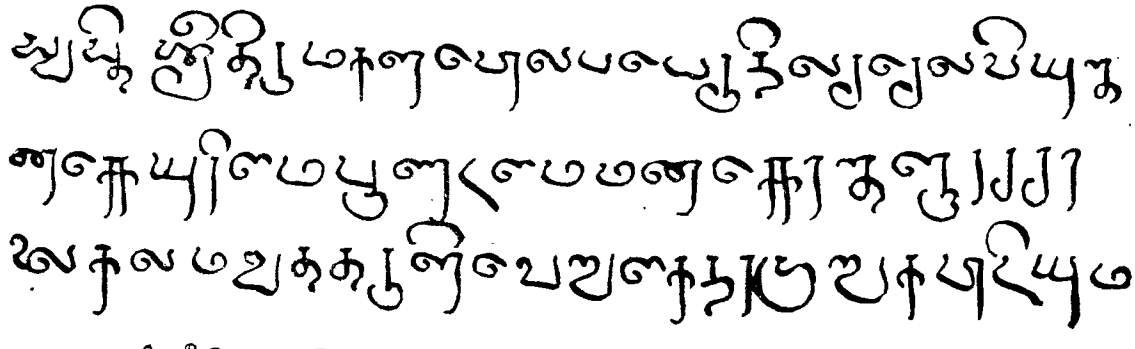


ஸ்ரீ மாவலிவாணராயர் வடுகவழி பன்னீர்ராயிரமும் ஆள. வாணபுரத்து வடகிகர கோயில் புதுக்குவித்து இதற்கு இளங்கிழவர் மகன் . . . .

Translation

While Srî Mavali-vâṇarâyar was ruling over the Vaḍugavaḷi twelve-thousand, the Vaḍaśikara temple was repaired (or rebuilt) and for this the son of Iḷaṇgilavar. . . . . .

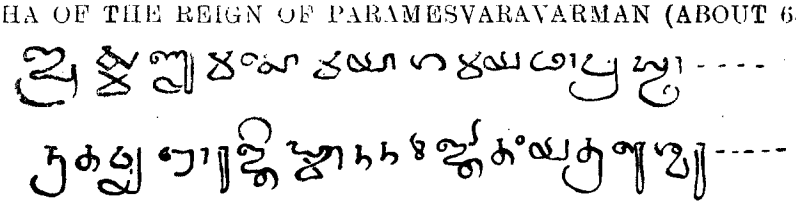
TAMIL OF THE REIGN OF RAJARAJACHOLADEVA I (985—1012 A. D.)



வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ திருமகள்போலப் பெருநிலச்செல்வியுந்தனக்கே யுரிமை புண்டமை மனக்கா ளக்கா தேனூர்ச்சாலைகலமறுத்தருளி வேங்கைநாடுங்கங்க* பாடியும் . . . .

(4) S. I. I. Vol. III., part I, pl. V.
(5) S. I. I. Vol. III., part I, pl. IV.

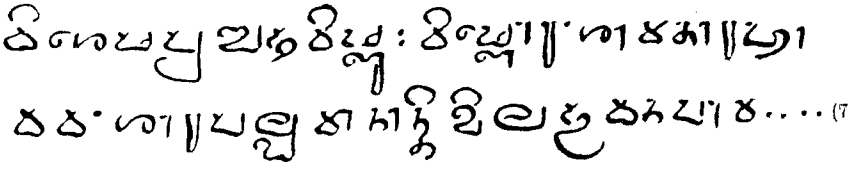
GRANTHA OF THE REIGN OF PARAMESVARAVARMAN (ABOUT 650 A. D.)



ब्रह्मण्यमसोमयागमयथाप्रस्था···

नृतव्यहारजिह्माननम् जातंयत्नरेश्वर···

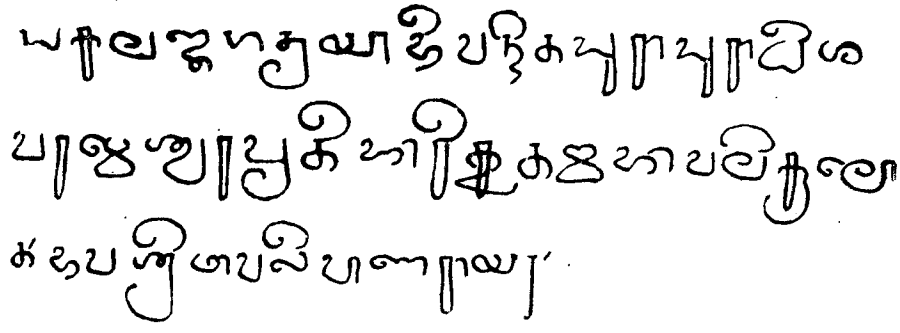
GRANTHA OF THE TIME OF NANDIVARMAN PALLAVAMALLA (ABOUT 750 A.D.)



विशेषप्रबभविष्णुः विष्णोरंशामतारहा···

ववंशारपल्लवानान्निखिल भुवनवाम···

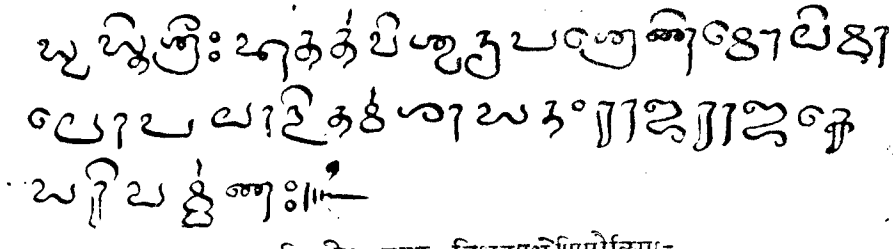
GRANTHA OF THE REIGN OF NANDIVIKRAMAVARMAN
(THE FIRST HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY A. D.)



सकलजगत्त्रयाभि वन्दित सुरासुराधीश-

परमेश्वरप्रतिहारीकृतमहाबलिकुलो-

त्भव श्रीमावलिवाणरायर् (8)



स्वस्तिश्रीः एतत् विश्वनृपश्रेणिमौलिमा-

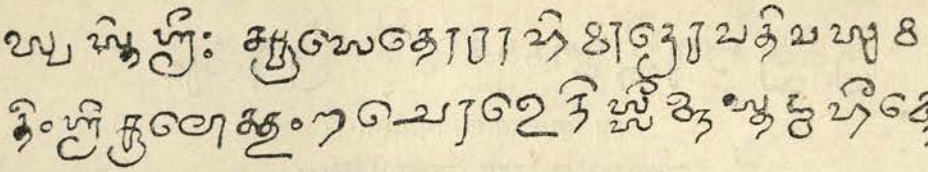
लोपलाळितम् शासनं राजराजके-

सरिवर्म्मणः ।।।—

(6) S. I. I. Vol., II., pl. XI. Kuram Plates of Paramesvaravarman.
(7) S. I. I. Vol., II. pl. XI. Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla.
(8) S. I. I. Vol. III. pl. V. Tiruvallam Rock Inscription.
(9) S. I. I. Vol. II. part I pl. 2, Tanjore Inscription of Rajarajadeva I.

GRANTHA OF THE REIGN OF KULOTTUNGA CHOLADEVA I. (1070—1118 A. D.)

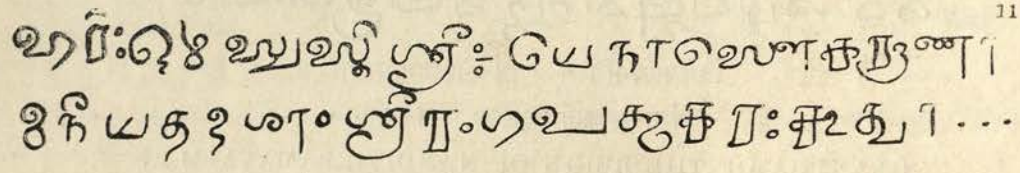
10



स्वस्तिश्रीः आसेतोराहिमाद्रेरवतिवनुम-
तों श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोळे निस्सीम्नस्तन्महोम्नो···

GRANTHA OF THE TIME OF JATAVARMAN SUNDARA PANDYADEVA
(ABOUT 1250 A. D.)

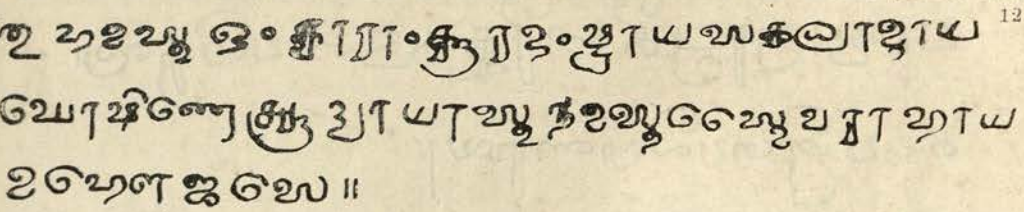
11



हरिः ओम् स्वस्तिश्रीः—येनासौ करुणा-
मनोयतदशां श्रीरंग पत्माकरः कृत्वा···

GRANTHA OF THE TIME OF THE FIRST VIJAYANAGARA DYNASTY (1386. A. D.)

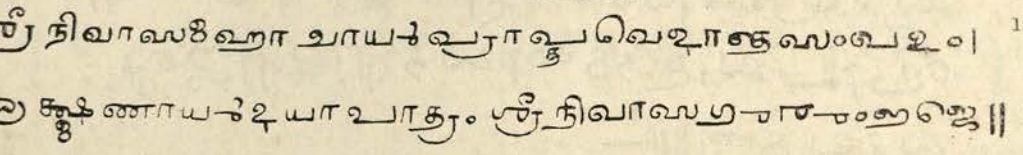
12



शुभमस्तु ओंकारांकुरचंद्राय सकलाम्नाय-
बोधिणे आद्यायास्तुनमस्तस्मै वराहाय-
महौजसे ॥

MODERN GRANTHA

13



श्रीनिवासमहाचार्य प्राप्तवेदान्तसंपदं।
लक्ष्मणार्य दयापात्रं श्रीनिवासगुरुंभजे ॥

(10) Ep. Ind. Vol. V, pl. facing p. 104. Tiruvengâdu Inscription.
(11) Do Vol. III. pl. facing p. 14. Śrîraṅgam Inscription.
(12) Vêdânta-dêśika Vaibhava-prakâśika.

CHOLA INSCRIPTIONS

A. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF PARAKESARIVARMAN, KANYAKUMARI

This inscription is engraved on a stone built into the dark circuit surrounding the innermost shrine of the Guhânâthasvamin temple at Kanyâkumâri. The character in which the record is written is Vaṭṭeluttu and the language, Tamil. The Vaṭṭeluttu employed herein is somewhat more archaic than those in the inscriptions of Râjârâja &c. and consequently, the **Parakesari** of this document might likely be **Parântakachoḷa I**. The inscription is not complete.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *]
2. கோப்பரகேசரி-
3. பற்மற்(க்)கு
4. யாண்டு நடுக முடி-
5. ப்பத்தொன்-
6. றாவது [அ]த்த...

Translation

Be it well! (In) the 39, thirty-ninth year of (the reign of) the king, Parakêsarivarman.....

B. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF PARAKÊSARIVARMAN

The following inscription is engraved on a natural rock in the *prâkâra* of the Sthâṇunâthasvâmin temple at Suchindram. The alphabet of the inscription is Vaṭṭeluttu and the language, Tamil. It appears to belong to the reign of **Parântakachoḷa I**, the first Chôḷa king who extended his conquests as far south as Kanyâkumâri. It records the gift of 50 sheep for maintaining a perpetual lamp before the God of the temple at Suchîndram. This inscription has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in Vol. V., pp. 42—3, of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Text (2)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கோப்பரகேசரிவன்ம-
2. ற்(க்)கு யாண்டு முப்பத்துநாலு இ-
3. வ்வாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு திருச்-
4. சிவீந்திரத்து மாதேவர்க்கு தெ-
5. ன்நாட்டு தலைக்குளத்து அரையன-
6. ரவிந்தன் சந்திராதித்தம[து]-
7. ம் நியதி உழக்கு நெய் முட்டா-
8. மல் எரிவதாக வைச்ச திருநொ-
9. ந்தா விளக்கு ஒன்றினுக்கு வைச்[ச*]
10. சாவா மூவா பேர்ஆடு அம்பது [॥ *] இவை
11. ஐம்பதும் பர[ணி]ட ஸலெலையார்க்கு

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) From inked impressions.

C. DARSANANKOPPU INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the Râghavêśvarasvâmin temple at Darśanaṅkòppu, a village about 3 miles from Bhûtappâṇḍi, the head quarters of the Tôvâḷai tâlûka of the Padmanâbhapuram Division. The alphabet of the inscription is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language, Tamiḻ. The record is not in good preservation. It belongs to the **8th year** of the reign of **Râjakesarivarman Râjarâja I**, who "destroyed the vessels at Kândaḷûr." It seems to record the appointment of a person to the accountantship of the temple and of the village and the settlement of his remuneration by the *karaṇattâr*. The name of the village, as given in the inscription, is Tiruvaraṇkôḷpu ; the temple is referred to as the "big temple of Śri Mûlasthânattu—Âḻvâr."

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்த கோவிரா[ய]கேசரிவ-
2. ன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு [அ விது] இவ்வாண்டு காஞ்சிகாட்டுத் தேவதான[ம்] தி-
3. ருவரண்கோள்ப்பில் ஸ்ரீ மூலஸ்தானத்தாள்வார்க்கும் பெரியதளிக்கு
4. [இன்று] காணத் தோமவிரோதமாக குறைவறக்கூடி இருந்து செ...
5. . . ம . தனுக்[கு] தளிக்கணக்குந் சபைக்கணக்கும் இவனுக்கு விருத்தி . . ப்புரம்-
6. . . . . மூன்றும் திட்டை-
7. . . . . .

Translation

Be it well ! The 8th year of the king Râjakêsarivarman, who destroyed the vessels at Kândaḷûr (was current) ; in this year, we the whole lot of the *karaṇattârs*, having met this day without any difference (among us), made arrangement for.....to the large temple and the Mûlasthânattu-Aḻvâr at Tiruvaraṇkôḷpu, a *dêvadâna* (village) in the Nâñjinâḍu.....for the accountantship of the temple and of the *sabha* for his maintenance.....

D. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJAKESARIVARMAN.

This inscription is engraved on a rock in the Śiva temple at Suchindram, in S. Travancore. It has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, *pp.* 43. The alphabet of the record is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language Tamiḻ. It records the gift of 50 sheep for the up-keep of a perpetual lamp to be burnt day and night in the presence of the deity at Suchindram.

Text (2)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கோ இராச-இராசகேசரிவன்-
2. மர்க்கு யாண்டு பத்தாம்பாண்டு தொடங்-
3. கின கற்கடக ஞா[யி*]ற்று காஞ்சிகாட்டு
4. வ்ரஹதீசுவரம் திருச்சி[வீ]ந்திரத்து
5. உஹாதேவர்க்கு [ஈ]ழ காட்டு மழவ-
6. ரையன் [செ]ன்னிகண்டன் [நிச]த[ம்] உழ-
7. க்கு நெய் சந்திராதித்தவல் இர-
8. வும் பகலும் [மு*]ட்டாமல் எரிவதாக [வை]-
9. ச்ச திருநந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று [॥ *] இதுக்கு

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) From inked impressions.

10. வைச்ச ச[ா]வா மூவாப்பேராடு அ(ஞ்)ம்பது [|| *]
11. இவை மூல பரடைஸபையார் வசம் காட்டி-
12. க்குடுத்தன || மூல பரடைச்சவையாரும்
13. எம்பெருமான் வெ[வ]ட்டிர் குடி படைத்[தரு]
14. மன் கணையந் துறையாக்கி காட்டி-
15. க்குடுத்தன [|| *]

E. DARSANANKOPPU INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Râghavêśvara temple at Darsanankôppu. The preservation of the record is not very good. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language Tamiḻ. The inscription records the gift of a perpetual lamp by the members of the *sabha*, on behalf of one Pullanârâyana.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|| *] காந்தளூர் ச்சாலை கலமறுத்த கோவிராசராஜகேசரிவன்மர்க்கு
2. யாண்டு பத்தாவது [|| *] நாஞ்சிநாட்டுத் தேவதானம் திருவரன்கோள்ப்பில்
3. ஸ்ரீ மூலஸ்தா[ன]த்து தேவர்க்கு நேரியன்[மூ]வேந்த வேளார் [சி]கா...தராம-
4. ன் . . . . . புல்லநாராயணனைச்சாத்தி ஸபையார் வைச்ச நொந்-
5. தாவிளக்கு [|| *] ஒன்றுக்குத் தென் . . . .

(The rest of the inscription is illegible).

Translation

Hail! Prosperity! The year tenth of (the reign of) the king **Râjarâjakesarivarman**, who destroyed the ships at Kândaḷûr (was current). To the god of the Mûlasthâna at Tiruvaraṉkôḷpu, a *dévadâna* village in the Nâñjinâḍu, Nêriyaṉ Mûvêndavêḷar...Siká ... darâmaṉ.....the members of the *sabha* set up a perpetual lamp in the name of Pullanârâyaṇaṉ. For this one.....

F. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLADEVA I.

The following inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple at Kanyâkumâri. The end of the inscription is lost. The language and alphabet of the record are Tamiḻ. It is dated the **twenty-eighth year** of the king **Parakesarivarman Râjendracholadeva**, who took the "Eastern country and the Ganges and Kaḍâram," and records that a perpetual lamp was set up by a private person.

Text (2)

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|| *] பூர்வ்வ தேசமுங்கெங்கையுங் கடாரமுங்கொண்டருளின கோப்-
பரகேசரி பன்மராய உடை-

2 யார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜேந்திரசோழதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு இருபத்தெட்டாவது ராஜராஜப்பாண்டி
நாட்டு உத்தம சோழவளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டு-

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) From inked impressions.

3 க்குமரி இராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரமுடையார்க்கு [மு]ள்ளிநாட்டு மதிள்க்குறுச்சி இருக்கும் வெள்ளாளன் அப்பிபொன்னு-

4 [ண் டி]யேன் என் தம்பி யப்பிநாராயணனுக்குவெச்ச விளக்கு ஒன்று இவ்வி [ள*]-க்குக்கு வெச்ச சாவாமூவா பேராடு இரு-

5 [பதெத்தஞ்சு] . . . . . ததம் அட்டுவதானேன் கழிக்-குடி இருக்கும் வெள்ளா[ள*]ன்

6 மெருதசோ[லை]யேன் இவனு-

7 . . . . . ராத . . .

G. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAJENDRACHOLADEVA I.

This record is also found in the Guhânâthasvâmin temple and is engraved on the west base of the central shrine. Its language and alphabet are Tamil. It is dated the **twenty-eighth** year of the reign of the king **Râjendracholadeva I,** and also records the gift of a perpetual lamp.

Text (1)

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] பூர்வ்வதேசமுங்கெங்கெயுங் கடாரமுங் கொண்டருளின கோப்பர-கேசரி பன்மரா(ா)யின உடையார் ஸ்ரீ இராஜேந்திர-

2 சோழ தேவற்க்கு யாண்டு உ௰அ ஆவது இராஜ ராஜப் பாண்டி நாட்டு உத்தம சோழ வளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டு

3 குமரி.ராஜராஜஈஸ்வரமுடையார்க்கு இத்தேவரடியாள் கண்டன் சோலை வைத்த திருநுதொவிளக்கு ஒன்று

4 இதனு[க்*]கு வைத்த சாவாமூவாப்பேராடு இருபத்தஞ்சு கொண்டு நித்தம் ஆழக்கு நெய் சந்திராதித்த வல் முட்டாமல் அட்டுவ-

5 தாக கொண்டான் பூதன்

6 கணவதி இவனுக்குபு-

7 ணை வியாழன் சடைய-

8 ன்

H. I. J. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAJENDRACHOLADEVA I.

Like the two foregoing inscriptions, those edited below are also found on the south and west bases of the central shrine of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple at Kanyâkumâri. They are written in the Tamil alphabet and in the Tamil language and record the gifts of perpetual lamps made by private persons. They belong to the **29th, 30th and 31st** years of the king **Parakesarivarman Râjendracholadeva I**, who took the Eastern country, Ganges and Kaḍâram.

H

Text (2)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] பூர்வ்வதேசமுங்கங்கெயுங்கடாரமுங்கொண்டருளின கோப்பரகேசரி வந்மரான உடையார்

2. ஸ்ரீ ராஜேந்த்ரசோழ தேவற்கு யாண்டு இருபத்தொன்பதாவது இராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவளநாட்டு-

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) From inked impressions.

3. ப்புறத்தாய நாட்டு க்குமரி இராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரமுடையார்க்கு கருங்குளவளநாட்டு கலி-
கால சோழநல்லூர் இருக்கும் வெள்ளாளன்

4. தயப்பொமட்டனான சிவஜ்ஜானபடாரன் [திங்கள்] திருநுந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றுக்கு+
வெத்த சாவாமூவாப்பெராடு உ௰ரு இருபத்தஞ்சும் [ஒ]-

5. ட்டி கொண்டுசந்த்ராதித்தவல் முட்டாமல் நித்தம் ஆழாக்குநெய் அட்டுவதாக கொண்-
டான் நாஞ்சிநாட்டு மணற்குடி இருக்கும் இடை-

6. யன் ஈஸ்வரன் இலுப்பெ இவனுக்குப்புணை இவ்வூர் இருக்கு[ம்]

7. இடையன் அரங்கன் பலதேவன்

I

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] பூர்வ்வதேஸமுங்கங்கையுங்கடாரமுங் கொண்டருளின கோப்பாகேசரி-
வந்மராந உடையார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜே-

2. ந்த்ரசோழதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு [௩௰ ஆவது இராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம] சோழ-
[வளநாட்டுப்புற]த்தாய நாட்டுகுமரி இராஜரா-

3. ஜஸ்வரமுடையார்க்கு நாட்டாற்றுப்போக்கு திருக்குறுங்குடி . . . . .
. . . . வெத்ததிருநுந்தா . . . .

J

Text (2)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] பூர்வ்வதேசமுங் கங்கையுங் கடாரமுங்கொண்டருளின கோப்பாகேய்-
சரிவன்மராயின உடையார் ஸ்ரீ இராஜேந்திர சோழதேவற்கு யாண்டு [௩]௰க ஆவது [||*]

2. . . . . ப்பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழ வளநாட்டு புறத்தாயநா[ட்]டு குமரி இராஜ
ராஜ ஈஸ்வரம் உடையார்க்கு இராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு வைய்கைய்க்கரை மண[உ]ளர்
வெள்ளாள-

3. ....ன் மணற்க்காடன் ஆன நடுவுநிலைத்தன்மசெட்டி வெத்த திருநுந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று-
க்கு வெத்த சாவாமூவாபேராடு ஐய்ம்பது [||*] இவ்வாடு ஐய்ம்பதுங்கண்டு கொ[ண்டு] இத்-
தேவர் நா-

4. . . . . திரமாணிக்கத்தின் கிழ் உழக்கினால் நிசதி உழக்கு நெய் சந்திராதித்தவல்
முட்டாமல் அட்டுவதானான் ப[டை]த்தலைவன் அவையன் காவி[தி] [||*] இவனுக்கு புணை இ-

5. . . , . பட்டிகுடி இடையன் அரங்கன் மணியன் ||

K AND L. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS OF RAJAKESARIVARMAN RAJADHIRAJA.

Of the two inscriptions edited below, the first is engraved on the west base of the central shrine of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple at Kanyâkumâri. It is a fragment containing only the historical introduction; the rest of the record is lost. It is written in the Tamil language and alphabet. In addition to the number of military achievements of the king **Râjâdhirâja** recorded in other inscriptions, the present one adds the fact that he defeated the **king of the Kupaka** country.

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) From inked impressions.

The second inscription is engraved on the north base of the same shrine; the first portion of the record is built in; the date portion of the inscription is thus lost. It seems that the inscription proceeds to mention something about the water-shed that is said to have been established by Ayyanambi, *alias* Maṅgalakkâlmaṉ, for, it mentions the Nâṟpattennâyira-ppaṉmâhêśvarar, the temple of Vêdiya Śâstâ, etc., (see Tr. Ar, series, p., 168.). In the inscription published by me on page 168 of this series, I have misread the name of the king as Râjakêsarivarman Râjarâja, and indentified him wrongly with Râjarâja II. In the light of the facts contained in other inscriptions, I now see that the king is Râjakêsarivarman Râjâdhirâja, and not Râjarâja II.

K

Text (1)

1 வ்வஹ்ஸிஸ்ரீ ||| *[1] திங்களேர் . . . வளர்ங்கதிரக்கடவுள் தொலகுலம் விளங்கத் தோன்-றிமல்கிய வடதிசெ . . . .

2 டெநிழற்தி[சை*]த்திசெதொறுஞ் செங்கோலோச்சி யிசெகெழுதென்னவன் மாஞபரணன் பொன்முடி ஆஸப்பருமதிட் . . . .

3 ணைட்டொதுக்கிக் கூபகத்தெசெ சேவகந்துலத்து வேலிகெ[ழு]காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளித்துதிகெ . . . . .

4 ங்தென்றிசெயிலங்கெயுங் குணதிசெமஹோதெயுங் குடதிசெ கடாரமும் தண்-டாற்கொண்ட . . . . . .

L

Text (2)

1 . . . . . லகுல்ம் விளங்கத் தோன்றி மல்கிய வடதிசெக்கங் கையுந் தென்றி-செ இலங்கெயுங் குடதிசெ மஹோதயுகுண

2 . . . . . குடெநிழற்றித் திசெதொறுஞ் செங்கோலோச்சி இசெகெழு-தென்னவன் ம[ா]ஞபரணன் பொன்முடியாஞப் பருமதிப் பசுஆலி போரு(ந)ள்ளதரிஞ்ஞ-

3 . . . . . லமறுத்தருளி துதிகெழு ஜெயங்கொண்ட சோழன் உயர்தபெரும்-புகட் கோவிராஜகேசரி பந்ரான உடெயார் ஸ்ரீ ராஜராஜாயிராஜதெவற்குயா-

4 . . . . . மரி ராஜராஜன் சாலெயின் சாலாபோகம் நாஞ்சிகாட்டு மணற்குடி ஊசோங்கெத்தீட்டு நாற்பத்தெண்ணுயிரப்பநூயே-

5 . . . . . கொண்ட பரிசாவது குமரி ராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரமுடெயார் கோயிலின் தென் கீழ் மூலெ இருக்கும் சாஸ்தா வேதி[ய]ச்சாத்தன் கோயிலின் தென்பக்கத்து எடு . . . .

M. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF PARAKESVARIVARMAN RAJENDRADEVA

This inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the Guhânâthesvâmin temple at Kanyâkumâri. It is, like all other inscriptions of this temple, written in the Tamil language and alphabet, and is dated the fifth year of the reign of the king **Parakesarivarman Râjendradeva** and records that a woman set up a perpetual lamp, for which she made a gift of twenty-five sheep.

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) From inked impressions.

Text (1)

1 ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ [॥ *] இரட்டபாடி ஏழரை இலக்கமுங்கொண்டு பேராற்றங்கரை கொப்பத்து ஆஹவமல்லீன அஞ்சுவித்து யானையுங் குதிரையும் பெண்டிர் பண்டாரமுங்

2 கைக்கொண்டு விஜயஅபிஷே[க*]ஶ் செய்து வீரஸிம்[ஹ]ாஸனத்து விற்றிருந்தரு-ளின கோப்பர கேசரி[பன்]மரான உடையார் ஶ்ரீ ராஜேந்திர தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஐஞ்-

3 சா[வ*]துராஜராஜப் பாண்டி[நாட்*]டு உத்தம சோழவ[ழ] நாட்டுப்புறத்தாய-நாட்டு கழிக்குடி ராஜராஜ ஈஶ்வரமு . . . .

4 தானம் வீர நீல வெள்ளாளன் அப்பி அத்தீன சாத்[தி] இவன் தா[ய்] செத்தில் வைத்த திருநந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றுக்கு வைத்த . . .

5 . . . . . பண்டாரத்து முதலளக்கும் நாழி பவித்திரமாணிக்கத்[த] . . . கொணர்ந் . . . . ன் குணவன் . . . .

6 ட சாவாமுவாப் பேராடு இருபத்தைஞ்சு இவ்வாடு இரு . . . . கைக்கெ[ர] . . . . ன் வற்கத்தா . . . .

7 டக்கடவனீனன் பட்டன் குணவனென் இந் . . . ரும் [அ] . . . . டன்வீ . . .

8 மனும் பட்டன் குறுங்குடியும் இவ்வினைவோம் . .

N. AGASTISVARAM TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLADEVA I.

This is engraved on the north wall of the *arddha-mandapa* of the central shrine of the Siva Temple at Agastiśvaram ; its language and alphabet are Tamil. The inscription is not well preserved and consequently illegible here and there. It is dated the **thirty-eighth** year of the reign of the king **Kulottungacholadeva**. That part of the village where the temple stands is said to have gone by the name of Kumârimaṅgalam. It records, as in another inscription published below, the gift of some pans of salt, for the merit of the king by some of the subordinates.

Text (2)

1 ஶ்ரீ சக்கரவத்திகள் ஶ்ரீ

2 குலோத்துங்க சோழதேவ-

3 ற்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்தெட்டாவது

4 ராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டுப் உ-

5 த்தம சோழவளநாட்டுப் புற-

6 த்தாயநாட்டு குமரிமங்கலத்து-

7 த்திரு அகத்தீஶ்வரமுடெய மாதே-

8 வற்கு குலோத்துங்க சோழதேவ-

9 ர் திருமேனி கலியா[ண திருமே[-

10 னியா[வ]. [வேணுமென்று]

11 . . . . . .

12 . . . . . இம்மண்டலத்து

13 உப்பளங்க . . . . . விராயரான

14 . . . . . .

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) From inked impressions.

15 இம்மண்டலத்து உப்பள-
16 [ங்]களுக்கு [கூறு] . . .
17—19. (*Damaged*)

O. CHOLAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA I.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north, west and south walls of the first *prâkâra*, Chôlêsrara temple at Chôlapuram, a suburb of Nâgarkôyil. It is dated the **30th year** of the reign of the King **Râjakesarivarman Kulottungachoḷadeva I.** It records that when the king was staying at Kâñchipuram, he made a grant of the village of **Andâykkudi** under the name of Râjêndraśôḻanallûr, to the temple of Râjêndrachôḷîśvaram erected by one Araiyaṉ Madhurântakaṉ *alias* Kulôttuṅgaśôḻa-Keraḷarâjaṉ of Muḷaiyûr, one of his officers. The place where the temple at present stands was, in olden times, included in the city of Kôṭṭâṟu, otherwise known by the name of Mummuḍiśôḻanallûr, it was situated in the Nâñjinâḍu, a sub-division of Uttamaśôḻavaḷa-nâḍu in the Râjarâja-Pâṇḍinâḍu. This inseription is edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *South-Indian Inscriptions Vol.* III. pp. 159-163. The last 5 or 6 lines containing the description of the boundaries, being very badly damaged, are omitted in the transcript given below.

Text. (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] புகழ் சூழ்ந்த புணரி அகழ்சூழ்ந்த புவியிற்ப்பொன் னேமி யளவுந்தன் னேமி நடப்ப விளங்கு ஜயமகளை இளங்கோப்பருவத்துச் சக்கரகோட்டத்து விக்கிரமத்தொழிலாற் புதுமணம் புணர்ந்து மதுவரை (2) யீட்டம் வயிராகரத்து வாரி அயில்மு[னை*]க்குந்தளவரைசர் தந்தளமிரி (3) . . . . . நிறுத்தி வடதிசை வாகை சூடித்தென்றிசைத் தேமருகமலப்பூமகள் பந்துமையும் (4) பொன்னியாடை நன்னிலப்பாவை தனிமையுந் தவிரு (5) வந்து புனிதற்திருமணிமகுடம் (6) உரிமையிற் சூடித்தனடியிரண்டுந்தடமுடியாகத் தொந்நில வேந்தர் சூட முன்னை மனுவாறுபெருகக் கலியாறு வறுப்பச்செங்கோல் திசைதொறுஞ்செல்ல வெண்குடை இருநிலைவளாகம் வெண்கணுந்தனாது (7) திருநிழல் (ா) வெண்ணிலாத்திகழ ஒருதனி மேருவிற் புலி விளையாட வார்கடற்றீபாந்தரத்துப்பூபர் திறை விடுதந்த கலஞ்சொரி களிறு முனை (8) . . . . . லங்கிய தென்னவன் கருந்தலை பருந்தலைத்திடத் தன் பொன்னகர் புறத்திடைக்கிடப்ப இன்னாள் பிற்குலப் பிறைபோல் நிற்பிழையோ மெனுஞ்சொல்லெதிர் கோடிற்றல்லது தன்னகை வில்லெதிர் கொடா வேள்புலத்தரசு அளத்தியிலிட்ட களிற்றளத்தீட்டமும் (9) பட்டவெம் பரியும் விட்ட தன் மானமுங்கூறின வீரமுங்கிடப்ப ஏறின மலைகளுமுதுகு நெளிப்ப இழிந்த நதிகளுஞ்சூழன்றுடைந்தோ- (10)

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(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read மதவரை.
(3) There is a break in the original here; the following passage is therefore omitted: -வாளுறை கழித்து தோள்வலி காட்டி போர்ப்பரி நடாத்தி கீர்த்தியை.
(4) Read பொதுமை.
(5) Read தவிர
(6) Read புனிதத்திரு.
(7) Read எங்கணு.
(8) Read முறைநிற்ப விலங்கிய.
(9) Read களிற்றின தீட்டமும்.
(10) Read சுழன்று.

2. ட விழுந்த கடலகளுந் தலைவிரித்தலமரக் குடதிசைத்தன்னாளுகந்த தானுந்தானையும் பன்னாளிட்ட பலபல முதுகும் பயத்தெதிர் மாறிய ஜயப்பெருந்திருவும் பழியுகந்து குடுத்த புகழுஞ்செல்வியும் (11) வாளாரொண்கண் மடந்தையரீட்டமும் மீளாது குடுத்த வெங்கரி நிரையுங் கங்கமண்டலமுங் கொங்கண தேசமும் பாணி யிரண்டும் ஒரு விசைக் கைக்கொண்டீண்டிய புகளொடு (12) பாண்டிமண்டலமுங் கொள்ளத்திருவுள்ளத்தடைத்து வெள்ளவரு பரித்தரங்கமும் பொருகரிக்லங் [கு] களுந் தந்திரவாரியுமுடைத்தாய் வந்து வடகடல் தென்கடல் படர்வதுபோலத் தன் பெருஞ்சேனை ஏவிப் பஞ்சவரைவர் பொருத மொய்களத்தஞ்சி வெருநெளித்தோடி அரணெனப்புக்க காடறத்துடைத்து நாட்டடிபடுத்து மற்றவர் தம்மை வனசரர் திரியும் பொச்சை வெஞ்சுர மேற்றிக் கொற்றவிஜையஸ்தம்பம் அத்திசை (13) தொறும் நிறுத்த முத்தின் சிலாபமும் முத்தமிட்பதியினும் ம (14) . . . . . படும் மைய்யச்சைய்யமுங் கன்னியுங் கைக்கொண்டருளித்தென்னாட்டலை (15) காட்டி (ய்) கடல் மலை நட்டுளன (16) சாவேறெல்லாந் தனி விசும்பேற;மாவேறிய தன் வருதினித் (17) தலைவரைக் குறுகலர் குலையக் கோட்டாறுட்பட நெறிதொறு நிலைகளிட்டருளித் திறல்கொளாரமுந் திருப்புயத்தலங்களும் (18) போல் வீரமுந்தியாகமும் விளங்கப் பார்தொழச் சிவனிடத்து-

3. மையெனத் தியாகவல்லி அவனிமுழுதுடையாளிருப்ப அவனுடன் கங்கை வீற்றிருந்தென மங்கையர் திலதம் ஏழிசைவல்லபி ஏழுலகுடையாள் வாழிய மலர்ந்தினிதிருப்ப ஊழியும் அவனி முழுதுடையாளோடும் வீரஸிஹாஸனத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின கோவிராஜகேசரி பந்மரான சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழதேவர் காஞ்சிபுரத்துக் கோயிலினுள்ளரல் அட்டத்து வேள்மேலை மண்டபம் ராஜேந்திர சோழனில் சொட்டையில் எழுந்தருளியிருந்து ராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவளநாட்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டுக் கோட்டாறான மும்முடி சோழநல்லூரில் சோழமண்டலத்து மண்ணிநாட்டு முழையூருடையான் அரையன் மதுராந்தகனான குலோத்துங்க சோழக்கேரள ராஜன் எடுப்பித்த இராசேந்திர சோழஸ்வரமுடைய மஹாதேவர்க்கு இந்நாட்டு ஆந்தாய்க்குடிக்கு காணிக்கடன் காசு எழுபத்தொன்பதுக்கும் நெல்லு முன்னூற்றிருபத்து நாற்கலத்துக்கும் இராஜேந்த்ர சோழதேவற்கு ஏறின வாண்டு ஏழாவது செலவின்படி இறைகட்டின மாடை நாற்பத்தஞ்சரையே மும்மாவரையும் யாண்டு ௩௰தாவது முதல் இத்தேவற்கு வேண்டு நிவந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்பதாக இவ்வூ-

4. ர்முன் பியர் (19) தவிர்ந்து இராஜேந்த்ரசோழநல்லூரென்னும் பியரால் (16) ஊர்க்கழஞ்சு குமரக்கச்சாணமு மீன்பாட்டமு[ம்*] தறியிறை தட்டார் பாட்டமுமாடைக்கூலி தெசவதெங்காலளவு கூலியும் உள்ளிட்ட பாட்டங்களும் அந்தராயமும் சில குடிமையும் உட்பட யாண்டு முப்பதாவது முதல் தேவதான இறையிலியாக வரியிலிடத்திருவாய்மொழிந் தருளினாரென்று திருமந்திரவோலை கேரளாந்தகப்பல்லவரயன் எழுத்தினால் புகுந்த திருவாய்க் கேழ்விப்படி (17) புரவரிதிணைக்கள நாயகம் அருமொழிதேவ வளநாட்டு நாகன் குடையான் பஞ்சநெதி திருக்கண்ணபுரமுடையானும் முல்லூர் கிழவன் வேளான் குமரனான குவலையசுந்தர

(11) Read புகழின்
(12) Read புகழொடு.
(13) Read எத்திசை.
(14) Read பொதியிலும் மத்தவெங்கரி.
(15) Read தென்னாட்டெல்லை.
(16) Read குடமலை நாட்டுள்ள.
(17) Read வருதினி .
(18) Read தலங்கலும்.
(19) Read பெயர்.

மூவேந்த வேளானும் புரவரிதிணைக்களத்து முகவெட்டி இராசசுந்தரவளநாட்டு அம்பர் நாட்டு அண்டக்குடையான் ந[ா*]ராயணன் திருச்சிற்றம்பலமுடையானும் கு. ஊருடையான் அரையன் குடிதாங்கியான இராஜந[ா*]ராயண மூவேந்தவேளானும் இருந்து யாண்டு . . . . . வது நாள் நூற்றெண்பதினால் தேவதானஇறையிலியாக வரியிலிட்டது [||*] இவ்வூர் கோன் இராசராசன் ஆன கொலோத்துங்கசோழ நாஞ்சிநாடுடையா[ன்*] இவ்வூர்க்குச்சமைந்து பெருநான்கெல்லை அறைஓலை செய்த அறைஓலைப்படி இதற்கு கிழ்பாற்கெல்லை அழகிய பாண்டிய புரத்துக்கு-

5. ப்போன வழிக்கு மேற்கும் . . . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

While the king Râjakêsarivarman Kulôttuṅgachôḷadêva was staying in his place at Kâñchîpuram, he granted the village of Andâykkuḍi under the new name of Râjêndraśôḷanallûr to the Mahâdêva of the temple of Râjêndraśôḷa-îśvaram, which Araiyaṉ Madurântakaṉ, *alias* Kulôttuṅga śôḷa-Kêraḷarâjaṉ, of Muḷaiyûr in the Maṇṇinâḍu, a division of Śôḷamaṇḍalam, had built at Kôṭṭâṟu otherwise known as Mummuḍiśôḷanallûr, in Nâñjinâḍu, a subdivision of the Uttamaśôḷa-vaḷanâḍu, in Râjarâja-Pâṇḍinâḍu. This grant was to be entered in the Revenue Registers as a tax-free *dêvadânam* village from the 30th year of the reign of the king. It was accordingly entered in the Revenue Registers on the 180 day of . . . . . the year of the king's reign in the presence of a number of high officials.

P. CHÔLAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF KULÔTTUNGACHÔLA I.

This is also found in the Chôḷêśvara temple and is engraved on the south base of it. It is dated the **39th year** of the reign of **Kulottungachoḷadeva** and records that a person named Chôḷa-vichchâdara-pPallavaraiyar set up a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the presence of the god, Râjêndrachôḷeśvara. Adverting to this temple Dr. Caldwell writes, " Râjêndrachôḷa's name is identified with that of Śiva in an inscription at Kôṭṭâr, in South Travancore. The temple is said to have been ' erected by Kulôttuṅgachôḷa, in Kôttâr, the good town, of the triple-crowned Chôḷa, to the great divinity Râjêndrachôḷêśvara, that is, either to Râjêndrachôḷa considered as identified with Śiva, or rather probably to Śiva, as worshipped by Râjêndrachôḷa." (1) From the inscription O published above it is patent that Kulôttuṅgachôḷa was not the builder of the temple, but an individual named Madhurântaka *alias* Kulôttuṅgachôḷa-Kêraḷarâjaṉ. Dr. Caldwell is again wrong in supposing Râjêndrachôḷa as identified with Śiva, for, we know of no such cases either from inscription or from personal experience in which a man is identified with one of the Hindu Trinity ; besides these the learned Doctor makes several statements, such as that Râmânuja is mentioned by name in the Śaṭakôpar-antâdi etc. For aught I know, Kambar, the author of that *antâdi* never mentions Râmânuja at all in that work of his. It would take a lot of space to point out a large number of inaccuracies that have crept into Caldwell's work referred to above nor is this the place to do so.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] புகழ்மாது விளங்க ஜயமாது விரும்ப நிலமகள் நிலவ மலர்மகள் புணர உரிமையிற்சிறந்தமணிமுடி சூடி மீனவர் நிலைகெட வில்லவர் குலைதர ஏனைமன்னவரிரிதலுற் றிழிதரத் தி(ய்)க்கனைத்துந் தன்சக்கர நடாத்தி விஜெய[ா*]ஸிஷேகம் பண்ணி வீரஸிம்ஹாஸனத்து அவனிமுழுதுடையாளோ-

(1) It is not known who this Parâkramachôḷa was, after whom the factory is named. I have not met with such a surname assumed by any of the Chôḷas known to history.

2. டும் வீற்றிருந்தருளிய கோவிராஜகேசரிபற்மரான சக்கரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீ குலோத்துங்க சோழதேவர்க்கு யாண்டு சுயகூதாவது ராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவளநாட்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டுக் கோட்டாறான மும்முடி சோழநல்லூர் ராஜே ஜ்ரசோழீஸ்வரமுடைய மஹா-தேவற்கு சோழமண்டலத்துப்பாண்டிகுலாந்தக-

3. வளநாட்டு ஆர்க்காட்டுக்கூற்றத்து இரையூருடையான் அரையன் கங்கைகொண்டானான சோழவிச்சாதரப்பல்லவரயர் யாண்டு சுயக ஆவது முதல் சந்திராதித்தவல் [க்] செல்வதா வைத்த திருநந்தாவிளக்கொன்றுக்குக் கோட்டாற்று நிலப்படை தாலிவிச்சாதிரத்தறுப்-பில் படையிலா-

4. ந்தமிழன் மாணிக்கன் வசம் விட்ட சாவாமூவாப்பேராடு ஐ(ய்)ம்பதும் இவன் கைக்கொண்டு இவ்வாண்டு முதல் ராஜே ஜ்ரசோழீஸ்வரமுடையாநால் அளக்ககடவ நெய் உழக்கு இ நெய் உழக்கும் முட்டாமல் சந்திராத்தவ[ல்]ம் தமிழன் மாணிக்கனும் இவன் வற்கத்தாரும் அளந்து இத்திரு-

5. நந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றும் . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the 39th year of the reign of the king Râjakêsarivarman Kulôttuṅgaśôḷadêva, one, Araiyaṉ Gangaikoṇḍâṉ, *alias* Śô'a-vichchâdara-ppallavaraiyar of Iraiyûr in the Arkkâḍu division of the Pâṇḍi-kulântakavaḷanâḍu, a subdivision in the Śôḷamaṇḍalam, gave 50 sheep for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of the Mahâdêva of the Râjêndrachôḷiśvaram in Kôṭṭaṟu, *alias* Mummuḍi-śôḷanallûr, in Nâñjinâḍu, a subdivision in the Uttamaśôḷa-vaḷanâḍu of the Râjarâja-Pâṇḍi-maṇḍa-lam. The sheep were taken charge of by one Tamiḷaṉ-Mâṇikkaṉ of the army stationed at Kôṭṭaṟu; he bound himself to supply daily a *uḻkku* of ghee for burning the lamp.

Q. VARIYUR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLADEVA I.

The following inscription is engraved on the three faces of a stone lying in the cocoanut garden situated on the north of the salt factory near Vâriyûr. This record is also somewhat seriously damaged. It records that in the 4[*] year of the reign of the king **Kulottungacholadeva**, one, Poṉṉaṟṟiy-uḍaiyâṉ Araiyaṉ Mûvâyirattoruvaṉ *alias* Kurkularâyaṉ of Amarapurimaṅgalam, in the Uttamaśôḷavaḷanâḍu, a subdivision of the Râjarâja-Pâṇḍinâḍu, set up a perpetual name for the merit of the king, in the temple at Suchindram; for the maintenance of which he granted two pans in the salt factory at Vâriyûr. The lamp so set up by him was called *Kulottuṅgaśôḷan-nunḍâ-viḷakku*. From this inscription it is certain that the Vâriyûr salt factory must have existed before the time of Kulôttuṅgaśôḷadêva I, that is, before the beginning of the 11th century A. D. Even to this day, it is an important factory which yields a portion of the supply of salt needed for the Travancore state, in which it is situated. Variyûr is about 3 miles north-east of Kanyâkumâri.

Text [1]

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ ||* புகள்மாது விளங்க [2]
2. ஜயமாது விரும்ப நிலமகள் நி-
3. லவ மலர்மகள் புணர உரிமையி-
4. ற்சிறந்த மணிமுடி சூடி மீனவர்நிலைகெ-
5. டவில்லவர் குலைதர எ[ன்ன]மன்னவ-

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read புகழ்°

6. ர் இரிதலுற்றிரிதர (3) [தி]க்கனைத்துஞன்
7. சக்கர நடாத்தி வீரசிங்காஸனத்து
8. அவனிமுழுதுடையாரோடும் வீ-
9. ற்றிருஞருளிய கோவிராஜ[கே]-
10. சரிபந்மரான சக்கரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ
11. குலோத்துங்கசோழதேவ-
12. ற்கு யாண்டு சடு[க]வது
13 to 19. (Damaged)
20. இது . . . . . க்கு வார் திருவாணை [||*]
21. நாஞ்சிநாட்டு சுஞ்சரசோழ சதுற்வே-
22. திமங்கலத்து ஸுபரீஜிஸமுடைய மஹ-
23. தேவற்க்கு பெருமாள் திருமேனி கலி-
24. யாண திருமேனியாக இரா[ச*]யிரா[ச*]ப்பா-
25. ண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவழநாட்டு (4)
26. அமர[புரி]மங்கலத்து பொன்பற்றி
27. உடையான் அரையன் மூவா-
28. யிரத்தொருவனான குருகுலராயன்
29. வைத்த திருநுந்தாவிளக்கு ஒ[ன்]-
30. று [||*] இவ்விளக்கு[க்கு*]ப் புறத்தாநாட்டு
31. வாரியூரான பராக்கிரம சோழப்பே-
32. ரளத்து குடும்பன் வில்லி[ய]ம் ப-
33. லவவன்♦ன இர[ண்டாயி] . . . .
34. ♦சித்திர[வ]ல்லி பணியில் இர-
35. ண்டு பாத்தி சஞ்ஜாதித்தவற் [விலை?]
36. [கொண்?]டு குடுத்து குலோத்துங்-
37. கசோழன் திருநுந்தாவிள . . . . . .
38. . . . இ . . . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

The year 4 [1st] of the reign of the king Râjakêsarivarman Kulôttuṅgachôḷadêva . . . . . Poṉpaṟṟi-Uḍaiyâṉ Araiyaṉ Mûvâyiratt-oruvaṉ, *alias* Kurukularâyaṉ of Amarapurimangalam in the Uttamasôḻa-vaḷanâḍu, a subdivision in the Râjarâja-Pâṇḍi-nâḍu set up one perpetual lamp in the temple of the Mahâdêva of Suchîndram in Sundaraśôḻa-chatur-vêdimaṅgalam of the Nâñjinâḍu. For (the maintenance of) this lamp, two pans in the salt factory at Vâriyûr *alias* Parâkrama-chôḷappêraḷam in the Puṟattâyanâḍu were purchased and given (to the temple). The pans were situated in the section of the factory worked up by Kuḍumbaṉ Villiyambalavaṉ, *alias* Iraṇḍâyira... Chittiravalli. The lamp was to be named the lamp of Kulôttuṅgachôḷaṉ.

(3) இரிதலுற்றிழிதர
(4) Read °வளநாட்டு

R. GUHANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN VIKRAMACHOLA-PANDYADEVA

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the *arddha-mandapa* of the Guhânâthasvâmin temple at Kanyâkumâri. It belongs to the reign of Vikramachôḷadêva, who, curiously enough, is dubbed in this record with Pâṇḍya titles Mâravarman and Pâṇḍyadêva. The end of the inscription is built in; however, it is not difficult to make out the purport of the document. It records that a merchant of Kanyâkumâri, Âchchaṉ Marili, who appears to have been conferred the name Pendirundâṉ by the people (?), made a gift of twenty pieces of gold to the temple of Tiruppendiśvaram, perhaps built by him and named therefore after him, for offerings to be made to the god of that temple. The tank called the Kôṇâḍar-kuḷam in the *dêvadânam* village of Râjarâjêśvaram, in the Nâñjinâḍu, got breached during the high floods that occurred in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśôḷanallûr and remained damaged for some time. The *Perumakkaḷ* of the temple of Râjarâjêśvaram utilised the amount paid by Pendirundâṉ to the Tiruppendiśvaram temple for repairing the breaches, promising that they would supply, from the paddy grown in the fields watered by the tank, the rice required for the offerings intended by Pendirundâṉ.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*] கோமாற பன்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீ விக்கிரம சோழபாண்டிய தேவற்கு யாண்டு உ[இ]க [||*] இராஜராஜப் பாண்டிநாட்டு உத்தம சோழவளநாட்டுப் புறத்-தாயநாட்டுக் கழிக்குடி இராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரத்துப் பெரும . . . . .

2. தியெ[தி]யும் செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் பெற்ற பூசத்திணுள் இத்தேவர் கோயில் முக மண்டபத்துக் கூட்டங்குறைவறக்கூடியிருந்து செய்த ஸ்ரீகாரியமாவது [||*] இன்னுட்டுக் குமரியான கங்கைகொண்டசோழபுரத்து வியாபாரி ஆச்சன்மாற்றிலியைத் திருப்பெந்தீஸ்வரம் உடையார் கண் . . . . . .

3. ருந்தானென்று நாம் ஏஸங்குடித்து இவன் பையிசூழ்ம்புக்குத் தேடி இத்தேவற்குத் திருவமுதுக்கு உடலாகத் தந்தகாசு இருபது [||*] இக்காசு உ[இ] கொண்டு இராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரம் உடையார் தேவதானம் நாஞ்சிநாட்டுக் கோனாட்குளம் ஐயங்கொண்டசோழநல்லூர் பெருவெள்ளத்து உடைச்சு உடைகுளமாய்க்கி . . . . .

4. ழைக்குடிக் காலினின்றும் போந்த [தி]நர்கவரை கால்கல்லவும் இக்காசிருபதுங்-கொண்டு செலுத்தி இத்திரப்பியத்துக்குச் செலவாக இக்குளத்தின் கீள் விளைஞ்ச போகத்திலே இப்பெந்தீஸ்வரம் உடையார்க்கு நித்தம் இருநாழி அரிசி திருவமுது இந்நாள்முதல் சந்திராதித்த வல் உடையார்க்குச்செலுந் திருவ . . . .

5. முது செலுத்துவிதாக அமைஞ்சோம் இராஜராஜ ஈஸ்வரத்துப் பெருமக்களோம் ஆச்சன் மாற்றி லியான பெந்திருந்தாளுக்கு இப்படியே செலுத்துவிதாகொம் இரா[ஜ*] ரா[ஜ*] ஈஸ்வரத்துப் பெருமக்களோம் [||*] தேவகணக்கந் அரையந் குந்றந் எ[ழுத்து] . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the year 29 of the (reign of the) king Mâravarman Uḍaiyâr Vikramachôḷa-Pâṇḍyadêva; the *Perumakkaḷ* of the temple of Râjarâjêśvaram at Kaḷikkuḍi in the Puṟattâyanâḍu, a sub-division of the Uttamaśôḷavaḷanâḍu in the Râjarâja-ppâṇḍinâḍu, assembled in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of that temple, on a Tuesday, the . . . . (in the month . . . . .), and the Pushya *nakshatra* and

(1) From inked impressions.

transacted the following business of the *sabha* (assembly) :—The servants of the temple of Tiruppendvisaram . . . . . we gave to Achchan Mârrili, a merchant of Kumari *alias* Gangaikondasôlapuram . . . . . the required place and he having earned from outside (?), gave a gift of 20 *kâsus* for making offerings to this god. The *dêvadânam* tank called Kôṇâḍar-kuḷam situated in the Nâñjinâḍu, which got breached on account of the heavy floods at Jayangoṇḍasônḷallûr and which remained a breached tank, was repaired with these 20 *kâsus* (given by Achchaâ Mârrili) ; from the same amount also was repaired the channel called the Nêrkavarekkâl, which branches off from that running through (Tâ) ḷakkuḍi. For having utilised this sum (for these repairs) the Perumakkaḷ of the temple of Râjarâjêśvaram bound themselves to supply daily two *nâḷis* of rice from the paddy grown in the fields watered by the tank (repaired), to the god at Pendiśvaram. Here the document calls Achchan Mârrili, Pendirundân. (Hence, the temple of Tiruppendisvaram must have been built by him.) This is the signature of Araiyaṉ-Kuṉṟaṉ, the temple accountant.

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. XV

Some Later Pandya Inscriptions

(Continued from No. VI.)

A. SAMBUR—VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN ARIKESVARADEVA

Since publishing No. VI of the Travancore Archæological Series, containing some later Pâṇḍya inscriptions, a number of others were discovered; of these, the records found in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai, the Vindai or Vindaṇûr of the inscriptions, are of importance in eluci-dating further the relationship existing among the kings of the later Pâṇḍya dynasty. In continuation with those already published, I now edit the collection made subsequently, with head notes to almost all of the inscriptions.

On page 53 of this *Series* I have written, "The next king that is mentioned is Kulaśêkharadêva. Exts. 4 and 5 give S' .1351 as the date of accession of this king; that is, seven years after that of Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva. . . . . In one of the inscriptions, Kulaśêkhara is called Alagaṇ-Perumâḷ (Exts. 2 and 5). . . . . As this king succeeded Arikêsari Parâkrama, we might suppose that he was the same Kulaśêkhara as the one who completed the front *gôpura* left unfinish-ed by Parâkrama. This surmise seems to receive corroboration from Ins. V, wherein he is called also Alagaṇ. He calls Arikêsari Parâkrama his *aṇṇâḷvi*, a term applied to elder brothers in the Tinnevelly district. So, Kulaśêkhara might be a brother or perhaps a cousin of Arikêsari . . . . ". The Pudukkôṭṭai plates, while mentioning Varatuṅgarâma and Śrîvallabha, the donors of that grant, gives the names of another Śrîvallabha and Mânâbharaṇa, without mentioning how they were related to each other and to their successors. In Ins. **A** edited below, **Śrivallabha**, who is said to have been born in the Uttara nakshatra, and who refers to **Arikesari Parâkrama** as his *aṇṇâḷvi*, thus streng-thening our conclusion that the two kings were brothers. Further corroboration comes from the Ins. E. and F. which belong to the reign of Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvana-chakravarttin Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva *alias* **Vira-Pâṇḍya** who was born in the Aviṭṭa nakshatra (Danishtha), and who is also styled, like Arikêsari Parâkrama, *poṉṉiṉ-perumâḷ*, and which state distinctly that Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍya-dêva and Śrîvallabha were the maternal uncles of this prince Parâkrama, *alias* Vîra Pâṇḍya. Since, as we have seen already, that Śrîvallabha calls Arekêsari Parâkrama his *aṇṇâḷvi* he must be the younger brother of the latter. Again, Alagaṇ Kulaśêkhara of the Teṇkâśi inscriptions also calls Ari-kêsari Parâkrama his *aṇṇâḷvi*; therefore we have to conclude that he was also another younger brother of Arikêsari Parâkrama, or that both Kulaśêkhara and Śrîvallabha were but one and the same person. At present there is nothing to decide whether they both refer to the same person or whether Kulaśêkhara was different from Śrîvallabha.

Again, on page 54 it was surmised that Jaṭilavarman Alagaṇ-Perumâḷ Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva might be the son and successor of Kulaśêkharadêva. From the facts gathered from the inscriptions of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai, it becomes patent that Parâkrama born in the Aviṭṭa nakshatra, though no doubt succeeded Kulaśêkhara, was not, however, the son of that king, but was a nephew, sister's son. The son Parâkrama of Kulaśêkhara, mentioned in Ext. 4, must, therefore, be the Parâkrama who was born in the Kârttika nakshatra, whose dates range from S'. 1401 to 1421. Here again is seen the case of double rulers exerting sway at the same time. After effecting the necessary changes we might redraw the genealogical table thus:—

Arikêsari Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva, (*aṇṇâḷvi*).	Śrîvallabhadêva, *alias* (?) Kulaśê-*kharadêva*, born in the Uttarâ nakshatra.	Sister
	Parâkrama *alias* Kulaśêkhara, born in the Kârttikai, nakshatra, S. 1301-21.	Jaṭil. Tribh. Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya *alias* Vîra-Pâṇ-ḍya, also called Poṉṉiṉ-Perumâḷ, born in Aviṭṭ-am, S'. 1395-1428.
		Jaṭil. Tribh. Parâk-rama-Pâṇḍya *alias* Śrîvallabha, born in Tiruvâdirai. 2 + 30 years.

How and under what circumstances the two nephews of Arikêsari Parâkrama came to usurp the throne, whether they were the two brothers Abhirâma Parâkrama and Ahavarâma, said to have been born in the family to which Mânâbharaṇa and Śrîvallabha belonged, we cannot determine at present. However it is certain that the Pâṇḍya throne went into the hands of the nephews and then to their successors. It is a popular belief in the Pâṇḍya country that the Pâṇḍya kingdom was inherited by the bastard sons of the genuine Pâṇḍyas and the new race of kings began ruling with Teṇkâśi as their capital. It is most probable that the usurpation by the nephews of the Pâṇḍyas survives in the memory of the people in the garbled form noted above.

In the introduction to the inscription on the central shrine of the Viśvanâthasvâmin temple edited on pp. 89-95, of this *Series*, it is stated that Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva established five *agrahâras* of which Vindai was one. All the inscriptions of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai call it Vindaṇûr; the Vindai of the inscription just referred to must be identical with Sâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. Inscription D edited below informs us that the king Arikêsari Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva granted house-sites, paddy fields and gardens to 48 brâhmaṇas and established thus an *agrahâra* at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai.[1] The same inscription adds that the lands granted to the brâhmaṇas was found to be insufficient to maintain themselves and consequently the king was pleased to make additional grants to enable them to live comfortably.

The inscription A edited below is engraved on the south wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. It is dated the thirty-second year opposite the second of the king **Mâravarman Arikeśvaradeva**. On a Tuesday, corresponding to the fifth of the solar month Karkaṭaka, the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Uttarâ nakshatra, the star of nativity of prince **Śrivallabhadeva**, he granted an additional share of house-site, paddy-land and garden to a brâhmaṇa in the *agrahâra* of Vindanûr; it mentions the donations made previously by the kings *aṇṇâḷvi* Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva and his brother Śrîvallabhadêva. I am inclined to believe that Mâravarman prefixed to the name Arikêśvaradêva (Arikêsari) is a mistake for Jaṭilavarman; if this supposition is correct, Arikêśvaradêva mentioned in this inscription must be identical with Arikêsari Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva and Śrîvallabha, was his brother.

A

Text[2]

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோமாறவர்ம ரான திரு வனசக்கவத்திகள் சரிகெஸ்வர தெ
வகுகு[3] யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் முப்பத்து இரண்டா-

2. வது கற்கட ஞாயற்று அ[ஞ்]சாந்தியதியும் வெவ்வெகூத்து வளரியும்
லெளகவாரமும் பெற்ற நயிநார் ஸ்ரீ வல்லதேவர் ஆட்டை-

3. பிறந்த நாள்.ஆன உத்திரத்து நாள் [|*] விஸ்ராதி தெர தத்து சுபயாயன[4]
ஸ்ஏ தத்து மருகூர் ஸ்ரீ வெங்கடநாய லட்டுக்கு குறுமறைநாட்டு விந்தனூ[ர]ன வர
குகவாணன்-

4. ச்சது வேளி மங்கலத்துச் சது வேளி லட்டகளுக்கு முன்னள் அண்ணழ்வி பர
குதேவர் திருஉள்ளம்பற்றி வைத்த லாகத் நாற்பத்து எட்டு [|*] வேத விருத்தி லாக-

5. த் இரண்டு [|*] ஸவணது விருத்தி லாகத் ஒன்றும் [|*] உடையார் திரு
மூலத்தானம் உடைய நயினார் லாகத் மூன்றும் [|*] ஆக லாகத் அஞ்பத்து நாலும் [|*]
தம்பி சீவல்லதேவர் குடுத்த லாகத் இர-

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(1) Compare *ll.* 8—9 of E. below.
(2) From inked impressions.
(3) Read தேவற்கு.
(4) Read சுபயாயன

6. ண்டும் [|*] ஆக ௰௱௰௪ அன்பத்து ஆ[று இதனு]டன் கூட்டி இ[ற்றை] நாள் தனக்க(5) உதகவூவ௨ ௰௪௪௨ானம் ஆக தந்த ௰௱௰௪ ஒன்றுக்கும் மனை ஒன்றுக்கும் ௰௫ான இற[இலிஆகவி] (6)

7. . . . ட்டு இவ்வூர்ப் பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ்பக்கத்தி[ல்] மூன்றாங் கண்ணாறு மேற்கு [நின்று]ம் சுந்தர பாண்டிய புரத்தில் பெருங்காலுக்கு கி- (7) . . . . . .

8—9. . . . . .

10. . . . . இதில் தெற்கு அடைய நிலம் கீழ்அரைக்காலும் ஆக நிலம் இரண்டு மாவும் கீழ் சிறகில் தெற்குஅடைக் (8) கா௱௪ வ௨செட்டு நாராய-

11. ண ௰௬ன் மனைக்கு தெற்கு மனை ஒன்றும் தோட்டமும் தோட்டக்கூறும் மற்று இவ்வகரத்தில் ௰௬களுக்கு ஒத்த வ-

12. ண்ண[ம்] கையாண்டு ௮௩௰வித்துப் போதும்படி கற்பித்துவிட்ட அளவுக்கு இம்மருசாதியிலே இன்னாள் முதல் ௯௮௨௱௪ ஸந்தி ௰௱வேஶமே கல்லிலு-

13. ம் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொண்டு கையாண்டு அநுஶவித்துப் போதவும் பார்[க்*]க [||*] இவை [ஒ]க்கூர் உடையான் எழுத்து [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

In the thirty-second year opposite the second of the reign of the king Mâṟavaraman Tribhuvanachakravarttin Arikêśvaradêva, on the fifth of the month Karkaṭaka, which corresponded with a Tuesday, the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight, on the Uttarâ *nakshatra*, the natal star of Śrîvallabhadêva, a house site, [paddy-field] . . . . were granted to the brâhmaṇa named Śrîvêṅkaṭanâthabhaṭṭa.

The inscription adverts to the establishment by Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva of an *agrahâra* consisting of fifty-four parts thus :—fortyeight for the Chaturvêdi-bhaṭṭas, two for *Vêda-vṛitti*, one *Savarṇa-vṛitti* (that of writer of documents) and three for the god of the Mûlasthâna. To these was added one more share by (Parâkrama Pâṇḍya's brother, Srîvallabhadêva).

B, C, AND D. SAMBUR-VADANARAI INSCRIPTIONS OF JATILAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYADEVA.

The three subjoined inscriptions of the king **Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadeva** are found in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr Vaḍagarai. The first is engraved on the north base of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the temple. The second, on the south wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* and the last on the south base of the same.

The first records the grant of some land to the god Mûlasthânêśvara of Vindaṉûr, on the day of the Mṛigaśira nakshatra, the natal star of the king. It was made in the **twenty-third year, opposite the second of the** reign of the king, **on a Tuesday, the second** *tithi*, **in the bright half of the solar month Rishabha ; this day was the twentieth of that month**. Vindaṉûr belonged to the Kuṟumaṟai-nâdu.

From the facts that the king is said to have been born in the Mṛigaśira nakshatra, and that the signatory to the document is Kiḍârattûr-uḍaiyaṉ, a name which occurs in the other documents of Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, we may assert that the king is **Arikesari Parâkrama-**

(5) Read தனக்கு

(6) Read இறை

(7) From here to the middle of the 10th line a number of numerals expressing the extent of lands are used, hence these lines have been omitted, as they are of no historical value, but difficult to print.

(8) Read அடைய

Pâṇḍyadeva. From the examination of a number of his inscriptions, we learn that this king had been making some sort of gift or other on the star of his birth, Mṛigaśira nakshatra.

The second record makes a gift of two additional shares in the *agrahâra* at Vindaṉûr to two more brâhmaṇas. It is dated the **second** year opposite to the **thirty-first.** The gift was made on the **eighth of the solar month Dhanu, which corresponded with the Paurṇima, Thursday, and Mṛigaśira nakshatra.**

The third document is dated the **fourth** year opposite to the **thirty-first**; on the **seventh of the solar month Mina, which corresponded with the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight, in the Ayushmân-yoga, Thursday and Mṛigaśira nakshatra**, the king, hearing that the lands he granted when he established the *agrahâra* were insufficient for the brâhmanas to live upon, granted some more lands in addition to those already granted.

B

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோச்சடை[ய]வர்மரான த்ரிபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் ஸ்ரீ பராக்கிறம பாண்டிய தேவற்கு யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் இருபத்துமூன்றாவது [|*] இஷஸ ஞாயிற்று இருபதாந்திகைதியும் வ்யாவ்யக்ஷத்து ஹ்ரவிதிகையும் செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் பெற்ற நம்முடைய பிறந்தநாள் ஆன மிருகஶீர்ஷத்து நாள் [|*] குருமறைநாட்டு விந்தைனூர் (2) ஆன பராக்[க்ரம] பாண்டிய ச்சதுற்வேதிமங்கலத்து உடையார் திருமூலத்தான நயினாற்கு நாம் கற்பித்த பூசைக்கு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் இருபத்துநாலா-

2. வது முதலுக்கு விந்தனூர் பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ் தேவதானம் ஆகவிட்ட நிலம் நாலுமாவுக்கு பலாற்றுக்கு மேற்கு இரண்டாங் கண்ணாறு மேற்கு நின்றும் தடி பல விட்டு கிழக்குத்தடி மூன்று நிலம் அரைமாவின் கீழ் எட்டுமா முக்காணியில் கிழக்குதடி ஒன்றும் நிலம் காணியின்கீழ் ஏழுமாவரையும் இதந் காலிடை வடமேற்கு தடி இரண்டு நிலம் அரைக்காணியின்கீழ் அரையேமாகாணியு-

3. ம் இதன் காலிடை தென்கிழக்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம் காணி முந்திரிகையின்கீழ் அரையே மூன்றுமா முக்காணியும் இதன் தெற்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையி[ன்*] கீழ் மாகாணியும் இதன் கிழக்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் காணியின்கீழ் முக்காலே அரைக்காலும் இதன் வடகிழக்குதடி இரண்டு நிலம் காணி முந்திரிகையின்கீழ் அரையே மாகாணியும் இதன் கிழக்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையின்கீழ் அரைக்காலும் இதன் தெற்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் காணியின்கீழ்-

4. அரையே மூன்றுமா முக்காணியும் இதன் காலிடை தென்கிழக்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரைக்காணியின்கீழ் அரைக்காலும் இதன் காலிடை வடகிழக்குதடி ஒன்[று*] நிலம் காணியின் கீழ் எட்டுமா முக்காணியும் இதன் தென்கிழக்குதடி அஞ்சு நிலம் முக்காணி அரைக்காணியின் கீழ் முக்காலே மூன்றுமா முக்காணியும் குலசேகரப்பிள்ளையார் தேவதானத்துக்கு தென்கிழக்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் அறைக்காணி முந்தி-

5. ரிகையும் இதன் வடகிழக்குதடி ஏழு நிலம் முக்காணி முந்திரிகையின்கீழ் அரையும் அஞ்சாங் கண்ணாறு கிழக்கு நின்றுதடி பல விட்டு மேற்கு நின்று நிலம் முக்காணியில் தென் கிழக்குதடி ஒன்றும் நிலம் அரைக்காணியின்கீழ் எட்டுமா முக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் நாலுமாவும் இருபத்துநாலாவது முதலுக்கு தேவதானம் ஆக விட்ட அளவுக்கு இம்மரிசாதியிலே-யிவ்-

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read விந்தனூர்

6. வோலே பிடிபாடாககொண்டு சந்திராதித்தவற் செல்ல கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டி இப்பற்றும் தேவதானம் ஆக கையாண்டு பூசையுந் தரமு...ற நடத்திப்போதவும் பாற்க [||*] இவை கிடாரத்தாருடையான் எழுத்து [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the twenty-third year opposite the second of the reign of the king Jaṭâvarman Tribhuvana-chakravarttin Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, on a Tuesday corresponding to the twentieth of the month Rishabha and the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Mṛigaśirsha *nakshatra*, the birth-star of his, the king made a grant of land for maintaining the *pûja* arranged for being celebrated (daily) to the god of the Mûlasthâna in the Parâkrama-chaturvêdimaṅgalam.

C

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] பெருமாள் பரா[கி]ரமபாண்டிதேவருக்கு யாண்டு கூ[டி]க வதின் எதிர் உவத்து ஏநாயறு எட்டாந் தேதியும் பூணைஞாயிழு[கி]ழமையும் (2) பெற்ற ஊ மரீஷிஞத்து நாள் பரா[கி]ரமபாண்டி-

2. ச்சது வேஞிமங்கலத்து ஸபைகளில் இருங்கிண்டித் திருவெண்காட ஸபை [டை*]பெள ணரீகயாஜியார்க்கும் (3) முப்புறத்து ஸவஞிஹவஸபைதுக்கும் (4) குடுத்த ஸாமம் இரண்டுக்கு குறுங்கானகுளத்தின்கீழ் ஏழாங் கண்ணறு கரையடி முத-

3. தரி[சு] நிலம் (4a) க்கு கிழக்கு [தடி] பல நிலம்*] ....(4a) ம் இவகரத்தில் மேல் சிர-கில் வடக்கடைய மீன இரண்டும் மற்றும் எப்பேற்பட்ட ஸ்ரீதனஜீவங்களும் இவ்வகரத்தில் ஸபைகளொடு ஒக்க உதகபூவஞு ஸஞுஹாரமாகக-. (5)

4. டுதத ஸாமமிரண்டுமாஅ ஜதாரம் ஸஞ்திவிக்ரஹவரஹ கல்லிலு ளெம்பிலும் வெட்டி அநுபவிப்பாராகவும் பார்க [||*] இது கிடாரத்தாருடையார் எழுத்து [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the second year opposite the thirty-first of the reign of the king Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva, on the eighth of the month Dhanu, which corresponded with the Paurṇima, Thursday, Mṛigaśirsha nakshatra, two shares were granted to Iruṅgiṇḍi Tiruvêṇgaḍabhaṭṭa Pauṇḍarika-yâji and Sarvadêva-bhaṭṭa of Muppuram, residents of Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyâ Chaturvêdimaṅgalam.

D

Text

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோஜடிறுவஞுரான திரலோவனஸுகரவத்திருக[ள்] பெருமாள் பராகரமபாண்டிய தேவற்கு யாண்டு முப்பத்தொன்றுவதின் எதிர் நாலாவது நாநாயற்று ஏழாந்தியதியும் வெவ்வுவசூத்து சுவஷ்டியுமாயுஷ்நோமமும் வ்யாஹ்ருதி வாரமும் பெற்ற நம்முடைய

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) The letters ழம are engraved below the line.
(3) The letter ர் in யார்க்கும் is engraved below the line.
(4) The letter ஸ in ஸவஞி is engraved below the line.
(4a) Here there are a number of numerical symbols which are difficult to be printed.
(5) The secondary *á* symbol in மாக is engraved below the line

2. பிறந்தநாளான ௨௰௧௱௰௭௱த்து நாள் குறுமறைநாட்டு பெருமாள[கா]மான பரா க்ரமபாண்ட்யத்துவெ௰ி மங்கலத்துத்துவெ௰ி ௰௬ கள் பேர் நாற்பத்தெட்டுக்கு ௰௱௰௨ நாற்பத்தெட்டும் வேதவ்ருத்தி ௰௱௰௨ இரண்டும் ஸவண்ணவ்ருத்தி ௰௱௰௨ ஒன்றும் நாயிநார் ஸ்ரீமூல-

3. ஸ்தாநமுடைய நாயினார் தேவதானம் ௰௱௰௨ மூன்றும் ஆக ௰௱௰௨ ஐம்பத்து-நாலுக்கு நாம் முன்னாள் ௰௱௰௨ ஒன்றுக்கு காருக்கு முக்காணி நிலமும் பசாநத்துக்கு இரண்டுமா நிலமும் சேர உழகற்பித்து இதுக்குக் கல்லும் வெட்டுவித்துக் குடுக்கையில்

4. இவர்களுக்கு இது கொண்டு நிவ்ருஹ௰ [வரா]தப[டி] ஆலே இன்னாள் முதலுக்கு காருக்கு ஒருமா நிலமும் பசாநத்துக்கு இரண்டுமா நிலமும் சேர உழுதுகொள்ளும்படியும் கர்பித்து தண்ணீரும் விந்தனூர் பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ்

5. நாயிநார் ஸ்ரீமூலஸ்தாநமுடைய நாயிநார் ௰௱௰௨ மூன்றும் உட்பட நிலம் ஐம்பத்து-நாலுமாவுக்கு இவர்கள் இக்குளத்திலும் காலிலுந்தண்ணீர் நாலத்தொன்றும் பாச்சிக்கொள்-ளும்படியும் ஸுந்தரபாண்ட்ய புரத்தில் பெரிய-

6. குளத்தின் கீழ் இவர்களுக்கு விட்ட நிலம் [ஐம்]பது . . . . ளு இவர்களும் இக்குளத்திலும் காலிலும் தண்ணீர் அஞ்சில் ஒன்று பாச்சிக்கொள்ளும்படியும் குறுங்கான குளத்தின் கீழ் பேர் இரண்டுக்கு விட்ட நிலம் நாலுமாவுக்கு நில விழுக்காட்டிலே

7. தண்ணி[ர்*] பாச்சிக்கொள்ளும்படியும் அந்த அந்தக் குளத்தின் கீழ் அணைவேலையும் குளவேலையும் தண்ணீர் பாச்சிற விழுக்காட்டிலெடுத்து போதும்படியும் கற்பித்த அளவுக்கு இவர்கள் இம்மரியாதியிலே இவோலை பிடிபாடாகக் கொண்டு கல்லிலும்

8. செம்பிலும் ஆசந்த்ரதாரம் ஸூத்திஸ்ரவேஸ்ரமே கைய்யாண்டு சுநுபவித்துப் போக-வும் பாற்க [||*] இது கடாரத்தூர் உடையார் எழுத்து [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS.

The fourth year opposite the thirty-first of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvana-chakravarttin Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva, on the seventh of the month Mîna, which corresponded with a Thursday, the eigth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, Âyushamân-yôga and Mṛigaśira nakshatra, the natal star of the king ; some time previously, the king granted to 48 *chaturvêdi-bhaṭṭas*, 48 shares ; one share for Vêda-Vṛitti and three to the God of Mûlasthâna and one to the scribe, thus making fifty-four ; for each share was granted three *kâṇis* of land for the *kâr* crop and two for the *paśânam* but it was found that it was insufficient for their maintenance and consequently one *mâ* for *kâr* and two *mâs* for *paśânam* were granted in addition to those already given. These lands were to be watered from the big tank of Vindaṉûr, the big tank of Sundara-Pâṇḍyapuram and the tank named Kuṟuṅgânakkuḷam, in the definite proportions specified.

E AND F. SAMBÛR—VADAGARAI INSCRIPTIONS OF PARAKRAMA—PANDYADEVA ALIAS VIRA-PANDYADÊVA

The first of the two inscriptions published below is engraved on the north wall facing the west of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai ; the second, on the north wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the same. They are both written in Tamiḻ characters and are well preserved.

The first records that the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarttin **Parâkrama-Pândya-deva** *alias* **Vira-Pândya,** the nephew of Arikêsari Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva and Śrîvallabha, granted shares in the *agrahâra* of Vindaṉûr, otherwise known as Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya-chaturvêdimaṅgalam,

to two brâhmaṇas, Kumâra-Gôvinda-bhaṭṭa and Kurôvi Nârâyaṇa-bhaṭṭa. Herein mention is made of the establishment originally of the *agrahâra* by '*uncle*' Pârâkrama-Pâṇḍya and augmented to later on by the gifts of his brother, '*uncle*' Śrîvallabha. It is dated **the fifth year opposite to the second of** the reign of the king ; the exact date of the record is the **fourteenth of the month of Tulâ, corresponding to the second tithi of the bright fortnight, Thursday, Anurâdha nakshtara.**

The second is dated the **same year**, but the date was the **fourteenth tithi of the dark half of the month of Kumbha, Sunday, and Aviṭṭa (Dhanishṭha) nakshatra. This nakshatra was the star in which the king Vira-Pâṇḍya was born.** The king made on this day a grant of an additional share in the *agrahâra* of Vindaṉûr to Vaṅgippuṟattu Kârimâra-bhaṭṭa. In this inscription also the donations made by the brothers Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya and Śrîvallabha are detailed.

E

Text

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோஜடிலுவர்ஜுரான த்ரிபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் பொன்னின் பெருமாள்

2. பராக்ரம பாண்ட்யதேவரான வீரபாண்டிய தேவர் நம் யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர்

3. அஞ்சாவது துலாஞாயற்று ௰௪௳யும் ௴௰௮௴க்ஷத்து ஸிதியயும் ஸ்ரஹஸ்ப திவார-

4. மும் பெற்ற அனிழத்துநாள் மௌதஜமோத்ரத்து சூவஸ்தஜ ஸூத்ரத்து [செட்ட போசை]

5 குஜாரமோவிந்த பட்டனுக்கும் பாரஜாஜமோத்ரத்து சூவஸ்தஜ ஸூத்ரத்து குரோவி நா-

6. ராயணபட்டனுக்கும் குறுமறைநாட்டு விந்தனூரான பராக்ரமபாண்ட்யச்சதுர்வேதி மங்கலத்துச் சது-

7. ர்வேதி பட்டகளுக்கு முன்னாள் நயிநார் பராக்ரமபாண்ட்யதேவர் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக் குடுத்த பாரஜ நாற்பத்து எட்டு-

8. ஜ வேதவ்ருத்தி பாரஜ உம் ஸவண்ணவ்ருத்தி பாரஜ கம் உடையார் திருமூல ஸ்தானம் உடைய நயிநார் பாரஜ நம்

9 ஆக பாரம ௫௰௪ம் பின்பு மாமடி ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர் இதனுடன் கூட்டிவிட்டபாரம உம் மாமடி அரிகேஸ்வர-

10. தேவர் கூட்டிவிட்ட பாரம கம் ஆகபாரமஅன்பத்து ஏழு [||*] இதனுடன் கூட்டி இற்றனாள் இவர்களுக்கு நாம்உதகவூ-

11. வ்ரு யஜ்ஞாநஜாக குடுத்த பாரம இரண்டு [|*] மனை இரண்டு [||*] பாரம இரண்டுக்கு விட்டுக்குடுத்த நிலமாவது இவ்வூர்

12. பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ் பலாற்றுக்கு மேற்கு நாலாங் கண்ணாறு மேற்கு நின்றும் கரைக்கு கிழக்குதடி

13. பலதிறப்புக்குக் கிழக்குத்தடி மூன்று [|*] நிலம் காணி திறப்பு [|*] இதுக்கு கிழக்குதடி பல நிலம் இரண்டு மா [||*]

14. குரோவி நாராயண பட்டனுக்கும் இதன் கிழக்குத்தடி பலநிலம் இரண்டு மா [|*] இதுக்கு கிழக்கு எல்லையாவது

15. ப[ழ]சேரித்திடலுக்கு தென் மேற்குதடி இரண்டு [|*] நிலம் காணியின் கீழெட்-டுமா முக்காணி [||*] இதில் மேற்-

16. க்கடய நிலமரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையின் கீழாறுமாக்காணி யுள்பட இதன் தெற்கு திருவிட-

17. யாட்டத்து[க்கு] மேற்கு நிலம் இரண்டுமா [||*] செட்ட போசைக்குமார மொவி ௦௨ ஸட்டனுக்கும் ஆக

18. இதன் தெற்கு எல்லை மூன்றாங் கண்ணாற்று வடக்கு வரப்பு வடவெல்லை திருவி-டையாட்ட-

19. த்துக்கு தெற்கு கிழகேக்காடிந(க்கோடின) காலுக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இன்னான்கெல்-லைக்குள்ப்பட்ட

20. நிலம் நாலுமாவும் மனை இரண்டுக்கு மே[ம]லைச்சிறகில் வடதலையில் உறுப்புட்-டூர் யஜ்ஞநாரா-

21. யணஸட்டன் மனைக்கு தெற்க்கு மனையொன்றும் தோட்டமும் குமாரமொவி ௦௨ ஸட்டனுக்கும்

22. கீழைச்சிறகில் மருங்கூர் ஸ்ரீவெங்கடநாயஸட்டன் மனைக்கு தெற்க்கு மனை ஒன்றும் தோட்டமும்

23. நாராயணஸட்டனுக்கும் ஆமஸாமடு இரண்டும் மனை இரண்டும் தோட்டமும் தோட்-டக்கூறும் மற்றும்

24. இவ்வகரத்தில் உண்டான ஸமஸ்தப்ராப்திகளும் நாம்ஸட்டகளுடன் வாங்கி இவர்-களுக்குக்குடுத்த அளவுக்கு

25. ஸட்டகளுக்கு ஒத்த [ம]ரியாதியிலே இன்னாள் முதல் சூவஜ்ராதாரடு ஸந்ததி ப்ரவெஸமே கல்லிலும்

26. செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொண்டு கையாண்டு அனுபவித்துப் போதும்படி கற்பித்துக்-குடுத்த

27. அளவுக்கு இப்படியே கையாண்டு அனுபவித்து க்கொள்ளுவாராகவும் பாற்க [||*] இப்படிக்கு இவை

28. கருவூர் பொன்பற்றி உடையான் எழுத்து [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

The year five opposite the second of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvana-chakra-varttin, the precious king (*poṉṉiṉ-perumâḷ*), Parâkrama-Pâṇḍyadêva *alias* Vîra-Pâṇḍyadêva; on the fourteenth of the month Tulâ, which corresponded with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, a Thursday and the Aṉiḻa-nakshatra (Anûrâdhâ), the king granted a share to Śeṭṭapôśai Kumâra-Gôvinda-bhaṭṭa of the Gautama gôtra and Apastambha-sûtra and another to Kurôvi Nârâyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of the Bhâradvâja Gôtra and Apastambha-Sûtra, in the *agrahâra* of Vindaṉûr *alias* Parâ-krama-Pâṇḍya-chaturvêdi-maṅgalam, in the Kuṟumaṟai-nâḍu in addition to the 48 shares granted to brâhmaṇas, 2 for Vêdavṛitti, 3 for the god of Mûlasthâna and one to the scribe granted in the past by the uncle Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya (*i.e.* Arikêsari) of the king, Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya *alias* Vîra-Pâṇḍya, which was augmented by 2 more by uncle Śrîvallabhadêva and then by one by uncle Arikêśvara, thus making the total shares 57. With these, the two fresh shares were now granted by the king to the persons already mentioned above.

F

Text

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*] கோஜடிலுவர்ஜுரா[ன] த்ரிபுவனச்சக்ரவத்திகள் பொன்னின் பெருமாள் [ப]ரா

2. க்ரமபாண்டிய தேவர் ஆன வீரபாண்டிய தேவர் னம் யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் அஞ்சா-

3. வது கும்ப ஞாயிற்று சுவரவக்ஷத்து ச்சதுர்த்தசியும் சூதித்யவாரமும் பெற்ற னம்முடை ஆட்டைப் பிறந்தநா-

4. ளான அ[வி]ட்டத்து னாள் வசுஸ்ஸபொத்ரத்து சூவஸ்தமுவ ஸூத்ரத்து வங்கிப்புறத்து ஸ்ரீ காரிமார பட்டனுக்குக் குறுமன[ற]—

5. னாட்டு விந்தனூரான பராக்ரமபாண்டியச்சதுர்வெதி மங்கலத்து ச்சதுர்வெதி பட்டகளுக்கு முன்னா-

6. ள் னயினார் பராமக்ரபாண்டியதேவர் திருவுள்ளம்பற்றி வைத்த பாரமு னாற்பத்தெட்டும் [|*] வேதவ்ரத்தி பாரமு இரண்டும் [ஸ]-

7. வண்ணவ்ரத்தி பாரமு கம் [|*] உடையார் திருமூலஸ்தாநமுடைய னாயினார் பாரமு நம் [|*] ஆகபாரமு ருமெசம் [|*] பின்பு மாமடி ஸ்ரீவவலு-

8. பதெவர் இதனுடன் கூட்டி விட்டபாரமு உம் [|*] மாமடி அரிகேஸ்வர தேவர் இதனுடன் கூட்டிவிட்ட பாரமு கம் நம் யாண்டு ந-

9. ாலாவது னாம் குடுத்த பாரமு உம் [|*] ஆகபாரமு ருமெக [||*] இதனுடன் கூட்டி இற்றனாள் னாம் இவனுக்கு உதகவூர்வுயர்ஜுதாநமாகக்கு-

10. டுத்த பாரமு கம் [||*] மனை கம் பாரமு ஒன்றுக்கும் ஜூதான இறயிலி ஆகவிட்டுக்குடுத்த நிலமாவது [|*] இன்னாட்டு இவ்வூர் பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ்

11. பலாற்றுக்கு மேற்கு [மூன்றாம் கண்ணாற்று] மேற்கு நின்றும் கரைக்கு கிழக்கு தடி பலதிறப்புக்கு கிழக்கு தடி க [|*] நிலம் காணி அரைக்காணியின் மூன்று

12. மா முக்காணி [|*] திறப்புக்கு கிழக்கு தெற்கு எல்லை பெருங்காலுக்கு வடக்கு நயினார் அழகிய மணவாளப் பெருமாள் திருவுடை-

13. யாட்டத்துக்குத் தெற்கு தடி பலவிட்டு கிழக்கு நின்றும் மேற்கு தடி க [|*] நிலம் காணியின் அரையே அரைக்கால் [||*] இதுக்கு மேற்கு [த]-

14. டி க [|*] நிலம் அரைக்காணி [||*] இதில் தடிப்பிறிவு நிலம் முந்திரிகையின் அரைக்கால் இதுவும் உள்ப்பட மேற்கு தடி பல-

15. நிலம் ஒருமாவரை முந்திரிகையின் அரையே மூன்றுமாமுக்காணி [||*] இதுவும் னாலா[ங்கண்ணாற்று] மேற்குனின்றும் செட்ட[பே]-

16. ாசை குமாரமொவிந்தபட்டன் நிலத்துக்கு கிழக்கு வடக்கு பழசேரித்திடலுக்குத் தெற்கு திருவுடையாட்ட-

17. த்துக்கு மேற்கு தடி பலனிலம் காணி அரைக்காணி(யி) ஆறுமாக்காணியும் ஆக நிலம் இரண்டுமா இன்னிலம்

18. இரண்டுமாவும் இவ்வகரத்தில் கீழச்சிறகில் தென்தலையில் ஸவண்ணவ்ரத்திமனைக்கு தெற்கு மனை கம் தோட்டமுந்தோட்ட-

19. க்கூறும் மற்றும் இவ்வமரத்தில் உண்டான ஸமஸ்தவ்ராவிகளும் ஞம்ஹட்டகளுடன் வாங்கி இவனுக்கு குடுத்த அளவு-

20. க்கு ஹட்டகளுக்கு ஒத்த மரியாதயிலே இன்னள் முதல் சூவநூதாரழி வஞ்ஜதி வ்ராவஸமே கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெ[ட்]

21. டிகொண்டு கைய்யாண்டு அநுஸவித்து போதும்படி கற்ப்பித்துக் குடுத்த அளவுக்கு இப்படியே கைய்யாண்டு

22. அநு[ஸ]வித்து கொள்ளவா[ந]ாகவும் பார்க [||*] இப்படிக்கு இவை கருவூர் பொன்பற்றி உடையான் எழுத்து [||*]

G. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA

This inscription is engraved on the north wall facing the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. It is dated the 5th year opposite to the 2nd of the reign of Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Ponnin-Perumâḷ Parâkramapâdêva and records that two more shares were added to the *agrahâra* of Vindanûr by the king, granting them to two brâhmaṇas. It recounts the shares granted by 'uncle' Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva (Arikêsari), when he established the *agrahâra*. In specifying the sites granted for the two houses, the inscription states that one was situated south of the house of Uṟuppuṭṭûr Yajñanârâyaṇabhaṭṭa. We know from Ins. I, published below that Yajñanârâyaṇabhaṭṭa received his share in the year 2 plus 3 of the king Srîvallabha, born in the Tiruvâdirai *nakshatra*. Therefore, the year 2+5th of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya must be later than 2+3rd of Śrîvallabha and therefore, it looks likely, that both the brothers Alagaṉ Perumâḷ Parâkrama and Parâkrama born in Tiruvâdirai might have ruled simultaneously.

G

Text

1. வஸ்திஶ்ரீ [||*] ஶ்காஜடிலுவஉுரான திரலாவனசக்ரவுக்திகள் பொன்னின் பெருமாள்

2. பராக்ரம பாண்டிவர் நம்யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர்

3 அஞ்சாவது [|*] துலாஞாயற்று செடயும் வரிவுவகூத்து மிதியயும்வ்ரஹஸ்பதிவார-

4. மும் பெற்ற அனிழத்து நாள் [|*] மெளதஉமாதுரத்து சூவஸஉஸ்தி துரத்து [செட்டபோசை]

5. குரூமொவிஉவட்டனுக்கும் ஹாரஆஜமொதுரத்து சூவஸஉஸ்தி துரத்து குரோவி நா-

6. ராயண ஹட்டனுக்கும் குறுமறை நாட்டு விந்தனூரான வராகுஉ வாண்டுசதா வெழிமங்கலத்துச் சது-

7. வெழிவட்டகளுக்கு முன்னள் நயிநார்வராகுஉவாண்டுவெவர் திருவுள்ளம் பற்றிக்குடுத்த ஹாமழி நாற்பத்து எட்டு-

8. ழி வெஉவ்யத்தி ஹாமழி உம் ஸவணாவ்யத்தி ஹாமழி கம் உடையார் திருமூலஸ்தானம் உடைய நயினர் ஹாமழி நூம்

9. ஆக ஹாமஉ நிஸ்சம் பின்பு மாமடி ஸ்வஸ்திலவெவர் இதனுடன் கூட்டிவிட்ட ஹாமஉ உம் மாமடி அரிகேஸரி

10. தெவர் கூட்டிவிட்ட ஹாரஹ கம் ஆக ஹாரஹ அன்பத்து ஏழு [|| *] இத-
னுடன் கூட்டி இற்றனாள் இவர்களுக்கு நாம் உதகவூவு
11. வு யஜ்ஜாநஹாக குடுத்த ஹாரஹ இரண்டு மனை இரண்டு ஹாரஹ இரண்டுக்கு
விட்டுக்குடுத்த நிலமாவது [| *] இவ்வூர்
12. பெரிய குளத்தின் கீழ்பாலாற்றுக்கு மேற்க்கு நாலாங்கண்ணாறு மேற்கு நின்றும்
கரைக்கு கிழக்குதடி-
13. பலதிறப்புக்குக் கிழக்குத்தடி மூன்று நிலம் காணிதிறப்பு [| *] இதுக்கு கிழக்குதடி
பலநிலம் இரண்டு மா [|| *]
14. குரோவி நாராயணபட்டனுக்கும் இதன் கிழக்குத்தடி பலநிலம் இரண்டுமா [| *]
இதுக்கு கிழக்கு எல்லையாவது
15. ப[ழ] சேரித்திடலுக்கு தென்மேற்குதடி இரண்டு நிலம் காணியின் கீழெட்டுமா
முக்காணி [| *] இதில மேற்-
16. க்கடய நிலமரைக்காணி முந்திரிகையின் கீழாறு மாக்காணியுள்பட இதன் தெற்க்கு
திருவிட-
17. யாட்டத்துக்கு மேற்க்கு நிலம் இரண்டு மா [| *] செட்டபோசைக் குமாரஹோவி-
நஹட்டனுக்கும் ஆக
18. இதன் தெற்கு எல்லை மூன்றாங்கண்ணாற்று வடக்கு வரப்பு [| *] வடவெல்லை திரு-
விடையாட்ட-
19. த்துக்கு தெற்க்கு கிழக்கேக்காடிந(க்கோடின) காலுக்கு தெற்கும் ஆக இன்னான்.
கெல்லைக் குள்பட்ட
20. நிலம் நாலுமாவும் மனை இரண்டுக்கு [மே]லைச்சிறகில் வடதலையில் உறுப்புட்டூர்
யஜ்ஞநாரா-
21. யணஹட்டன் மனைக்கு தெற்க்கு மனையொன்றும் தோட்டமும் குமாரஹோவிந
ஹட்டனுக்கும்
22. கீழைச்சிறகில் மருங்கூர் ஸ்ரீ வேங்கடநாய ஹட்டன் மனைக்கு தெற்கு மனை ஒன்றும்
தோட்டமும்
23. நாராயண ஹட்டனுக்கும் ஆக ஹாரஹ இரண்டும் மனை இரண்டும் தோட்டமும்
தோட்டக்கூறும் மற்றும்
24. இவ்வகர [த*] தில் உண்டான ஸஹஸ்தபூராவிகளும் நாம் ஹட்டகளுடன் வாங்கி
இவர்களுக்குக்குடுத்த அளவுக்கு
25. ஹட்டகளுக்கு ஒத்த [ம]ரியாதியிலே இன்னாள் முதல் சூவந்த்ரதாரஹ ஸந்ததி
பூவேஶமே கல்லிலும்
26. செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்கொண்டு அனுபஹவித்துப் போதும்படி கற்பித்துக்குடுத்த.
27. அளவுக்கு இப்படியே கையாண்டு அனுபவித்துக் கொள்ளுவாராகவும் பாற்க [|| *]
இப்படிக்கு இவை
28. கருவூர் பொன்பற்றி உடையான் எழுத்து

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

The king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Poṉṉiṉ-Perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva granted a share each in the *agrahâra* of Vindaṉûr *alias* Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Chaturvêdimaṅgalam, to

Kurôvi Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭa of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and Âpastambha *sûtra* and to Śeṭṭapôśai Kumâra Gôvindabhaṭṭa, of the Gautama *gôtra* and Âpastambha *sûtra*, on a Thursday, the 14th of the month Tulâ, which corresponded with the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight and the *nakshatra* Anûrâdhâ, in the 5th year opposite the 2nd of the reign of the king. Here the document narrates the details of the shares granted originally by the founder and the subsequent additions made to them by his brother Śrivallabha. Then follow the details of the lands granted on the present occasion and their boundaries. The extent of land granted to each one was 4 *mâs*. The house-site given to Kumâra Gôvindabhaṭṭa was in the west row, north end, south of the house of Yajñanârâyaṇabhaṭṭa; that given to Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭa, was in the east row, south of the house of Maruṅgûr Vêṅkaṭanâthabhaṭṭa The donees are enjoined to get these grants engraved on stone and copper and enjoy them with all the rights with which other shareholders enjoy. At the end occurs the signature of the officer, Poṉparṟi-uḍaiyâṉ of Karuvûr.

H. SAMBUR-VADAGARI INSCRIPTION OF ALAGAN-PERUMAL PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Amman shrine in the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. It is dated the 9th year opposite the 2nd of the reign of the king Aḷagan-Perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, the elder brother of Parâkrama Pâṇḍya, born in the Tiruvâdirai *nakshatra*, the donor of the gift mentioned in the document under consideration, (See the Genealogical table given on page 251 above). This year, on a Friday, the Śatabhisha *nakshatra*, the 2nd of the (solar) month Tulâ, which corresponded with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, the prince Parâkrama Pâṇḍya born in the Tiruvâdirai *nakshatra* granted some lands to the Śrivaishṇavas of the temple of Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷapperumâḷ at Vindaṉûr, for the performance of the mid-day *pûja* to that god. The temple of Vishṇu mentioned herein is, at present, situated at a distance of a mile south-west of the village of Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai and is surrounded by the ruins of a mud fort. This site is now known as the Vindaṉûr-kôṭṭai. This must be the fort that is mentioned in the inscription, when it gives the boundaries of the land granted. The following places are mentioned in the record :—Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa-ppêr-êri, Vindaṉûr in the Kuṟumaṟainâḍu, Pañcha-Pâṇḍava-ppaḍukkai-poṟṟai, Âykkuḍi, and Kaḍayam. There is still a large tank near the ruined fort and this is perhaps the Aḷagiyamaṇavâḷa-ppêr-êri. Vindaṉûr, the village in former times, must have extended as far south as the present Vindaṉûr-kôṭṭai. There is at a distance of 1 mile from the village of Âykkuḍi, a craggy hill in which there is a natural cave with stone beds in it; this natural cave is still known as the Pañcha-Pâṇḍavar-paḍukkai. This name seems to have been given to it even in the days of our inscription. Âykkuḍi is a flourishing *agrahâra* of brâhmaṇas, who are mostly of the Sâmavêda school. It is on the way from Teṉkâśi to Śambûr-Vaḍagarai. The Kaḍayam mentioned in our inscription cannot be the Railway station of that name, as it is far away from Aykkuḍi, whereas, the town of Kaḍayanallûr might be identified with it as the latter happens to be near Âykkuḍi.

H

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஶ்ரீ [॥*] கொஜபிஷு வஜுராஜ திரலாவஜ ஜகுவதிருகள் அண்ணழ்வி அழகன்பெருமாள் வராகுஜ வாணுவெஜவற்கு யாண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் ஒன்பதாவது. [॥*] தலாஞாயிற்று இரண்டாந்தியதியும் வலிவுபக்ஷத்து ஸாதபியும் ஸாகுவாரமும் பெற்றசதையத்து நாள் [॥*] திருவாதரை நாட்பிறந்[த] வராகுஜ வாணுவெஜவர்

2. என்று பேர் உடைய நாம் குறுமறை நாட்டு விந்தனூர் நயினார் அழகிய மணவாளப் பெருமாள் நயினா[ர்] திருப்பதி ஶ்ரீ வைஷ்ணவர்களுக்கு இந்நயினற்கு உச்சந்திருவாராதனைக்கு

திருவிடையாட்டம் ஆகவிட்ட இவ்வூர் ஓட்டின குளம் ஆன அழகிய மணவாளப் பேரேரிக்குப் பெருநாங்கு எல்கையாவது [। *]

3. கீழ் எல்கை பெரியகுளத்தில் நீர்நக்கலுக்கும் கோட்டைக்கும் மேற்கு [। *] தென் எல்கை செங்குளத்துக்கும் ஆய்க்குடிக்கும் போறவழிக்கும் வடக்கு [। *] மேல் எல்கை பஞ்ச-பாண்டவர்கள்படுக்கை பொற்றைக்கு கிழக்கு [। *] வடஎல்கை கடையம் பொழுலப்பற்றுக்கும் பெரிய குளத்தில் நிர்நக்கலுக்கும் தெற்கு ஆக இன்னுங்கு எல்-

4. கைக்குட்பட்ட நன்[ை]ச புஞ்சை மாவடைப்பட்டடை கொடித்தோட்டம் மற்றும் எற்பேற்பட்டவஉவஉரவித்களும் திருவிடையாட்டம் ஆகக்கையாளும்(ப்) படியும் கற்-பித்து இக்த குளத்தில் பற்றிலே நம்பு செந்தாமரைக் கண்ணற்க்கு ஆவதிரவிரித்தியாக குடித்த நிலம் ஒருமாவும் திருவாழி . . . மக்காணி ஆட் . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the 9th year opposite the 2nd of the (reign of the) king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravattin Alagaṇ-Perumâḷ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, on a Friday, the 2nd of the (solar) month Tulâ, which was the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month, in the Śatabhisha *nakshatra*, Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva born in the Tiruvâdirai *nakshatra*, (the younger brother of the king), granted land to the Śrîvaishṇavas living in the quarters where stood the Vishṇu temple, of Alagiyamaṇavâḷapperumâḷ-nâyiṇâr, situated in the village of Vindaṇûr in the Kuṟumaṟainâḍu, for performing the mid-day *pûja*. The land granted was near the Alagiyamaṇavâḷappêr-êri near this village and its four boundaries were :—on the east, the lands watered by (?) the large tank and the fort; on the south, the way leading to Śeṅguḷam and Âykkuḍi; on the west, the Pañcha-Pâṇḍava-ppaḍukkaiporṟai and on the north, the villages of Kaḍayam and Pomulapparṟu (?), and the lands, watered by the large tank. All the wet and dry lands, the betel gardens etc., shall be farmed by the Śrîvaishṇavas and enjoyed by them till the sun and the moon endure. A *mâ* of land was granted to Sendâmaraikkaṇṇaṇ, the *pûjâri* for his maintenance.

I. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF JATILAVARMAN SRIVALLABHADEVA

The following inscription is engraved on the south wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. It is dated the 3rd year opposite to the second of the reign of the king Śrîvallabhadêva, born in the Tiruvâdirai *nakshatra*. We saw in Ins. H, edited above that the younger brother of Alagaṇ-Perumâḷ Parâkramadêva was also born in the same *nakshatra*, but bore the name Parâkrama. Śrîvallabha of the present inscription calls Parâkrama (Arikêsari), the founder of the *agrahâra* of Vindaṇûr, his uncle (*mâmaḍi*). Hence, he must also be a brother of Alagaṇ-Perumâḷ Parâkrama, and being born in the same *nakshatra* as Śrîvallabha, I am inclined to take them both as identical; in other words, Parâkrama born in the Tiruvâdirai is the same as Śrîvallabha, (see the genealogical table given on p. 251 above). The inscription records that the king Śrîvallabha granted two additional shares in the *agrahâra* of Vindaṇûr to two brâhmaṇas. The village of Vindaṇûr is here called also by the name of Perumâḷ-agaram. The date of the inscription is a Friday, the 30th of the (solar) month Kanni, the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight and the *nakshatra* Tiruvâdirai (Arudrâ).

I

Text

1. ஷஷ்ரீ ஶ்ரீ [॥ *] கோஜடிஷவஉரராக திரலோ வகவகுர வர்த்தி * கள் ஸ்ரீ [வஜஹ]தெவர் கம்யாண்டு உவதின் எதிர் [கூ] வஹ

2. கந்ஞா[யி *] ற்று ஈ⁴உயும் ஈவரவக்ஷத்து வஷ்தியும் ஸ்ரீகூரவாரமும்பெற்ற கம்முடைய ஆட்டைப்பிறந்தனு-

3. ளான திருவாதிரைஞள் வராஸரமொ தூத்து ஹொயாய நவஸ்தூத்து பெருமநல்லூர் வஸ்ரீ கூஷ்ணலட்டனுக்கு-

4. ம் நிஜவகாரவ்வமொ தூத்து ஆபலாயன வஸ்தூத்து: உறுப்புட்டூர் யஜ்ஞ நாராயணலட்டனுக்கும் [।*] வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*]

5. கோஜபில வஜுராந மாமடி பாராக்கிறம பாஜ்ஜவ் ஒவர் முன்னுள் வைத்த குறுமறநாட்டு விந்தைநூர் பெரு-

6. மாளகரமாந பாராக்கிர [ம*]வர்ணவ்வுதவெழு மங்கலத்து லட்டகளுடன் கூடி நாம் உஈகவசிவழுயஜுழுநாநமாகக்-

7. குடுத்தலாம் இரண்டுக்கு விட்ட நிலமாவது [।*] இன்னூட்டு வஸ்நரவாஜ்ஜ, வஸரத்து பெரிய குளத்தின்கீழ் வ-

8. ழாங்கண்ணூற்றில் மேற்குநின்று இவ்வமரப்பற்றுக்குக் கிழக்குத்தடிபலநிலம் நாலு

9. மாவும் மனை இரண்டுக்கு இவ்வகரத்து வடக்குச்சிறகு இரு [ங்] கண்டி மஹாயரலட்டநு மனைக்கு கீழைமனை பெருமநல்லூர் வஸ்ரீ-

10. கூஷ்ணலட்டனுக்கும் மேல்சிறகில்முப்புறத்துவவழுவெலட்டநு மனைக்கு வடக்குமனை ஒன்றுவிட்டு மனை உறுப்புட்டூர் யஜ்ஞநாராயண லட்டனு-

11. க்கும் ஆக மனை இரண்டும் தோட்டமும் தோட்டக்கூறும் மற்றும் இவ்வகரத்துற்ற மரியாதி உள்ள வஉவ்வஹராவியும் இந்நாள் முத

12. ஆசந்திரத[ா]ரகம் வஸ்ததிப்பிறவேபரமீம கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டி அனுபவிப்பாராகவும் பாற்க [॥*] இது . . . நென்மலி உடைய-

13. ான் எழுத்து உ ஸ்ரீலஉவ்து[॥*]த்ர [@ஏழ்]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the year 3 opposite to the 2nd of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Śrîvallabhadêva, on a Friday, the 30th of the month Kanni, which corresponded with the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight and the Tiruvâdirai *nakshatra*, the star of his birth, the king Śrîvallabhadêva granted two shares to 2 brâhmanas in the *agrahâra* of Vindaṇûr called Perumâḷ-agaram *alias* Parâkrama-Pâṇḍya Chaturvêdimaṅgalam, set up in former times by uncle Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva: of the donees one was Śrî Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa, of the Parâśara *gôtra* and the Bôdhâyana *sûtra*, who was a native of Perumaṇallûr. The other was Uṟuppuṭṭûr Yajñanârâyaṇabhaṭṭa, of the Niddhṛuva Kâśyapa *gôtra* and the Aśvalâyana *sûtra*. The extent of land granted was 4 *mâs* below the large tank of Sundara Pâṇḍyapuram and to the south of the lands belonging to this *agrahâra* and it was situated on the west of the 7th (irrigation) channel. Of the two house sites given, one was situated in the north row, and was next to and on the east of the house of Iruṅgiṇḍi Gaṅgâdharabhaṭṭa. This was granted to Śrî Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa of Perumanallûr. The second was situated in the west row and was one house next to that of Sarvadêvabhaṭṭa of Muppuram; this was given to Uṟuppuṭṭûr Yajñanârâyaṇabhaṭṭa. Thus the two houses, the gardens, etc., attached to the shares should be taken possession of by the donees from the date specified and enjoyed in exactly the same manner as all other shareholders, and should get the grant engraved on stone and copper. At the end the signature of Nenmali-uḍaiyâṉ, an officer of the king occurs and after, the sign-manual '*tulyam*' is engraved.

J. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF JATILAVARMAN KULASEKHARADEVA

The inscription edited below is engraved on the south wall of the Jamadagnêśvara temple at Kaḷâṅgâḍu, near Teṇkâśi. It is dated Śaka 1416, which corresponded with the 15th year of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Perumâḷ Kulaśêkharadêva. On a Friday, the 10th of the month Mîna, the 10th *tithi* of .....fortnight and the *nakshatra* Pushya, the king made a grant of land and money to a brâhmaṇa for performing the *pûja* in the temples of Tiruvakkiśvara and Gaṇâśa at the village of Kiḻâṅgâṭṭûr. The document bears at the end the signature of Koḍumaḷûr-uḍaiyâṉ, the officer whose name occurs in several documents of the kings Ativrîarâma, Varatuṅgarâma and Śrîvallabha, but since the date of this record is S' .1416, which falls in the reign of an earlier king, the Koḍumaḷûr-Uḍaiyâṉ mentioned here might be different from the person figuring in the later inscriptions. About the time of the epigraph under consideration there lived a Kulaśêkhara who was born in the Kârttigai *nakshatra*, and whom I have tentatively taken to be the son of Kulaśêkharadêva, the brother of Arikêsâri Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva. The present record might be assigned to his reign, which extended from S' .1401 to 1421. We have seen that this prince must also have ruled simultaneously with his cousin Aḷagaṉ Parâkrama (the sister's son of Arikêsari Parâkrama, who usurped the throne). It is not quite clear how the two above named Pâṇḍyas with Śrîvallabha, the brother of the latter, could have ruled at the same time and what territorial jurisdiction they had, etc. Anyhow their inscriptions dated from S. 1385 to 1428 are found in the reign of one or the other of the three kings.

The village of Kiḻâṅgâṭṭûr mentioned in the inscription is the same as Kaḷâṅgâḍu in the enclave belonging to Travancore, and situated near Teṇkâśi and Seṅgôṭṭai.

J

Text (1)

1. ஸகாரவ்ஷ [உ*] ருகாயகோல் ப்ரததி (2) ஸ்ரீ கொஜடிகு வஜ்ரஸாந [திரலோ] வன (2a) ஷகர(ற) வத்தி கள் பெரு-

2. மாள் குலசேகர தேவற்கு யாண்டு பதினஞ்சு ஆவது மீன ஞாயற்று பத்தாந்தியதி*]-யும் . . . . . சுஷத்து ஒ [ஸ*] தி-

3. ஸ கூவாரமும்பெற்ற பூசத்துநாள் கரவவொரா தூத்து (3)வொரயாய நஹ-தூத்து இவ்ய நயினன் தண்-

4. டைதந்த [சு]வாமி பட்டனுக்கு வடவாரிநாட்டுக் கிளாங்காட்டூர் உடையார் திருவக்-கீச்சரமுடையி (4) நயினர்-

5. கோயிலும் இவ்வூர்ப்பிள்ளையார் கோயிலும் நம்பும் தேவகன்மமும் காணி ஆட்சை ஆக மாதம் நாள்முப்பது வட்ட-

6. மும் பூசத்து நாள் ஒன்றுக்குக்கு . . . . யில் சோறும் நாள் ஒன்றுக்குப் புண்-ணியாவாசகத்து நெல்லு இருநாழியு-

7. ம் அரிசிநாழியும் மாதம் ஒன்றுக்குப் பணம் இரண்டு கோட்டை இர[ண்*]டு ஆகவும் பற்றிப் போதும்படி கற்பித்து இன்னாட்டு இவ்-

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(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read ஸ்ரீஸ்ரீ
(2a) A symbol for the compound *tribhu* is employed.
(3) Read காரவ்வொரா தூத்து
(4) Read முடைய

8. வூர்ப்பற்றில் இன்நயினார் தேவதானமான வடக்கிக்கால் புரவில் இறையிலிக்கு ஒரு-
மாவரை நிலமும் குடி மகன் ஒடி கட-

9. மையும் வாங்கிக்கொள்ளும்படியும் கற்பித்து இதுக்குக் காணிக்கை ஆகத்தா[ம்*] கற்பித்த [பணம்] (5) நூறும் [|| *]

10. இப்பணம் அஞ்ஞூற்று அன்பதும் அறைக்கு முதலாக ஒடுக்கிக் காணிஆட்(ச்)சை ஆகக்கையாளு-

11. ம்படி கற்பித்துவிட்ட அளவுக்கு இம்மரிஆதிலே பூசித்துச் சோறும் உடைமையும் இறை-

12. யிலியும் பற்றிக்கொண்டு ஆசந்தி[ர*] தாரவற்(ச்)சந்ததிப் பிறவேசமே காணிஆட்-
(ச்)சை ஆக க-

13. ல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக் கையாண்டு கொள்ளவும் பாற்க [|| *] இவை கொடும-
ளூருடையான் எழுத்து உல உல

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the Śaka year 1416, in the 15th year of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Perumâḷ Kulaśêkharadêva, on Friday, the 10th of the month Mina, which corresponded with the tenth *tithi* of . . . . fortnight and the *nakshatra* Pushya, the king granted to Iḷaiya-nayinâṉ Taṇḍai-tanda-svâmibhaṭṭaṉ, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra* and the Bôdhâyana *sûtra*, the following :—for performing the thirty days' *pûja* on ordinary days and one extra on the day of the Pushya *nakshatra*, to the gods Tiruvakkiśvara and Gaṇêśa at Kiḻâṅgâṭṭûr, ... rice, 2 *nâḻis* of paddy and one *nâḻi* of rice for *punyâvâ'a*, two *paṇams* and two *kôṭṭais* of paddy per mensem : for which he granted one *mâ* and a half in the *dêvadâna* land named Vaḍakkil-kâl-puravu belonging to this god (Tiruvakkiśvara), as also the rent due from the tenant. To acquire this land the king paid a sum of 550 *paṇams*, which were paid in the temple treasury and the *kâṇiyâtchi* right was conferred upon the aforesaid person, who is directed to take possession of the land and to enjoy with all rights from generation to generation doing the *pûja*. May this document be committed to writing on stone and copper. At the end is the signature of Koḍumaḷûr-Uḍaiyâṉ.

K. SENGOTTAI INSCRIPTION OF KULASEKHARA ALIAS PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA

The following is found on the north wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Vishṇu temple at Śeṅgôṭṭai. The end of this record is damaged, but then the purport of the inscription could be made out from the existing fragment. It belongs to the reign of Kulaśêkharadêva *alias* Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, son of Abhîrâmâ Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva. In the year 1467 of the Śaka era, which corresponded with the 3rd year of the reign of the king, on a Friday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of ..... month, and the *nakshatra* Uttara, the *Vyatîpâta* (?) yôga and the Simha-karaṇa, the king granted some land to the temple of Kulaśêkharavinṇagar Emberumân at the village of ..... nâyaka-Chaturvêdi-maṅgalam.

The Chaturvêdimaṅgalam referred to in the inscription is no other than the present Seṅgôṭṭai.

K

Text

1. ஸ்ரீமதஷ்ட [|| *] ஷஷ்டி ஸ்ரீ [|| *] ஸ்ரவ [ண] நக்ஷத்ரயுக்த வ்ரதீய
கொஜழிறுவதுறுர நிஸ்ரவநதுகவர்த்தி கோநேரி[ன்மை] கொண்டான் ஸ்ரீ பெரு-
மாள் கலிங்கராய வராகுல வாணர்

(5) An abbreviation is used for the word *panam*.

2. ஒவர் நந்நராந கூறுபெகர ஒவராந வராகூஉவாணூ[ஞ்]வற்கு யாண்டு ஸகாவ்ஷ் சூசாசுடி என் [மேல்] மூன்றுவது விஸ்ராவவஸ்ர வருஷம் . . . .

3. சுவரவக்ஷத்து வகர[ஞ்]ஞியும் ஸ்ரீகூவாரஷ் ஊவ[வா]தியொ[ஹ]ழி விம்ஹகரணஷ் பெற்ற உத்திரத்து நாள் தென்னரிகாட்டு . . . . . .

4. நா[ய]கவ்ஷ்ரவெழுதி உங்கலத்து நயினர் குலசேகரவிண்ணகர் எ[ம்பெ]ருமானுக்கு திருவிடையாட்டம் பாட்டமாகக்கு . . . . .

5. கைக்கு முறைக்கு நாம் மேற்படியார் [அ]ஞ்சாலியில் மேல் . . . . . ந்தவிர்த்துக்குடுத்த நிலமாவது மேற்படி நாட்டு மே . . . . .

L. KALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA SAKA 1470

On the north wall of the Jamadagnêśvara temple at Kaḷâṅgâḍu is written this very ill-spelt document. It belongs to the reign of **Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva,** son of Abhirâma Parâkrama. It is **dated S'. 1470,** which corresponded with the **6th year of** his reign. This year the prince Abhirâmavarman, the son of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ made a gift of land for a festival.

The reigning king is Parâkrama, the first son of Abhirâma Parâkrama; whereas the donor appears to be Abhirâma *alias* Varatuṅgarâma, but then he is the son of Parâkrama and not, as is stated in the record, of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ. The mistake is quite in keeping with the very faulty language in which the document is drawn up. Kilâṅgâṭṭûr, it is said, was situated in the Vaḍavârinâḍu.

L

Text (1)

1. ஸ்ரீஷஷ்ரவ்ஷ்[ரீ] || * | சகாத்தம் சூசாளயில் சுவத்தி ஸ்ரீ (2) கோச்செடிலவன்மரான திறிபுவனச்சக்கி-

2. றவத்தி [க] . னே . ர்மை கொண்டமன் (3) [ஸ்ரீ] பெருமாள் (4) . து[வீ?]ரம பராக்கிரம பாண்டி தே[வ*]ரான

3. னந்தனரான [ஸ்ரீ] பெருமாள் (5) பைராகிரம பாண்டிய தேவர(ற்)கு இயாண்டு சு?வது கிலக நெ மாசி

4. [உளெ] தெயிதியும் பூறுவ ப[க்க]த்தில் ஏகாதெசியும் சுக்கிரவாரமும் [டியுட்டு]மான (6) யோ-

5. கமும் லவ (7)காரணமும் பெற்ற உத்திராடத்தினள் [ஸ்ரீ] பெருமாள் திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள்-

6. ரான தனன்ரான(8) சுவிரராம வன்மரா[ன*] நாம் வடவாரிநாட்டு கிளாங்காட்டூர் உடையார் திருவக்கீசுர முடைய நயினற்கு

7. விளாபூசை க நாள் ஒன்று[க்கு] அமுதுபடி முன்னழி ஆகவும் கரியமுது உப்புஅமுது பிளகு அமுது நெய் அமுது

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read ஸவஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ
(3) Read கோனேரின்மை கொண்டான்.
(4) Read அபிராம பராக்கிரம பாண்டிய தேவர் நந்தனரான
(5) Read பராக்கிரம
(6) Read ஆயுட்மான்
(7) Read லவ
(8) Read திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் நந்தனரான அஹிராமன

8. தேங்காய் சர்கரை(9) பழம் இலையமுது அடை(ய்)க்காய் அமுது சாற்றுப்படி (சாறுப்-படி) தா[வி]பம்(?) எண்ணெக்காப்-

9. வெண்டி[ன]கம்(10) ஆக இது வகை படிவேண்டும் படிக்கு நாம் தேவதானம் பாட்-ட(ம்)மாக விட்ட வ[ட*] வாரி[நா] . . . .

10. று[லெம] . . . . யும் தெர்கும் . . . றபுரவ [ந]லங்கண்ணுறு தடி மூன்று நிலம் அரைக்காணியும் . . . .

11. கண்ணுறு தடி . . . . ரிவு நிலம் காலே அரைக்காலே அரைக்காலும் ப . த. தாங்ச(?) தடி . . . . . .

12. ாணி முந்திரிகையின் அரையும் தடி ஒன்று நிலம் முந்திரிகையின் ஆறுமாக்க .....

13. [யில்] அடு . . . [தி]ருவிளக்குன்(11) எண்ணெ பஞ்சா அமுதத்துற்.(12) . . . . .

14. ஒன்று கிளாங்காட்டோர் தென்பனூரால் எங் கண்ணுறு தடி (ஒன்) . . . .

15. ஒன்று நிலம் காணி அரைக்காலும் தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரைக்காணி அரைக்காலும் இவை[ங?]யம்யும் எட்டாவ . . . .

16. ாணியும் தடிக ஒன்று [நிலம்] முந்திரிகையின் காலும் தடி ஒன்று நிலம் . . . .

17. முந்திரிகை அரைக்காலும் நிலம் ஒன்று நில[ங்க]ள் ஆறுமாக்காணி . . . . .

18. [வி]ரபாடு எர்ப்பபடடதும் . . . வரியி(ல்)லா[ர்*] கணக்கிலும் . . . வி . . த்து தேவதானம் . . . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the Śaka year 1470, the 6th year of the reign of Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, son of Abhirâma Parâkrama, on Friday, the 21st of Mâśi, in the year Kilaka, which corresponded with the 11th *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Âyushmân yôga and Bhava karaṇa, the nakshatra Uttarashâḍha Abhirâmavarma, son of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ granted for the celebration of a festival, land six *mâs* and a *kâṇi* in extent. Out of this the following expenditure was to be incurred :—Rice for offering, 3 *nâḻis* ; vegetables, salt, pepper, ghee, cocoanuts, sugar, plantain fruits, betel leaves, betel nuts, sandal paste, oil, curry stuffs, etc., required for the day's expenditure should be purchased. A pañchâmṛita abhishêkam was to be performed on the day of the festival.

M. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF KULASEKHARA ALIAS PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA. SAKA 1471

The following is engraved on the east wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Sâmbûr-Vaḍagarai, and belongs to the reign of **Kulaśekhara**, *alias* **Parâkramadeva**, son of Abhirâma Parâkrama It is **dated the Śaka 1471** ; this year the king made a grant of some land to the god Abhimuktîśvara at Vindaṇûr, *alias* Perumâḷ-agaram or Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Chaturvêdimaṅgalam. The king is said to have been born in the Aśvati *nakshatra*. The record is incomplete.

M

Text (1)

1. வஷ்ரீ [|| *] கோஜடிறுவஜு ரா ந திலு வ ந உகூவத்திகோநேர்மை கொண்டான் சுஹிரா உ பராகூ உபா-

(9) Read சர்க்கரை
(10) Read வெஞ்சனம்
(11) Read திருவிளக்கின்
(12) Read பஞ்சாமிர்தத்துக்கு
(1) From inked impressions.

2. ணூவுஎவர் நநராந குலேமாவர ஒவராய வரராகுஉவாணூவு தேவற்கு யாண்டு மகர]-

3. வழி சுசாளகெல் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற ஸௌஉவு ஸமவஸுஸரத்து உகுணாயநத்-

4. துமரரீதுவில் துலாரஷி ருநுஉயும் வரிவபுவ கூத்து வெளணெழுயும் மர-குவாரஉழி மரஸி-

5. யாமமும் ஸிஹகரணமும்பெற்ற சுஷுதி நகூ சூத்து நாள் சுஸிராஉ வரா-குஉவாணூவு ஒ-

6. வற்கு நநந சுஷுதி நகூசூத்து ஜாதராந திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள[ர*]ய நாம் குறு மறை-

7. நாட்டு விந்தனூராந பெருமாளக[ர]மான பராகுஉ பாணூவுவதுவெழி உஒகறுத்து உடையார் சுஸிஉ-

8. கீரரமுடைய ந[ம்] நயினூற்(க்)கு தேவதானமாகக் குடுத்த [மேற்படி] (2) நாட்டு [மேற்படி] (2) ஊர் பெரியகுளத்தின் கிழடி மேட்டு ம-

9. டை பற்றில் . . . . நயினூருக்கு குடுத்த கூ[ம் கண்ணூற்று] (3) கிழக்கு நின்றும் தடி பல நிலத்துக்கும் வடமேற்கு தடி . . . . (4)

10. [இதன்] (5) தெற்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) நாலா[ங் கண்ணூற்று] (3) வட-மேற்கு . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) மேற்கு தடி . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) மேற்கு

11. தடி . . . . [இதன்] (5) தென் எல்லை வடமேற்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்](5) தெற்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] காலிடை வடமேற்குத்-

12. தடி . . . . (4)

13. . . . . [இதன்] (5) தெற்கு தடி . . . . (4) ஆக . . . . . : சூ[ம் கண்ணூற்று] (3) மேற்கு நின்றும [தடி] (6) பல நிலத்துக்கு கிழக்கு

14. . . . . (4) ரு[கண்ணூற்று] (3) கிழக்கு ரு[கண்ணூற்றி]ன் (3) பகுதிக்கு வடக்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) காலிடை வடமேற்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) கிபுக்கு த-

15. டி . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) தெற்கு தடி . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) வடக்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) தென் கிழக்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இ-

16. தன்] (5) வடகிழக்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) கிழக்கு தடி . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) வடக்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) கிழக்கு தடி . . . .

17. . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) கிழக்கு தடி . . . . (4) இதின் மேற்கு அடையவா · ள அ[ங்கண்ணூற்று] (3) . . . . . (4) கிழக்கு நின்று

18. தடி ருங்[கண்ணூற்று](3)க்கு மேற்கு தடி . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) மேற்(க்)கு தடி . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) தெற்கு தடி . . . . (4) இதன் கிழக்கு தடி . . . . தடி . . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) வடமேற்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) வடமேற்கு தடி

19. . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) வடமேற்கு தடி . . . . (4) கூ[ம் கண்ணூற்று]மேற்கு தடி நின்றும் தடி பல நில[ம்]

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(2) Here a symbol for மேற்படி is used.

(3) A symbol of கண்ணூறு is here employed.

(4) Tamil numerals expressing land-measures are employed here ; since, printed types for these could not be got, they are omitted in the transcript.

(5) An abbreviation for இதன் is employed here and in subsequent places.

(6) An abbreviation for தடி is employed here.

20. . . (4) க்கு தெற்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) வடக்கு தடி . . . . . (4)
[இதன்] (5) வடகிழக்கு தடி . . . . (4) [இதன்] (5) கிழக்கு தடி . . . . (4) ஆக
21. . . . . (4) இன்னிலம் அஞ்சுமாவுக்கும் . . . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the Śaka year 1471, Saumya, in the Śaraṛitu, on Friday, the 15th of the month Tulâ, which corresponded with the Paurṇima of the bright half (of that month), in the Saubhâgya-yôga and the Simha-karaṇa, and the *nakshatra* Aśvati, in the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Kônêriṇmaikoṇḍâṇ Kulaśêkhara, *alias* Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, son of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva; Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ, (another) son of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, who was born in the Aśvati nakshatra, granted to the god Abhimuktîśvara at Vindaṇûr, *alias* Perumâḷagaram or Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Chaturvêdimaṅgalam, in the Kuṛumaṛainâḍu, the following pieces of land :— (Here follow a list of lands and their extent). Thus the total of five *mâs*. . . . . .

N. KALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF KULASEKHARA ALIAS PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA

The following inscription is engraved on a stone set up in front of the Jamadagnêśvara temple at Kaḷângâḍu. It belongs to **the 7th year** of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravattin Kônêrimai-koṇḍâṇ **Kulaśekhara** *alias* **Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva**, son of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva. In the **Śaka year 1472,** (cyclic year) **Sadhâraṇa,** on Thursday, the 25th of the month Tulâ, which corresponded with the full-moon in the bright fortnight, in the Vyâghâta-yôga, Simha-karana and *nakshatra* Uttarâshâḍha, Piriyâdâṇ, *alias* Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Toṇḍaimân, *alias* Cheṇ....ḍikkâdêvar of Tôvâḷai, otherwise known as Edirvilliśôḷapuram, was, at the instance of Aḷagaṇ-Perumâḷ, son of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ, appointed the hereditary accountant of the temple of Srî Vakkiśvara at Kiḷângâṭṭûr.

The king mentioned herein is the first son of Abhirâma Parâkrama and the Aḷagaṇ-Perumâḷ is the famous Śrîvallabha, *alias* Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍya, son of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ. The name Edirvilliśôḷapuram is the vulgar form of Ediriliśôḷapuram. Tôvâḷai is the southernmost frontier station of the Trayancore State.

N

Text

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*] ஸ்ரீ வக்கீஸ்வரநாயஸ்ய ஸ்ரீமஹாஜயதி ஸாஹஸஸ்ரீ வீர-
ஹரிர ஹிஸி்புரராயஸ்ரீ

2. ஸகாத்த வருஷகள் சூரிவணைஸ்வராஜையட [||*] ஸகாஷ்டி சூயிரத்த-
நாநூற்று எழுப-

3. த்திரண்டின்மேல் செல்லாநின்ற ஷஷ்டிஸ்ரீ கோநிறுவஷ்டிராந தீரஸ்வநச்ச-
க்ரவத்தி திகோனை-

4. ரிமைகொண்டான் சஹிராஷ வராக்ரஷ வ[*]ணைஸ்ரெவநந்நராந கண்ட-
ரெவர ஷெவராந வர[*]க்ரஷ-

5. வாணைஸ்ரெவற்கு ய[ர*]ண்டு ஏழாவது ஸாயாரணை வரஷ்டி தன்ற
நாயற்று இருபத்தஞ்சாந்தேதியும் வெவ்வ-

6. வக்ஷத்த வெளணைஸ்யஷ்டி ஸ்ரீவாரஷ்டி வ்யாவா[த*] யோகஷ்டி
ஸிம்ஹகரணமும் பெற்ற[உத்திரட்]டாதி நாள்

7. தோவாளையான எதிர்வில்லிசோழபுரத்து பிரியாதான் பராக்கிரம பாண்டியத் தொண்டமான்

8. செண்...டிக்காதேவ[ர்]க்கு நம் கூறையத்து[க்கு] தானக்கணக்கு காணியாழ்சையாக கல்பித்து நங்-

9. குமாரன் திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் நஞ்[ந*]ராந அழகன் பெருமாள் ஓலைவரவிடு கையில்

10. நாளது முதலுக்கு நம் ஆலயத்துக்கு தானகணக்கு காணியாழ்ச்சையாக எழுதி கொண்டு கண-

11. க்குக்கு நாள் ஒன்றுக்கு பிசாழ (?) நாழியாக[வும்] மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு கோட்டை முக்காலாகவும் ஆக..பவற்-

12. . பெற்றுக்கொண்டு இன்னுள் முதலுக்கு ந[ம்]முடைய முதலுண்டானதுக்கு கணக்கும் எழுதி[க்]கொண்டு

13. கூவநூஉரு(ர)வசு வஞ்தி வூவெஸஉ கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிகையாண்டுகொள்ள-

14. வும்கூஜிவணைஸவுரநு எழுத்து

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the Śaka year 1472, (cyclic year) Sâdhâraṇa, which corresponded with the 7th year of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvana-Chakravartti Kônêrimaikoṇḍâṉ Kulaśêkharadêva, *alias*, Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, on Thursday, the 25th of the month Tulâ, which was also the full-moon *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Vyâghâta-yôga, Simha-karaṇa and Uttarâshâḍha *nakshatra*, Aḷagaṉ-Perumâḷ, son of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ nominated one Piriyâdâṉ otherwise known as Parâkrama Pâṇḍya Toṇḍaimâṉ Chêṉ . . . . ḍikkâdêvar of Tôvâḷai, which was known also as Edirvilliśôḷapuram, as the accountant of the temple of Tiruvakkiśvaram ; a note to that effect was despatched to the temple and the man nominated was appointed to the same. He was to receive (in remuneration) one *nâḷi* of rice daily and three quarters of a *kôṭṭai* of paddy per mensem ; with this income he should, also his descendants, continue writing the accounts of this temple as long as the moon and the stars endure.

O. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF KULASEKHARADEVA *ALIAS* PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA

On the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of the Sundararâja-perumâḷ temple at Vindaṇûr-kôṭṭai near Sâmbûr-Vaḍagarai is engraved the following inscription, which is damaged at the end. It belongs to the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman **Tribhuvana-chakravarti** Kônêrmaikoṇḍâṉ **Kulaśekharadeva**, *alias* **Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadeva** son of Abhirâma Pâṇḍyadêva and is dated the **7th year** of his reign, which corresponded with the **year 1472** of the Śaka era and the cyclic year **Sâdhâraṇa.** This year, in the Uttarâyana, on Monday, the 19th of the month Mithuna, which was also the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight, in the Vyâghâta-yôga, Simhakaraṇa and *nakshatra* Punarvasu, Aḷagaṉ-Śokkaṉ, otherwise known as Sundarattôḷuḍaiyâṉ, of the Kauśika-gôtra and Bôdhâyana-sûtra, who was one of the Kôdu-kula (?) *sabha*, was nominated the hereditary accountant of the temple of Gôvindarâja-pperumâḷ, at Vindaṇûr, by Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ, son of Abbirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva and who was born in the Aśvati *nakshatra*. The appointment carried with it a pay of threefourths of a *paṇam* and threefourths of a *kôṭṭai* of paddy per mensem.

O

Text

1. வதசு வுஹாழி ஔவாநாழ் ஔளுிஹாலொவலுாவிதழ் விநாவாரீ உஹாவிஷொஹொுவிஂஉராஜ ராஹநழ் [|| *] ரகாவுழ் சூசாளஉல் மேல் செல்லா-நின்ற வுஷ்ணி ஸ்ரீ கொஜபிரு வஜுராந திரூவநஜகுவதிழ் கோநேர்மை கொண்டான்

2. சுஹிராஉவராகுஉவாண்டுஔவர் நந்நராந நழ் கூஉாராநு கூறுலொக ராஔவராந வராகுஉவாண்டுஔவற்கு யாண்டுஏழாவது வாயாராணை வத்ராத்தூ உத்த [ராய] நத்தூ [ஶியூ]ந ராவி ஙகூ தேதியும் வியவுவக்ஷத்தூ பிதியையும்

3. வொஉவாராமும் வுாவாதயொமமும் விஂஹகாராணமும்பெற்ற வானர் வியத்து நாள் கோதூகுல வலெலையாரில் கௌபிக மொதூத்தூ வொயாய வலிதூத்தூ அழகியசொக்கனு[ன] சுந்தரத்தோளுடையாஜுக்கு நம் வீட்டுக்கு நம்கு[ண]க்கு

4. காணி ஆள்ச்சை ஆகக்கு[டு *]த்து மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு பணம் முக்காலும் கோட்டை முக்காலும் ெ . ா . . . . . [அ]சலுக்கு ஓக்க . . . . களும் குடுக்க கற்பித்து நம் கூஉாராநு சுஹிராஉவராகுஉ வாண்டுஔவர் நந்நராந [அ] ரூவதி

5. நகூதூத்து ஜாதராய பெருமாள் . . . திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் ஓலை நம் காரியம் பார்க்கும் கோனேரி ஓ[ப்பி] . . . . . கணக்கு க . . யனும் நம் தானிகர் . . . . . .

P. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF TIRUNELVELIPPERUMAL. SAKA 1474

The inscription published below is engraved on the south base of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. It belongs to the reign of **Tirunelvelipperumâḷ** *alias* Dharmapperumâḷ **Kulaśekharadeva** and is dated the **year opposite** the **second of his reign.** This year corresponded with the **Śaka 1474**; in this year, the king appointed one Śokkaṇ Kaṇḍiyadêvaṇ to the hereditary accountantship of temple of the Mûlasthânêśvara at Vindaṇûr. The inscription begins, in the second line, with the later Pâṇḍya 'introduction', beginning with *bhuvanêkavîra.*

P

Text

1. ஹரூாயசு ஔதசு வததழ் வஉஷ்ஹவாரஔளுிலிஃ சிரிமூலநாத சுவசம்போ ஜுயதி சாசுவதம் சாதனம் ஆதிவண்டேசுவரா[ஜ்ஞ]யழ் ரகாவுழ்

2. சூசாளசெல் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற வுஷ்ணி ஸ்ரீ ஹாவநெகவீரவநுகாரு வரீவ உயாராஉஹநு ஜயந்தமங்கல புரவராயீஷ்வர [க்ஷேஷாஹார] நாரஹிஂஹ கொரஹத-

3. மோஷிவாகர ஔஹஹிரூா[வடவாநரு] தேவப்பிரமாணஷ்ரவநாசாயசு சங்கீத ஸாஹித்யவாவசூமம கோச்சடிலவன்மராந

4. திரூவநஜகுவதிசு கோநேரிமை கொண்டான் அபிராம பராக்கிறம பாண்டிய ஔவர் நந்த[ந*]ரான திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள-

5. ான தன்மப்பெருமாள் குலசேகரதேவர்கு ஆண்டு [உ]வது எதிர் பரிதாபி [சம்வத்-ஸரத்து] தெச்சிணாயநத்து சரருதுவில [கன்னிரவி நிவ [யும்] அபரபக்கத்தில் து-

6. திய[யும்] மந்தவாரமும் புணர்பூசமும் பிராமயோகமும் [வராக கரணமும் பெற்ற] புநர்பூசத்து நாள் நம் ஆல[ய*]த்து [இர]ண்டாங்குடி சொக்கன் கண்டியதேவனுக்கு கீழ்] தேவகன்மிக[ண]க்கு காணி

7. யாட்சையாக கற்பிக்கும்படிக்கு நம் குமாரன் தன்மப்பெருமாள் குலசேகரதேவன் நம் வாசல் காரியம் நயினன்னும் நம் ஆலயக்கணக்[கு] செண்பகராமக்குட்டிக்கும் தானிகருக்கும்

8. ஓலை வரவிடுகையில் நம் ஆல[ய*]க்கணக்கு ஒத்தவண்ணம் உடைமையும் சோறும் மற்றும் உண்டான சு[வ]ந்தரங்களும் நாளது முதலுக்குப்பற்றிக்கொண்டு காணியா-

9. ட்சையாக சந்ததி விறவேசமே செம்பிலும் சிலையிலும் வெட்டி கையாண்டு கொள்-ளவும் இப்படிக்கு ஆலயக்கணக்கு செண்பகராமக்குட்டி எழுத்து [|| *]

10. சூதீவ[ணை]வராஜ எழுத்து [|| *]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the Śaka year 1474, in the year opposite the 2nd of the reign of the king Jaṭilavarman Tribhuvanachakravarti Kônêrimaikoṇḍâṉ Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ, otherwise known by the names Dharmapperumâḷ and Kulaśêkharadêva, which corresponded with the cyclic year Paridhâvi; in the Śaraṛitu, on a Saturday, the 5th of the (solar) month Kanni, which was also the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight, and *nakshatra* Punarvasu, Brâhma-yôga and Varâha-karaṇa, Śokkaṉ Kaṇḍiyadêvan being recommended by the king to the place of the hereditary accountantship under the *dêvakarmis* of the temple of Mûlasthana and was appointed, on the same conditions as the other accountants. He is ordered to get the rice, etc., perquisites belonging to the appointment, and continue himself, as also his descendants, as accountants as long as the moon and the stars endure.

Q. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION, OF TIRUNELVELIPPERUMAL. SAKA 147

The following damaged inscription, which is also incomplete is engraved on the east wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the Sundararâjapperumâḷ temple at the Vindaṇûr-Kôṭṭai. It belongs to the **year opposite the 2nd** of the reign of the king **Tirunelvelipperumâl** *alias* **Dharmapperumâl Kulaśekharadeva**, son of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, which corresponded with the śaka year 1474. The date, as also the portion containing the subject matter of the inscription, is lost.

Q

Text

1. வதசு வராஹஜி தெவாநாடி தொலிஜாதொவ(டெ)லாஜி(ர)தடி விநாவா-ரீடி உஹாவிஷ்-

2. ணா மொடுவிந்ராஜ ராவஸமடி [|| *] ரகாவ்டி சுசாளடெசல் மேல் செல்லா நின்ற வ்வஷி ஸ்ரீ.....

3. கொஜபிலு வசுராந [திலை]வநவ்கவதிடு கோ நேர்மை கொண்டான் சுஹி[ராச வ*]ரா குச வாண்டுதெவர(ர)ந-

4. நந்ராந நடி கூசாரன் திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் தன்மப்பொருள் குலசேகர தேவற்கு

5. ஆண்டு இரண்டாவதின் எதிர் வரியாவி வழ்ி்வஸ்ரத்து ஸ்ரீகர்வில். . . . . தர்ஸ்ர . . . . .

6. வீதி . . . . .

R. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF ATIVIRARAMA SRIVALLABHA. SAKA 1487.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa of* the Mûlasthanêśvara temple at Śâmbûr Vaḍagarai. It is dated the Śaka **year1487**, which was also the **third** year of the reign of the king **Ativirarâma Śrivallabhadeva.** In the year Krôdhana, in the Uttarâyana, the Hêmanta-ṛitu. on Thursday, the 6th of the month Makara, the thirteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight, the Mahêndra-yôga and Varâha-karaṇa and *nakshatra* Mṛigaśirshâ, one Irâkkudapperumâḷ, alias, Kaḷḷapirâṇ Śivala-kkâliṅgarâyaṇ was appointed as the accountant of the Srîbhandâram, etc., of the temple of Mûlasthânêśvara at Vindanûr, by the order of the king.

R

Text

1. ஸஸுாயுஜெதஸ ஸததழி ஸஉஷ ஸ்ரஜொஷிஹி ஸ்ரீ உஷ்ணாயு ஸ்ரீவ ஸஜூர [ஜு]யதி ஸாஸ்வதழி ஸாஸ-

2. நழி சுஷிவஜ்ஜை ஸ்வராஜ்ஜையழி । ஸகாஷ்வழி சுசாஅவல் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற ஷஸஷி ஞீ-

3. [ஸ்வ]நெகவீர உநூகூ வுதீவ உஸ்ராஉ(ர)ஹெநூ ஜயஜுஉம்ஹ வ்ரர்ா*] யீஸ்ரக்ஷுஉஷஸ்ர

4. நாரஷிம்ஹகெரஷ த[ஜொ]ஷிவாகர ெ[சாஷஷி]கூ வடவாநஷ ஜெவஷ்யாஹ்ணஷ்ணா-

5. வநாசாயு ஸம்ஸீத ஸாஷ்ஷித ஸாவு ஸ்ரீஉ கொஜழிஷ வஜுரர்ாந தி ஸ்ரீவநஷ்வுகுவதிழு கோநே-

6. ர்்மை] கொண்டான் திருநெல்வேலிப் பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பாமாலையான் தன்மப்-

7. பெருமாள் குலசேகரதேவர் னந்தநராந அழகம்பெருமாள் அதிவீராமனன ஸ்ரீ வஷ்ணு-

8. லஜெவஸ க்கு ஆண்டு மூன்றுவது கொாயந ஸம்வஸ்ரத்தர உத்தராயநத்தர ஹெஉஞ்ஸ-

9. துவில் உகரஞாயிற்று ஆறுந்தேதியும் வரிவுவுகஷத்தர தியொஉஸியர்ழ் வ்ருஹ[ஷ்]திவாரஉழ் ஊசி-

10. ஹநூயொழஉழ் வரஹகர்ண*]மும் பெற்ற ஸ்ரீமஸீஷ்ணுத்தர] நாள் உலகுசிந்தாமணி வளநாட்டு கிடாரத்-

11. து இராக்குதப் பெருமாள் கள்ளப்பிரான் சீவலக்காலிங்கராயனுக்கு சீபண்டாரக்க-

12. ணக்கும் திருவாழி[ய]ம் கண்காணியும் திருமாலையும் காணியாட்சையாக கற்பிக்கும்படி-

13. க்கு நம் குமாரன் அழகம்பெருமாள் அதிவீ[ர]ராமனன ஸ்ரீ வஷ்ணு[ஹ]ெஉவநு நம் வாசல் காரியம் நயினு-

14. [னுக்கு]ம் தானக்கணக்கு சொக்கன் கண்டியதேவனுக்கு[ம்] தானிகருக்கும் ஓலை வரவிடுகையில் சீபண்-

15. டாரக்கணக்குக்கும் திருவாழிக்கும் கண்காணிக்கும் திருமாலைக்கும் மற்றும் அற்றபடி உடை-

16. மையும் சொத்தும் மற்றுமுண்டான சுதந்திரங்களும் இதுமுதலுக்கு பற்றிக்கொண்-

17. டு கணக்கும் எழுதிக்கொண்டு திருவாழி கண்காணி திருமாலையும் செய்துகொண்டு காணி-

18. யாட்சையாக ஆசந்த்ரதாரடு ஸந்ததி ப்ரவெ[ஶமே*] செம்பிலும் சிலையிலும் வெட்டிக் கைய்யாண்-

19. டு கொள்ளவும் சூதிவஜ்ஜைஶ்வரந எழுத்து

S. AND T. KALANGADU AND SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTIONS OF ATIVIRARAMA PANDYADEVA. S. 1489 AND 1492

The two following inscriptions which record the appointments of temple officers are found in Kaḷâṅgâḍu and Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai respectively. The one is engraved on the east wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Jamadagnêśvara temple at Kaḷâṅgâḍu, while the latter is found on the north wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthanêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. At the beginning of the first is a Sanskrit verse written in the Tamiḻ and the Grantha characters in the most faulty manner; the rest is in plain Tamiḻ prose. It records that one Śikailâyam-uḍaiyâṉ, *alias*, Maṟattiru Vâṇâdarâyaṉ of Ulaguchintâmaṇi-vaḷanâḍu was appointed to the accountantship of the temple of Jamadagnêśvara at Kiḷâṅgâṭṭûr by the king, Ativîrarâma Pâṇḍyadêva. It is dated the **Śaka year 1489** which was also the **5th year** of the reign of the king **Alagan Perumâl**, *alias* **Śrivallabhadeva** and **Ativirarâma Pâṇḍyadeva**, the son of Tirunelvêlipperumâḷ Kulaśêkharadêva and grandson of Abhirâma Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva. The appointment took effect from **Friday, the 24th of the month of Arpaśi**, which corresponded with **the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight**, the **Simha-karaṇa and Pushya nakshatra.**

The second record is dated the **Śaka year 1492**, the cyclic year **Pramoduta**, which was **also 8th year** of the reign of **Ativirarâma Pâṇḍyadeva.** On **Monday the 25th of the month Kanni in the Dashiṇâyanam, which corresponded with the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight, in the Simha-karaṇa and Śubhayoga and the nakshatra Pushya,** Tirumêniyaḻagiyâṉ, *alias*, Taṇḍaikkâla Brahmâdarâyaṉ of the Kâśyapa gôtra and Bôdhâyana Sûtra was appointed to do the thirty days' *pûja* in the temple of Mûlasthâna; the appointment was made by the king himself. As in the previous document the king's father's name is given and it is preceded by the usual later Pâṇḍya 'introduction' beginning with *bhuvanêkavîra.*

S

Text

1. ஶுபமஸ்து [||*] பாத்திரபத சந்த்ரலி விருத்திநாம்
2. ச[ா]க்கிறவத்திர[ய்ய]ாநஸாரிணாம் அஹாஸ
3. திருவக்கினீஶ்வரஸ்ய ஸ்வமேசஸ்யாபி சாஸ-
4. நம் ஆதிசண்டேஶ்வரராஜேஸ்யம் [||*] சகாப்தம் ௲-
5. சா அடுஷல் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ புவ-
6. நேகவீர சகலகுணஸம்பன்ன ஆகவராமன-
7. ஜநகேரள தமோதிவாகர சோளஸிந்து வ-

8. டவாநல ஹம்ஶீத சாஹித்ய விஶ்வாவிநோத வ்ய-
9. ஹ்ரி ஶ்ரீ கோசெடில வஜ்ரான திறிபுவநச்சக்கிற-
10. வததி கோநேர்மை கொண்டான் அபிராம பரா-
11. க்கிறம பாண்டியதேவர் னந்தனரான அழகன்
12. [பெரு]மாள் திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பா-
13. மாலை [ய]ா[ய] குலசேகரதேவர் னந்தன[ர]ந அழகன்-
14. பெருமாள் அதிவீராமனை ஶ்ரீவல்லபதேவற்கு ய-
15. ாண்டு நிவ[து] பிறப[வ] ுநில அற்பசி மீ அபரபக்கத்து
16. இருபத்து நாலாந்தெய்தியும் சுத்தமியும் சுக்கிறவாரமு-
17. ம் சிங்குகாணமும் பூசத்துநாள் பெற்ற உலகுசிந்தாம-
18. ணிவளநாட்டு கிடாரத்தூர் சீகையிலாயமுடையான்
19. ம[ற]த்தி [ரு] வாணைபெருமாளுக்கு வடவாரிநாட்டு [கி]-
20. [ள]ாங்க[ர]ட்டூர் நம் ஆலயத்துக்கு தன்மகத்த[ர்]கணக்கு
21. காணியாட்சையாக குடிக்கும்படிக்கு நம்குமரன்
22. திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பா மாலை-
23. யான் குலசேகரதேவர் னந்தனரான அழகன்[பெரு]மாள்
24. அதிவீராமன் சிரிவல்லவதேவர் நம் வாசல் . . துர்க்கா-
25. றர்க்கு ஓலை வரவிடுகையில் நம் குமாரன் அழகன்[பெரு]மாள்
26. [அதிவீராம]னை ஶ்ரீ வல்லதேவர் கற்பித்தமைஆ-
27. [லை] . . . . . மம சீவலதேவனும் னம் அதிவீராம
28. . . . . தேவனும் ந . . . . . .

(six more lines damaged)

T

Text (1)

1. ஸுஹஸ்தி [||*] ஸுபாயுஷே நம: ஸததம் ஸஸ்ய ஸுரக்ஷணாய ஸ்ரீ
ஶிவுநாய-

2. ஸிவஸம்ஹாஜ்ருயதி ஸாஸ்வதம் ஸாஸநம் ஆஜிவஸ்ஸுராஜ்ஜெயம் |
ஸகாவ்தி

3. ஆசாசலம் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற வ்ஹ்ரி ஶ்ரீ ஸுவஸேநகுமார வ்ருகுலு வ்ரீ-
வஜயராஜ-

4. ராஜந்ய ஜயஜஜமுவாரவராயஸ்ரீ கேஷராஸுர நாரஸிம்ஹ[ர]கு-
ல தீஜரதி-

5. வாகுர வோலஸிங்குவடவாநது தேவஸ்ரீஹரணஸ்ரீவ நாயய வ-
ம்ரித-

6. வாஹித்ய வாவஸுஶ்ரீஜ கோராஜதிலுவஜ்ரா ந திஸ்ரீவ நஜகுவர்த்தி
கோநேர்மை கொண்டான்

7. திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பா மாலைபான் யஜ்ப்பெருமாள் குலுசேர

(1) From inked impressions.

8. தேவர் நந்தநரான அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவற்க்கு ஆண்டு அவது

9. ப்ரஜோத்பத ஸம்வத்ஸரத்து தக்ஷிணாயநத்து வஷ்ட ஸ்ரீதுவில் கஸிரவியும் சுபரவக்ஷ-

10. த்து ஸனகாதசியும் ஸோமவாரமும் ஸுபயோகமும் ஸிம்ஹகரணமும் பெற்ற பூஷ்யநக்ஷ-

11. த்ரத்து னாள் காஸ்யபகோத்ரத்து வோயாந ஸூத்ரத்து திருமேனி யழகியான் ப்ரஹ்மாதராயன்

12. தண்டைக்கால ப்ரஹ்மாதராயனுக்கு பண்டுடையானு[ம்] பழம்பேரையும் தவிர்த்து முப்ப-

13. துவட்டமும் நம் சுவ்வினை காணியாட்சை ஆக கல்பித்தபடிக்கு நம் குமாரன்

14. அழகன் பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமனான ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர் ஓலை நம் வாசல் து. க்காள-

15. க்கு வரவிடுகையில் நம் காரியம் ஊமனாதனும் காரியக்கணக்கு குற்றாலமும் கூழியன் கணக்கு

16. சொக்கன் கண்டியதேவனும் மாடாபத்தியக்கணக்கு திருவலங்காத்தானும் நம்

17. ஆலையகணக்கு செண்பகராமக்குட்டி சீல மழவராயன் கணக்கின்படி விட்ட

18. குறுமறைநாட்டு விந்தனூர் பெரியகுளத்தின் கீழ் பத்தக்கால் ச [கண்ணாறு தடி] உ . . . .

19. . . . . ( ) ஆக மாதம் ஒன்றுக்கு நம்பு உடமை நெல் [கோட்டை] க ஆகவும் சோறு ஸ்வதந்த்ர-

20. ங்களும் பயிர் எடுப்பு ஒத்தவாசினையில் உள்ள ஸ்வதந்த்ரங்களும் பற்றிக்கொண்டு நம் ஓலைக்கு

21. எழுத்தும் இட்டு சுவ்வனை சுவ்வநாவ்ருத்தியும் மனையும் மனைக்கூறும் . . . . . .

22. யும் உசுஸவம் ப்ரதிஷையும் தொன்றுங்கோவில் தொன்றாக கோவில் மற்றும் எற்ப்பேற்-

23. பட்ட ஸமஸ்த ப்ராப்திகளும் சூவந்த்ரதாரவசு ஸந்ததிப்ரவேசமே செம்பிலும் வெட்டி

24. கைய்யாண்டுகொள்ளவும் [||*] சூதிவண்ணேஸ்வரநுஎழுத்து

U AND V. KALANGADU INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REIGN OF ATIVIRARAMA PANDYADEVA. S. 1493

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on the north base of the central shrine of the Venkaṭâchalapati temple at Kaḷângâḍu. They both record the grants of land made by the king to this temple. The first is dated **Ś 1493**, cyclic year **Prajotpatti**; in this year, **in the Uttarâyanâ and Vasanta-ritu, on Friday, the 15th of the month Vaigâśi**, which corresponded with the **10th tithi of the bright fortnight**, in the **Śubha-yoga and Śubha-karaṇa** and **nakshatra Uttara**, the king **Ativirarâma, alias Aḷagaṉ Perumâḷ, Śrivallabhadeva**, granted some land to the god Tiruvêṅgaḍanâtha of Kiḷângaṭṭûr. The king is said to have been born in the Punarvasu nakshatra.

The second inscription belongs to the **same year** but is **dated Thursday, the 6th of the month Kanni**, in the **Dakshiṇâyana and Varsha-ṛitu**; this day was also **the 3rd tithi of the**

bright half of the month, and **nakshatra Aśvati, Śubha-karaṇa and Śubha-yoga.** On this day the king granted once again some more land to the same temple of Tiruvêṅkaṭanâtha of Kaḷâṅgâṭṭûr.

U

Text

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*] ஸ்ரீ [||*] ஸகல[ராஜ்ய] உன் போற் செல்லாநின்ற ஸ்ரீ லக்ஷ்மீகரவீர வந்ய கண்ட பேரண்ட ஜயஸ்தம்பமுவ்வராயர்-வராயபிரான சேதிமாஸ்தான நாராயணகேரள தேசாதிபராகிய சோழகுல வடவாதன வாஹித்து வாவடுதுறை கெய்வவ்ராஹ-

2. ன ஸ்ரீவல்லபராய[ர]ரும் கோஜடிமுவனூருடைய திருவல்லபதேவத்தும் கோநேர்மைகொண்டாரு ஸ்ரீபெருமாள் திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பாமாலையாரு யானைப்பெருமாள் கண்டபெரிய தேவர் நந்நாராயண ஸ்ரீபெருமாள் அழகரு பெருமாள்

3. அதிவீரராமரு அய ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர்கு ஆண்டு எட்டாவது ராஜாபிஷேகத்தி வசவஸ்ரத்தை உத்தராயணத்து வைகாசி மீ பெருவழி வெவ்வுவக்கூத்தை தசமியோடி ஸ்கந்தவாரமோடி ஸ்வாதியோகமோடி ஸ்வஸ்தகரணை-

4. ஈடு பெற்ற உத்திரநக்ஷத்திரத்து நாள் வைகாசி நக்ஷத்திரத்து நாள் ஜாதரூப ஸ்ரீபெருமாள் அழகரு பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமரு ஆய ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர் ஆய நாம் கிளாங்காட்டிரில் கயிறார் திருவேங்கடநாதற்கு திருவிடையாட்டம் ஸ-

5. வகுளரூபராஜவிட்ட நடி வாசற்கணக்கர் இட்டகைய்த்தடிப்படி வடவாரிநாட்டு பன்பொழி உள்ளிட்ட . . பற்றில் பண்டு உடையாணையும் பழம் பேரையும் தவிர்த்து நடி கண்டு உழவுதிறந்து திருவிடையாட்டம் விட்டது-

6. க்கு எல்கையாவது நாளிட்டுவென்றான் கடமாக்குளம் உள் பட்டதுக்கு எல்கை கீள் எல்கை இலத்தூர்க . . . டி மேற்படி குளத்தில் நீர்க்கலுக்கும் மேற்கு தெரு எல்கை பழஞ்செய் கால் புரவுக்கு வடக்கு

7. . . . . (The rest damaged).

V

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி [||*] ஸ்ரீ ஸகாப்தம் சகாயிரத்தெல் மேற்செல்லாநின்ற ஸ்ரீ லக்ஷ்மீகரவீர வந்ய கண்ட பேரண்ட ஜயஸ்தம்பமுவ்வராயர்-ப்பிரான சேதிராஸ்தான நாராயண கேரள தேசாதிபராகிய சொ-

2. ழகுல வடவாதன வாஹித்து வாவடுதுறை கெய்வவ் னை வல்லபராயரும் கோஜடிமுவனூருடைய திருவல்லபதேவத்தும் கோநேர்மைகொண் டாரு ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் திருநெல்வேலிப்பெருமாள் வீரவெண்பா-

3. மாலையாந் யானைப்பெருமாள் கண்டபேரரசதேவர் நந்நாராய ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் அழகரு பெருமாள் அதிவீரராமரு ஆய ஸ்ரீவல்லபதேவர்குயாண்டு ஒன்பதாவது ராஜாபிஷேகத்தி வசவஸ்ரத்து உத்தினாயத்தை வடிதீதவில் க-

(1) From inked impressions.

4. ஹிரவி கூஉ யுடு சுவரவக்ஷத்த த்ரிதியையுடு ஶுரவாரமும் ஶு-
ஹயோகமும் ஶுஹகரணமும் பெற்ற சு[ஶ்வதி] நக்ஷத்ரத்த நாள் வுநர்வஸு
நக்ஷத்ரத்து நாள் ஜாதரா[ய] ஸ்ரீ பெருமாள் அழகநுபெருமாள் அதிவீரராமநு ஆய
ஸ்ரீவல்லுஹதேவர் ஆ-

5. ய நாம் வடவாரிநாட்டு கிளாங்காட்டூரில் நயினார் திருவேங்கடநாதற்கு திருவிடை
யாட்டமாக ஸவ்வுஹாஹ்யஹாஹ விட்ட நம் வாசற்கணக்கர் இட்ட கை[ய்]த்தடிப்படிசேர்த்
துக்குடுத்த மேற்படி நாட்டு மேற்படியூர் உள்ளிட்ட பற்றில் இராசகு-

6. லராமப் பேரேரிக்கு நான்கு எல்கைக்கு எல்கையாவது கீழைக்ட்டளை தென்மடல் (2)
ஓடிய காலுக்கு மேற்கு பழவராயன்குளத்து நீர்நக்கலுக்கும் பழய செம்பேறுகீழ்மேலோடிய
ஒட்டுக்கண்ணாற்று

(The succeeding lines are somewhat damaged)

W. SAMBUR-VADAGARAI INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF ATIVIRARAMA PANDYADEVA

The inscription edited below is found engraved on the north wall of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of the Mûlasthânêśvara temple at Śâmbûr-Vaḍagarai. Itis dated **Ś. 1494**, cyclic year **Angirasa. This year corresponded to the 10th** year of the reign of **Ativirarâma Pânyadeva.** In the **Uttarâyaṇa and Śaśiritu of** this year, **on Friday, the 15th of the month Mina**, which was also the **11th tithi of the bright, fortnight, in the Vanija-karaṇa and Priti-yoga and nakshatra Rohini,** Tiruvaṇṇâmalaippulavaṉ Chidambaranâthan *alias* Tirumûlanâtha Mudali of the Naḍuvumaṇḍalam was appointed to sing the Dêvâram hymns in the temple of Mûlasthânêśvara temple, by the king. He was recommended by Aḻaga-Śokkaṉâr Abhirâma Pâṇḍyaṉ. This last person must be Varatuṅgarâma, who, we have already seen, bore the name Abhirâma Sundarêśa. (See page 126 above).

W
Text

1. ஶுஹஶஸ்து [||*] ஸந்தாயுஶேதஸ் ஸததடு ஸஶஸ்து ஸுரஶௌலிஹி:
ஸ்ரீ ஶூலநாயஶிவ-

2. ஶடுஹூஜ்ஜயதி ஶாஶ்வதடு ஶாஸநடு சூதிசண்டேஶ்வராஜ்ஞேயடு ஶகாப்தடு

3. ஸ்ரீசாஸ் செல் மேல் செல்லாநின்ற ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஹுவநேகவீர சந்த்ரகுலு

4. ப்ரதீ[வ*] ஶமுராஶஹேந்த்ர ஜயஸ்தஶம்ஶலுபுரவராயீஶ்வர நாரு-

5. ஸிம்ஹகேரஹ தஶோதிவாகர சோஹஸிந்துவடபாநலு தேவ-

6. ப்ராஹ்மண ஸ்தவநாசாய்ய ஸம்ஶீத ஸாஹித்ய ஸாவ்யஹூஶ கோஜபி-

7. லு வர்ஶுராந த்ரிஹு[வ*]நச்சக்ரவத்தி கோனேர்மைகொண்டான் திருநெல்
வேலிப்[பெருமா]ள்

8. வீரவெண்பாமாலையான் [யஶ*] ஶுப்பெருமாள் குலசேகரதேவக்கு நந்த-

9. நரான அழகன்பெருமாள் அதிவீரராஶநான ஸ்ரீவ[ல்லு]ஹதேவற்கு ஆண்டு [ய]ஆ-

10. வது ஆங்கீர[ஸ*]ஸம்வத்ஸரத்த உத்த[ராயண] ஶெஶிஶிதுவில் மீநம் ௰௫௳
அபரவக்ஷத்து ஏகாதஶி-

(2) Read தென்வடல்.

11. யாழ ஶுக்ரவாரமு[ம்] வணிஜகரணமும்[ஸ்ரீ]தியோகமும் பெற்ற ரோஹணி நக்ஷத்ரத்தானாள் சே[ா]-

12. ழவ[ழ]நாட்டு நடுவுமண்டலத்து பெரும்பற்றபுலியூர்நயினார் திருவம்பலமுடைய ந-

13. யினார் திருப்பூமண்டபத்தாரில்த்திருவண்ணாமலைப் புலவர் சிதம்பரநாதன்

14. திருமூலநாதமுதலிக்கு பண்டுடை[யும்] மனை[யும்] பழம்பேரை[யும்] தவித் து திருப் பாட்டுக்காணியாட்சையாக கற்-

15. பிக்கும்படிக்கு நம் குமாரன் அழகசொக்கனார் சுஸிராஉவாண்ணன் ஓலை நம் வாச-

16. ல் காரியம் இராமநாதனுக்கும் காரியகணக்கு சங்கரனுக்கு

17. ம் கர்ம்மிதண்டை பிராமா . . . . . சணக்கு சொக்கன்

18. [கண்டி]ய தேவனுக்கும் நம் ஆலயகணக்கு செண்பகறாமனுக்கும்

19. சீவலம்மறாயனுக்கு ஓலையும் விடுகையில் திருப்பாட்டுக்காணி-

20. யாட்சையும் உடைமைசோறு சுதந்திரங்களும் கையாண்டு . . . பற்றிக்கொண்-

21. டு தொன்றுங்கோயில் தொன்றாக கொயிலும் மனையும் மனைக்கூறுந்தோட்டமு-

22. ம் தோட்டக்கூறுமற்று மெற்பட்டச் சம்பிறாத்தி[யும்] ஆசஞ்சிரதாரவர் சந்ததி பிற-வேசமே கல்லிலு-

23. [ஞ்] செம்பிலும் வெட்டிகையாண்டுகொள்ளவும் சூதிவண்ணெஶ்வரநு எழுத்து

X. KALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF SIVALA MARN. S. 1522

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone set up under a banian tree situated on the east of the village of Kaḷâṇgâḍu. It is dated **Śaka 1522 which** is said to have been the **38th year** of the reign of **Aḷagaṉ Perumaḷ Ativirarâman**, *alias* **Śrivallabhadeva.** In this year **Plava** on the **12th of the month Tai, the prince Śivaḷa Mâṟaṉ, who brought back the** past, colonised the village of Kiḷâṅgâṭṭûr by remitting taxes on the house sites occupied by any one for six months. The prince Śivala Mâṟaṉ appears to be the person who performed a *yâga* and on that account called himself Srîvallabha-yajvâ or Sômayâji.

X

Text (1)

1. கெணப-
2. தி[க்கு விரைப்பாடு கோட்டை நெல்லு . .]
3. சகா[த்த]ம்
4. ௯௫௱௨௰௨ ன்
5. மேற்செ-
6. லாநின்றி (2) ஸ்ரீ[பெருமா]ள்
7. அழகன்
8. [பெருமா]ள் அதிவீ[ரர]-
9. ாமனான
10. ஸ்ரீவ[ல்ல]வ தே-
11. [வ*]ற்குயா-
12. ண்டு ௩௰அவது
13. பில ௵
14. தைமீ ௰௨௨ ஸ்ரீ
15. [பெருமா]ள் இற-
16. [ந்த] காலமெடு[த்த]
17. சீவல ம-
18. ாறன் பண்ட-
19. ாரத்தில் கி-
20. ளாங் காட்[டூர்]
21. மாடை
22. பிறித்துக்குடியே

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) Read செல்லாநின்ற

23. ற்றிவித்த
24. சீவல ந[ல்லூ]ற்கு
25. [எல்]யை-
26. ாவது [கீழ்எல்]கை
27. [மேற்படி]யூர் பு-
28. து[க்கு]ளந் . . ம்
29. . . . . .
30. [க்கு தென் எல்கை] (3) . . . .
31. க்கு[வட]க்கு
32. [மேல் எல்கை] கல்வெட்-
33. டு[க்கு]ழி[க்குகிழ]
34. [க்கு வடஎல்கை] பரா-
35. க்கிறமபாண்-
36. டியப் பேரேரியூரு-
37. க்கு[தெற்கு] ஆக
38. [இன்]னான்கெல்கை-
39. க்குள் பட்ட
40. குடியிருக்கிற பலற்-
41. கு சு . . . . .
42. . . . . .
43. . . . . .
44. . . . . (4) ஆக இந்த-
45. ப்படியும்
46. வந்தேறு குடிக்கு ஆ-
47. று மாததை (5)
48. க்கு இறையி[ல்லா]மலும்
49. குடியிருப்-
50. பாராகவும் . . .
51. மட[த்துக்கு]-
52. [வித்துப்பாடு கோட்டை நெல் ச .]

Y. SUCHINDRAN INSCRIPTIONS OF ARIKESARI PARAKRAMA PANDYADEVA

The following inscription is found on the west wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Sthâṇunâthasvâmin temple at Suchîndram. It is dated the **28th year** of the reign of the king Jatilavarman Tribhuvana-chakravarttin **Parâkramadeva, born in the Mrigaśirsha nakshatra. On the Mârigaśirsha** nakshatra, the natal star of the king, which fell on **the 20th of the month Medam,** which was also the **3rd** *tithi* **of the bright fortnight**, the king granted some land for conducting certain special services in his name. The king mentioned in this document is Arikêsari Parâkrama Pâṇḍyadêva, the builder of the temple of Viśvanâthasvâmin at Teṉkâśi.

Y

Text (1)

1. ஹரி[ஃ][||*]ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [||*]சொசதிவைவன்மரான (2) திறிபுவனசக்கிறவத்தீ சிறி-பிருக்கிறமபாண்டியதேவற்கு ஆண்டு இ-

2. ருபத்து எட்டாவது மேடஞ[ா*]யறு இருபதாந்தேய்தியும் பூறுவபக்கிழத்துதிறிதி-யையும் பெற்ற நம்மு-

3. டைய பிறந்தநாளான மிருகசிருஷத்து நாள் நாஞ்சினாட்டு சுசி(வி)ந்திரத்து உடையார் சிவீந்திரமு-

4. டையநயினா(ர்)ற்க்கு நாம் கற்ப்பித்த பராக்கிறம(ன்)பாண்டியன் சந்திபூசைக்கு நாள்-ளொன்று-

5. க்கு பூசைக்கு அமுதுபடி பதக்குநானாழிக்கும் திருமாலை திருப்பருவட்டம் சாத்துப்-படி திருவிளக்கு-

(3) All the matter contained in square brackets are either abbreviations or conjunct consonants.
(4) The abbreviations employed are unreadable.
(5) Read மாதத்துக்கு
(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read கோச்சடையவன்மரான திரிபுவனசக்கிரவர்த்தி ஸ்ரீபராக்கிரமபாண்டிய.

6. எண்ணெய் நெய்அமுது கறிஅமுது தெங்காய்அமுது உப்புஅமுது மிளகுஅமுது உள்ப-
பட்டியல் நெ[த்தியங்களுக்கும் வானவ]-

7. ன் நாட்டு பஞ்சாறறிங்கனால் போக்கு (3) செங்களக்குறிச்சியான சுந்தரபாண்டிய-
யன் கல்லூரில் சிவகாமசு[ஞ]ரிக்குளத்த கீழ் (4) இருபத்தெ-

8. ட்டாவது பீசான முத[லு]க்கு நாம் தேவதானமாகவிட்ட நிலம் முப்பதுமாவுக்கு
அதிகாரிகடைக்கூட்டயிட்டு வரக்காட்டி(ன்)ன கற்றடிப்படி எ ங்-

9. [கண்ணுறு] . டு நின்றும் . . . . . [இதன்]கி[ழக்கு] தடி[ந]ப் பிடார
விளாக்த்துக்குகிழக்கு தடி இவைநிலம் காணியும் தென் கிழக்குதடி இரண்டு நிலம் அரை-

10. மாவும் தென்கிழக்கு தடி அஞ்சு நிலம் அரைமாவும் இதன்கிழக்குதடி இரண்டுநிலம்
அரைமாவும் இதன் கிழக்கு தடி ஒன்றுநிலம் காணியும் இதன் கிழக்கு தடி அஞ்சு நிலம் ஒ-

11. ருமாவும் இதன்கிழக்குதடி மூன்று நிலம் ஒருமா[வு]ம் இதன் கிழக்கு தடி ஞலு
நிலம் மாகாணியும் இதன்கிழக்கு தடி நாலு நிலம் ஒருமாவும் தென்கிழக்குதடி இரண்டு நிலம்
அரைமா-

12. வும் தென்கிழக்கு தடி எட்டு நிலம் ஒருமாவரையும் இதன் கிழக்கு தடி ந[ா*]லு
நிலம் மாகாணியும் இதன் கிழக்குதடி ஒன்று நிலம் முக்காணியும் இதன் கிழக்கு தடி ஒன்று
நில[ம்*] க-

13. ாணி [அ]ரைக்காணியும் இதன் கிழக்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம் அரைக்காணியும் இ[த*]ன்
கிழக்கு தடி ஒன்று நிலம் காணிஅரைக்காணி தென்கி[ழ]க்கு தடி நாலும் நிலம் ஒருமாவ-

14. [ரையும் இத]ன் கிழக்குமூன்று மூ[ன்*]றிலொன்றில்(ல)பற்றுநிலம் முக்காணி அரை-
க்காணியும் தென்கிழக்கு தடி ஆறு மூன்றில் ஒன்றில் பற்று நிலம் முக்காணியும் இதன் கி-

15. ழக்கு தடி மூன்று மூன்றிலொன்றில் பற்றுநிலம் காணியும் எட்டாங்கண்ணுறு மேற்கு
நின்றும் தடி இரண்டு மூன்றிலொன்றில் பற்று நிலம் செட்டிகுளம் முதல் கண்ணு[று] .

16. [கி]ழக்கு தடி அஞ்சு நிலம் ஒருமாவும் தென்கிழக்கு தடி இரண்டு நிலம் முக்காணி-
யும் [தெ]ன்கிழக்கு தடிமூன்று நிலம் காணி அரைக்காணி நெய்கூகலபும் [இதன் கிழக்கு]

17. மேற்கு நின்றும் தடி மூன்று நிலம் மாகாணிஅரையும் . . . . . (5)
யும[ர]காணியும் . . . . . பலயும் குன்றில் பற்று நிலம் . . யும் . .

18. . . யும் . . . . . யும் [இதன் கிழக்கு தடி] . . . . யும் [இதன்
கிழக்கு தடி ந] . . யும் [இதன் கிழக்கு] . . . . யும் [இதன் கிழக்கு] . .

19. . . . இ நின்றும்

(Incomplete)

(3) Read கரைப்போக்கு
(4) Read குளத்தின் கீழ்
(5) There are a number of Tamil numerals expressing the extent of land.

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Travancore Archaeological Series

No. XVI

Specimens of Vatteluttu Inscriptions

INTRODUCTION

Vaṭṭeḻuttu, Tekkaṉ-Malayâḻam and Nâṉa-môṉa (1) are the various names of a kind of alphabet which was current in the Madura and the Tinnevelly districts and on the Malabar Coast. The earliest known records written in this alphabet discovered hitherto are those of the early Pâṇḍya king, Jaṭilavarman Parântaka I, who reigned in the last quarter of the eighth century A. D. At that time the alphabet was completely evolved and the difference between two similar letters, such as for instance between *p* and *v*; *ṅ* and *lu* etc., was very markedly shown; the decipherment of the early documents is consequently very easy. A few centuries later carelessness is exhibited to such an extent that it becomes difficult to say if a letter is *k* or *ch*, *ṅ* or *lu*, *p* or *v*, and so on. In the most recent times, the 17th and 18th centuries, the difficulty in reading is much more heightened by writing letters *p*, *v*, *y*, *n* and sometimes *l* also, exactly alike, so that if a word like *palâ-vagaiyâṉa* is written in the alphabet of this period, it could be read as *vava-vàgaivâva*, *vava-vagaivâva*, and so on in no less than 24 ways. Inscriptions of this kind are to be read only on the context and such readings depend for their correctness only on probability. If a better reading is suggested, the one made before must be given up. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet dragged on its existence till the end of the 18th century on the West Coast and eventually gave way to Malayâḻam.

This alphabet is surmised by Dr. Burnell to have had its origin in the Phoenician and Aramaic characters of Europe. The same scholar also thought that it was "best to consider the Aśôka alphabets and the Vaṭṭeḻuttu as independent". In his opinion, this alphabet is very much older than the Tamiḻ, which "only gradually supplanted" it. With this notion, he asserts that Kuṟaḷ and Tolkâppiyam were written in this character and adds in this connection certain absurd uncalled for remarks on the antiquity of the Tamiḻ literature, the utter incorrectness of which has been ably pointed out by the late Mr. Sundaram Piḷḷay in his 'Some Mile-stones in Tamiḻ Literature.' No doubt epigraphy had not far advanced at the time Dr. Burnell wrote; hence nothing definite could be said then about any characters generally and of Vaṭṭeḻuttu in particular. Since then and up till Dr. Buhler wrote his Indian Palaeography the study of Vaṭṭeḻuttu had not progressed very much. However, that scholar advanced a second hypothesis about the nature of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and its origin. Says he, "The Vaṭṭeḻuttu may be described as a cursive script, which bears the same relation to the Tamiḻ as the modern alphabets of the clerk and merchant to their originals e.g., the Môḍi of the Marâṭhâs to the Bâlbôdh and the Tâkari of the Dogras to the Śâradâ. With the expection of the *I*, probably borrowed from the Grantha, all its letters are made with a single stroke from the left to the right, and are mostly inclined towards the left. Several among them, such as the *ṇa*, with the curve and the hook on the left, the *va* with the open top and the hook on the left and the round *ṟa* show the characteristics of the second variety of the Tamiḻ of the 11th and 12th centuries. And with the usage of the later Tamiḻ inscriptions agrees the constant omission of the *virâma*. Some other characters, such as the round *ta*, the *ma* with the curve on the right and the *ya* with the loop on the left seem to go back to the forms of the earlier Tamiḻ. And three, the rounded *U*, the pointed *E*, and the *ṇa* with a single notch possibly show characteristics dating from still earlier period. Perhaps it may be assumed that the 'round hand' arose already before the 7th century, *but was modified in the course of time by the further development of the Tamiḻ and the Grantha scripts*. Owing to the small number of the accessible inscriptions, this conjecture is however by no means certain."

From the statement that Vaṭṭeḻuttu is but a cursive form of Tamiḻ, we have evidently to understand that it did not exist before Tamiḻ and came to be a separate alphabet like the Môḍi and Takari when Tamiḻ came to be employed by business men who could not attend to the niceties of the ideal or theoretical letters; again the assertion that, like the later Tamiḻ, the Vaṭṭeḻuttu also

(1) The name Nâṉa-môṉa is given to it because, at the time when the alphabet is taught to children for the first time, the benedictory words *namôstu* etc. are begun, which are spelt *nana*, *mona*, *ittanna*, *tuna* (that is, *na*, *mô* and *tu*), and the alphabet therefore came to be known as the *nâna-môna* alphabet.

omits the *virâma*, clearly means to convey the notion that the evolution of the latter alphabet was proportional and corresponding to that of the former. It is therefore certain that Dr. Buhler is of opinion that Vaṭṭeḻuttu is no other than Tamiḻ as developed by the business man, the scribe.

To me it appears that the Vaṭṭeḻuttu is most likely derived from the Brâhmi variety of the Aśôka alphabet, like all other alphabets of India, the Nâgari, the Tamiḻ-Grantha and the Telugu-Kannaḍa groups. But it had had a separate line of evolution. From the close analogy of the early specimens of the Tamiḻ-Grantha characters we are sure that they must have been derived from the same mother alphabet, the Brâhmi of the Aśôka script. On closer scrutiny we can find several points of similarity between Vaṭṭeḻuttu on the one hand and the other alphabets of S. India. I have shown elsewhere that the Tamiḻ-Grantha group of the S. Indian alphabets is derived directly from the Brâhmi characters and it is enough if it is proved that Vaṭṭeḻuttu bears close resemblance to the Tamiḻ-Grantha letters, to establish the ultimate origin of the former alphabet.

Let us take first the vowel *a* of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and compare it with its analogue in Tamiḻ. The only peculiarity noticeable in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu letter is that it has for the connecting horizontal stroke between the beginning of the letter and its end a curve which is open at the top; whereas, the Tamiḻ letter has in its place a straight line. (See Tables.)

The addition made to the short vowel *a* to convert into a long *â*, is identical with that employed by Tamiḻ. This addition marks the increase of the length of the sound by half a *mâtra*, and is also used in the formation of the long *û* as in *vû, pû, mû, yû* etc. (See Tables.)

The Tamiḻ *i* is written in archaic inscriptions like the Arabic numeral three; that is, the end stroke curls to the left; whereas, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu it turns to the right. There is practically no difference between the Tamiḻ and the Vaṭṭeḻuttu long *î*'s.

The Vaṭṭeḻuttu *u* is identical with the same letter of the Tamiḻ alphabet, but in the one case the lower horizontal line is slightly curved, and in the other, it is straight. To the short *u* the secondary *â* symbol, a short straight horizontal line, is attached to the right end to make it long *û*. In the case of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu it is added at the end of the horizontal member of *u*, whereas in the early Tamiḻ letter it is found attached to the vertical member, near the loop. The principle that the longer vowel is obtained by the addition of a short straight stroke to the left is of universal application and is found to apply to the case of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the Tamiḻ letters as well.

The letter *e* of Vaṭṭeḻuttu differs from the same letter of the Tamiḻ alphabet in that the former has its end slightly bent inwards and has the angle, formed by the first and second portion of it, at its top. In the case of the Tamiḻ *e* the angle referred to above is on the right, the first part of the letter being horizontal and the second, vertical.

The origin of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *ai* is not clearly traceable.

There is no difference between the Tamiḻ and the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *o*. The vowel *au* has not hitherto been met with in the several Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions examined by me. Its place is often taken by *av* and hence it is generally absent in Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions.

Coming now to the **consonants**, the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *k, ch, ṅ*, r, l, ḻ, ḷ, ñ, are identical with the corresponding Tamiḻ letters; with the exception of the lower horizontal portion, which is a curve opening at the top in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and a straight horizontal line in the Tamiḻ alphabets, the letters *n, ṭ, p, m*, and *v* of both the characters are identical. In the case of the letters *p* and *m*, a small hook opening to the left is attached to their left.

The letter *ṇ* as found in the Tamil inscriptions of the early Pallava periods has the shape which resembles somewhat the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *ṇ*; while in the former there are two distinct loops, the latter has only one.

The earliest known forms of the letters *t* and *ṉ* occur in a short inscription discovered on the hillock called the Tirunâthar-kuṉṟu, near Śeñji (Gingi); for the shapes of these letters see *p.* 231, of the Travancore Archæological Series, No. XIV. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu *t* and *n* differ a little from the Tirunâtharkuṉṟu ones in that the vertical line of *t* of the latter is converted into a curve in

the former, and both the vertical and horizontal straight portions of *n* of the latter are turned into two curves in that of the former. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu *n* has, in accordance with the general rule obtaining with the letters of this alphabet, the horizontal lower line in the form of a curve, with its opening at the top. It has, like *p* and *m* developed a hook on the left side at the beginning of the letter, and opening to the left. If the lower curvilinear line were drawn rather long, it would create confusion between *n* on the one hand and *v* and *p* on the other. To distinguish the letter *n* from the two others, *v* and *p*, its lower limb is converted into a simple hook with its opening to the right. In point of the relative lengths of their horizontal lower curvilinear member, the letters *n*, *v* and *p*. stand in order ; *n* has the shortest, *v* a slightly larger and *p*, the largest length.

The rough *r* of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu and the Tamiḷ alphabets are also very similar to each other ; the end of the letters curls to the left in the case of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu letter, whereas in the Tamiḷ character it descends a little below the line.

If in its vowels and consonants the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet is similar in shape to the Tamiḷ alphabet, the resemblance is still more striking in its secondary vowels, *kâ*, *ki*, etc. The principles involved in the formation of the secondary vowels are general and applicable alike to all the alphabets of India. The long *â* is formed by the addition of a short horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant somewhere at the top, (compare the Brâhmi *kâ* for instance on page 229 of this Series.). In the earlier stages of the evolution of any Indian alphabet, this stroke remains horizontal, but in course of time it bends down and becomes a vertical stroke; the attachment of this addition with the consonant does not get severed till after a few more centuries; in the case of Tamiḷ the earlier long *û* has this long *â* symbol horizontal and straight ; later on it becomes a small vertical stroke attached to the top of the letter; cf. *û* of table on page 219 of this Series. About the 11th century separation of the secondary symbol from the body of the letter is complete ; (see table on p. 220). In the case of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters, the secondary *â* remains straight and horizontal throughout.

The secondary *i* is formed by the addition of a semicircular curve beginning from the top of the consonant and ending on the left with its opening to the left. (This is a more evolved form of the simple Brâhmi angular stroke). The later developments in this are that the symbol gets detached from the consonant in course of time and stands immediately above or by the side of the consonant; compare the later Tamiḷ *ki* and the Nâgari *ki*, but this does not affect the Vaṭṭeḷuttu secondary *i* symbol which remains attached to the consonant. Not much difference is visible between the short and the long *i*'s in the earlier stages, whereas in the later periods the short and long letters are distinguished from each other by various devices which are characteristic of the genius of each alphabet of S. India. The secondary *u* short is obtained by adding a short vertical line at the bottom of the consonant, but if the latter happens to be itself ending in a vertical line as in the case of the Brâhmi, the Tamiḷ and the Nâgari *ka*, the addition took a horizontal course. The addition to the consonant of one more line near the short *u* converts the letter into a long *û*. In some alphabets such as the Tamiḷ, Vaṭṭeḷuttu etc., this second addition is made often to the end of the first or the short *u* symbol; the secondary long *û* stroke, in these alphabets assumes in course of time a curvilinear form; compare *śû*, *pû* etc. with *kû*, *tû*, etc. The secondary *e* is formed by affixing to the top of the consonant a straight short line on the left, while *ai* is got by two lines drawn parallel to each other in the same place as in the case of secondary *e*. This becomes a curved line open at the top in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet. The secondary *ai* with the two *e* strokes parallel to each other is seen in early Grantha and in the Nandi-nâgari and in a manner, in the Dêvanâgari; whereas in the other alphabet such as the later Tamiḷ-Grantha, the Vaṭṭeḷuttu etc., the two lines, which in course of time become two right-hand spirals placed one above the other, in earlier inscriptions, and side by side in the later records. In still later times the two members of this symbol fuse into one somewhat resembling the *ṇ* with two rings. The secondary *o* is composed of the secondary *â* and the secondary *e* the respective symbols being attach-

ed to the consonants in their proper place, that is, *e* on the left and *â* on the right. The secondary *au* is apparently formed by attaching an additional secondary *â* stroke in addition to the secondary *e* and *â* symbols required for the secondary *o*. In later times the two secondary *â* strokes which are placed side by side vertically, coalesce into one symbol, which resembles the Tamiḷ numerical symbol *hundred* in the Tamil alphabet.

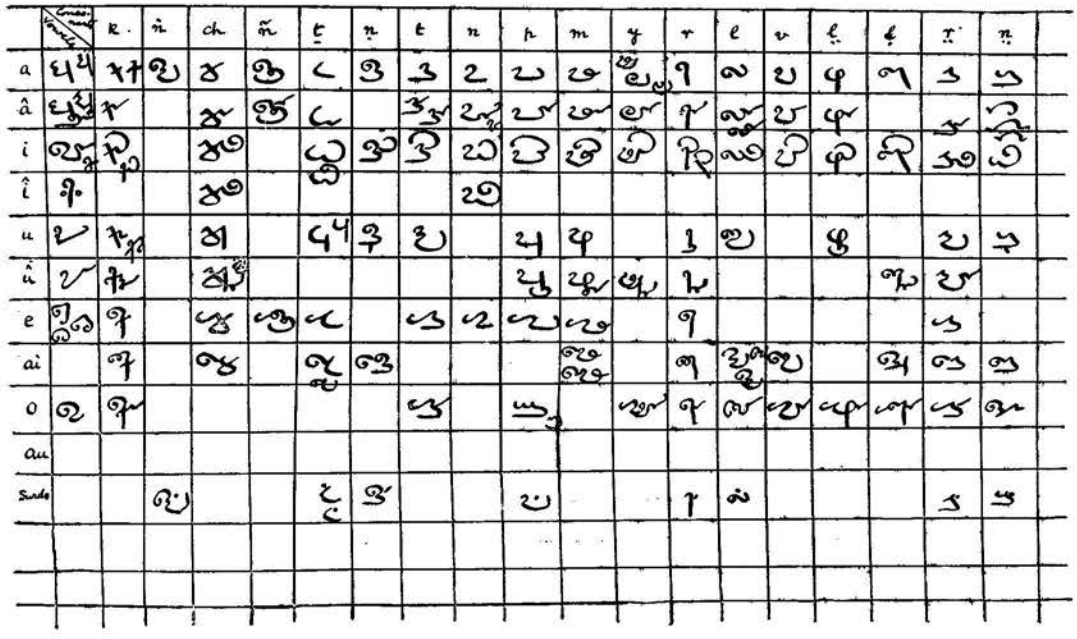
So far as these general principles of the formation of the secondary vowels are concerned, the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet also obeys them as well as any other alphabet of India. This fact clearly proves that the prototype of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu alphabet is the Brâhmi variety of the Aśôka script. It had, like the other alphabets, its own evolution, which differed somewhat from the course of evolution of the Tamiḷ characters. In a very late period of the existence of this alphabet it degenerated so much that it made no difference between the various letters, such as *p*, *v*, *y*, etc., and reading a piece of writing in this alphabet became a matter, as we remarked already, depending entirely upon the context as well as the experience of the reader. Under such circumstances no one would desire to continue the use of this deficient alphabet; and when the Chôḷa conquest of the Pâṇḍya country took place, and the Tamiḷ alphabet began to creep in, it was received with, perhaps, a great feeling of relief. The Vaṭṭeḷuttu was once for all thrown out. In an inscription found in the Kuttâlanâthasvâmin temple at Tirukkuṟṟâlam, it is stated that when the central shrine, which had become dilapidated, was repaired, "all the writing, except the *Vaṭṭam* (Vaṭṭeḷuttu) which could not be read, was re-engraved on the wall." It is clear from this that at the time of the repair of the temple, Vaṭṭeḷuttu became an illegible or unknown character in the Pâṇḍya country. In the insulated Malainâḍu (Malabar) it continued as late as the middle of the 18th century A. D., and even here it was finally supplanted by the Aryâ-eḻuttu (the modern Malayâḷam).

It is an item of faith with some epigraphists that the vertical variety of Vaṭṭeḷuttu, like the one employed in the Madras Museum grant, the Trivandram Museum stone, etc., is more ancient than the slanting variety. There does not appear to be any ground for such a supposition; for both the varieties of the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script are employed in the inscriptions of the early Pâṇḍya king Jaṭilavarman Parântaka; compare the Tiruppaṟaṅkuṉṟam inscription whose facsimile is given below, with the facsimile of the inscription of the same king found at Âṉaimalai and reproduced in the *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 320. In the earliest known Vaṭṭeḷuttu records the consonant *k* is always written like a Latin cross and *cha*, like the small *j* of the English cursive alphabet. Distinction is shown between *p* and *v* by giving the former a longer length to the former, as in the Grantha alphabet, than *v*. The letter *y* is a double semicircular curve with their openings at the top. Occasionally the other form, that of a left-handed spiral, is also employed. All these differences do not give any sure criteria of the age of any inscription. One thing which happens to be a real distinguishing feature of the early Vaṭṭeḷuttu is that the letters which end at the bottom, terminate in a horizontal line; compare *ṉ*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *ṟ*, etc., on the table on page on the next page.

In the inscriptions of the 10th and the 11th centuries A.D., the letters *k* and *ch* are often written exactly alike and cannot be easily distinguished from each other except on the context. However, a slight and hardly perceptible difference is shown by making the loop of the latter a little bigger than that of the former. The other letters remain practically the same as in the earlier characters, but then they are really made 'round hand' (*vaṭṭeḻuttu*) by omitting all angularities; in rare instances the angularities are reproduced, as in the copper-plate inscriptions of Bhâskara-Ravivarman. These features drag on to the end of the 14th century more or less. The degeneration is clearly visible in the inscriptions of the second half of the 14th century A.D. The forms of the letters *ku*, *kû*, *chu*, *ṇa*, *a*, *â* and *e* have very different shapes from those of the early periods. The secondary *e* symbol has a small angular appendage developed at the beginning.

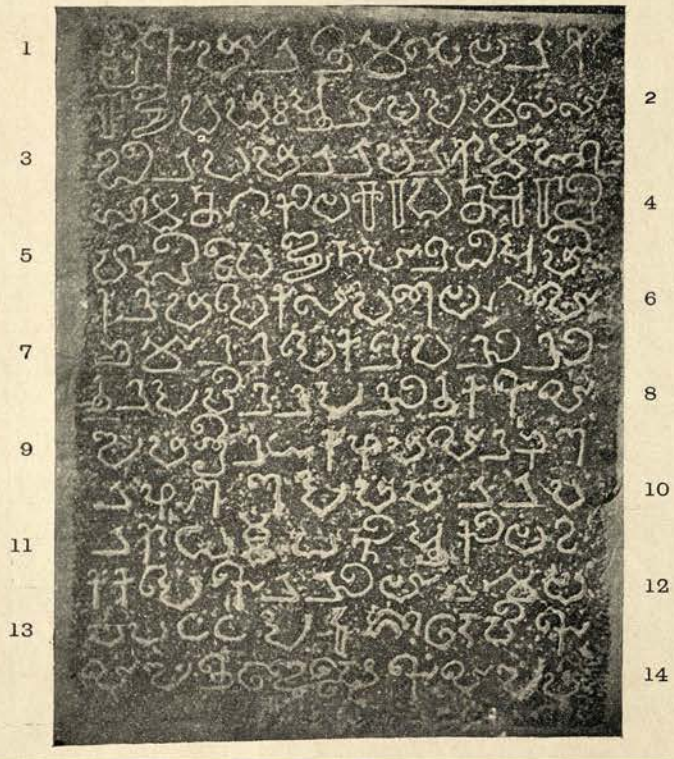
When we come to the 17th century, the difficulties in reading the Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions become keener. For instance, it is almost a feat to read the Miṉchiṟai Maṭham plate whose tanscript and facsimile are given in another part of this paper. The Pâḷiyam plates detailing the

Tirupparankunram, Madras and Trivandram Museum Inscriptions of Maranjadaiyan (about 770 A. D.)

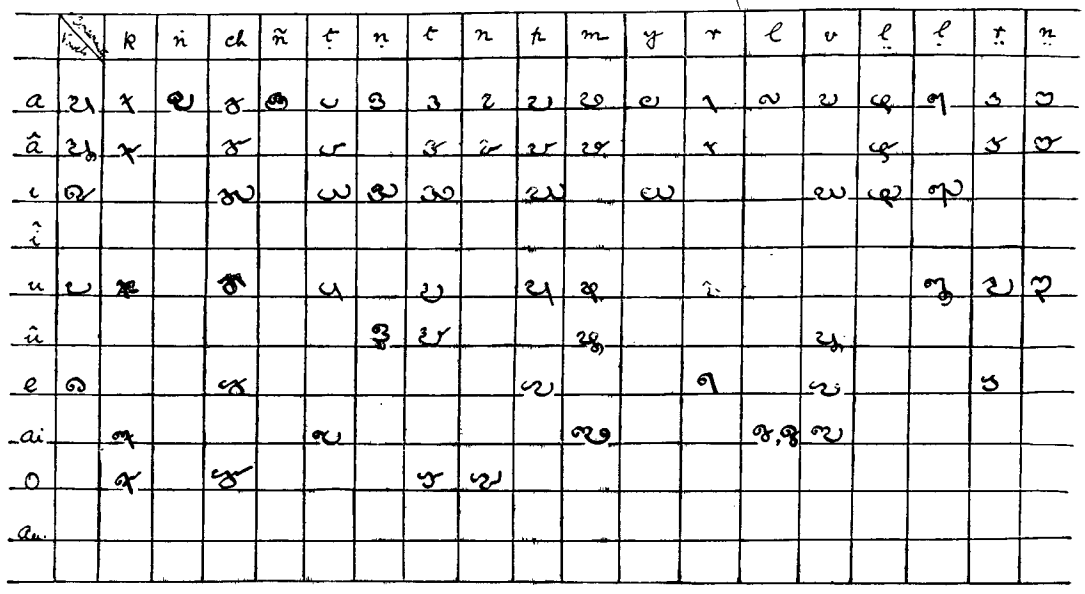


Tirupparankunram Inscription of Maranjadaiyan

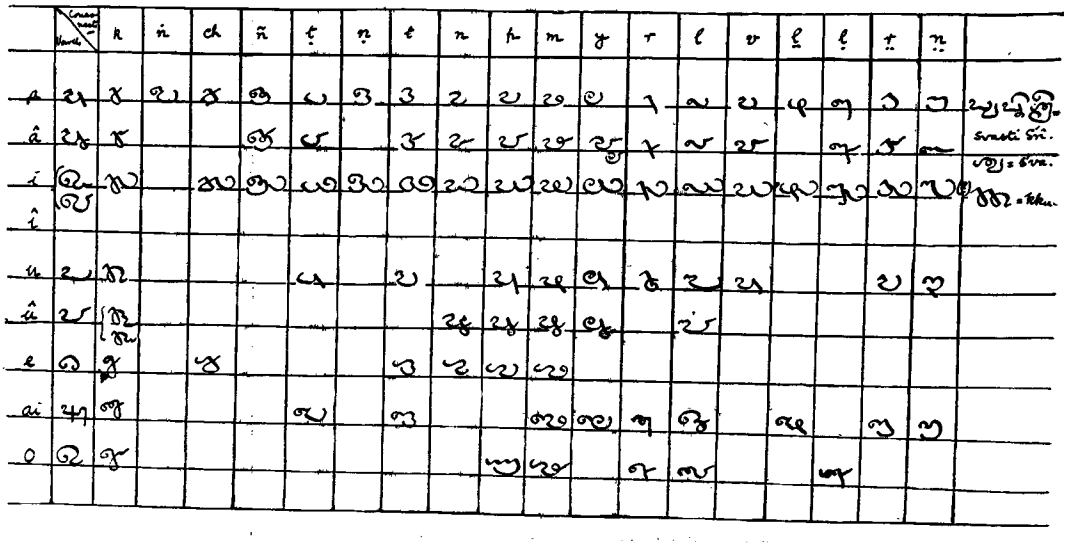
(To face p. 286)



Parthivapuram Inscription of Ko. 98 (=923 A. D.).



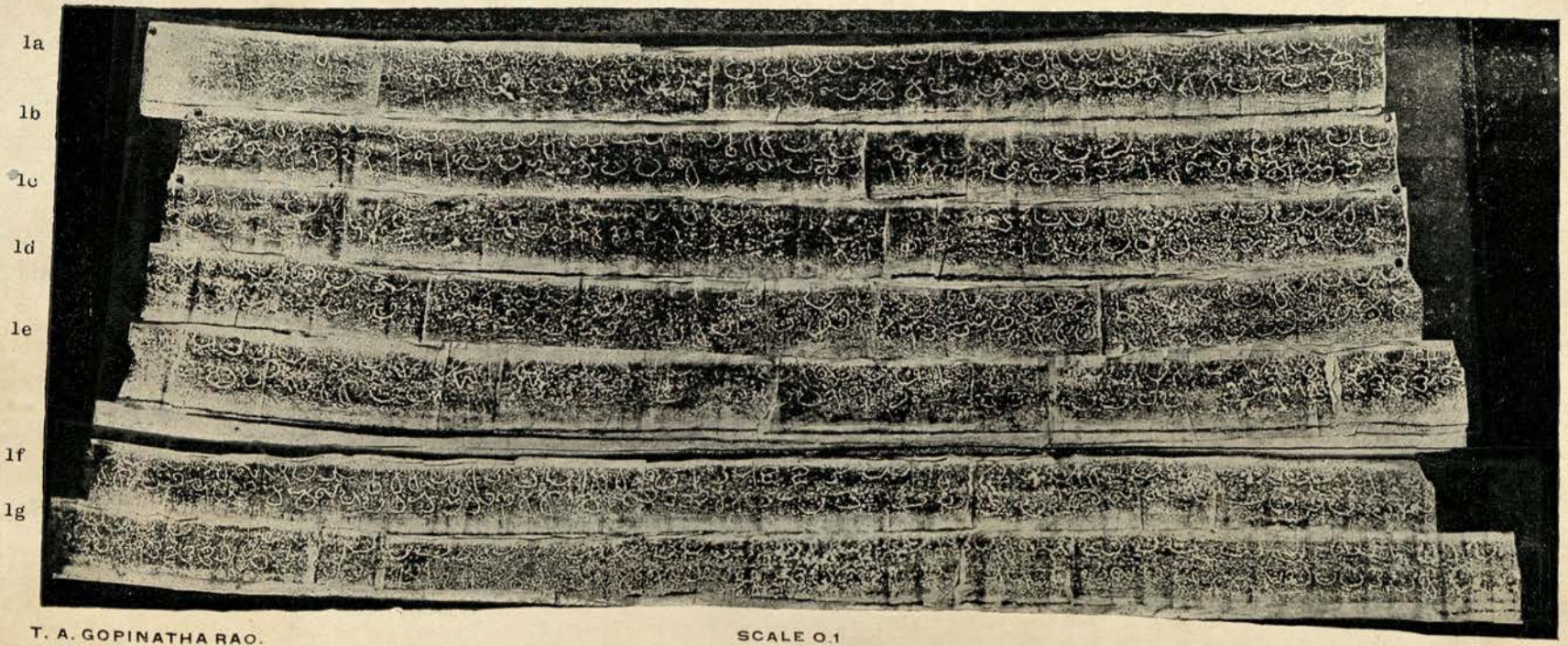
Kandiyur Inscription of the year 123 of the Mahadeva at Kandiyur (=A. D. 946).



A. Parthivapuram Inscription of Ko. 98. (To face p. 287.)

SCALE 0.12

B. Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4052. (To face p. 288)



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE 0.1

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terms of the treaty between the Râja of Cochin and the Dutch East India Company, published on pages 29—40 of this Series also belong to this class.

In the manuscripts of the eighteenth century, the Vaṭṭeluttu characters are in such a state of intolerable confusion, that it is rather difficult to describe in detail the various changes that are visible in individual documents. A table of the alphabet of this period and a copy of the manuscript is, however, given for the purposes of comparative study.

A. PARTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF Ko. 98.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the base of the north pial in front of the Vishṇu temple at Pârthivapuram, a village 5 miles south-east of Kuḷitturai, the head-quarters of the Viḷavaṅgôḍu tâlûka, of the S. Travancore division. The stone upon which it is engraved is not well-dressed and hence its facsimile is not very good, though the inscription is in a good state of preservation. At the beginning of the inscription is a Sanskrit verse giving the precis of the Tamil portion of the record. It is dated the 98th year of the Kollam era, and records that one Kumaraṇ Nârâyaṇaṇ *alias* Pañchavaṇ-Brahmâdhirâjaṇ of Iḍaikuḷattûr set up two perpetual lamps in the temple of Vishṇu at Pârthivaśêkharapuram. He also made a gift of paddy for offerings to be made on the Punarvasu *nakshatra* in the month of Âshâḍha every year. The Tamil portion is written in the Vaṭṭeluttu characters, a table of which is also given on the opposite page.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [||*]உக்ர வாகஸி-ுவவாஹிவ-ுஸோவஸ்ர வாஸிர ஜேவாய ஸீவஉ-
வ்யு வ்ருதா-ுஷாய வாஸவ-ுஹஸ்ரு வாஸரஹா[ஜீர]ஹீ ஸ்ர-

2. டாஸாஉஸ ஹாஸி ஜ்ருஹ்ஸ் வாஸர்ஸ்ஜ்ருஸாஜ உஉஹாஹாஸாயண ஸ்ராஜ்ஹி-ுணஃ
வீர்ஸெஜ்ரு வ[உஸ்]ண ஹ்ஸிஷண ஷ்ஸவிலவம வ்ருஹ்ராயிஸாஜஷ்ஸ[ய்ஃ] [||*]

3. தொண்ணூற்றெட்டா மாண்டின் ஏதிராமாண்டு (2) பாத்திவசேகரபுரத்து ஹ(ப)ட்-
டாரகர்க்கு தூமாநாட்டு இடைக்குளத்-

4. தூர் பஞ்சவன் வ்ருஹ்ராயிஸாஜுயின குமரன் நாராயணன் அமைச்ச திருநொந்தா
விளக்கு இரண்டு [||*] இரண்டிலு மொ-

5. ன்றுக்கு படைத்தலைவன் கண்ணன் மாணிக்கன் கை(ய்)யில் அடுத்த எருமை ஏழு
[||*] இவையிற்றால் மடைப்பள்ளியால் (3) உ-

6. ழக்காழாக்கும் படைத்தலைவன் பாகஞ்சிவீந்திரவன் கையில் அடுத்த எருமை ஏழு
[||*] இவையிற்றால் திருநொந்தாவி-

7. ளக்குக்கு மடைப்பள்ளி நாழியால் உழக்காழாக்கு இடைவர் (4) [||*] சாகாமூவாப்
பேரெருமை [||*] இவ்வூர் வேட்கோவனுகின்ற

8. செங்கோடனும் தம்பிமாரு மருமக்களும் அம்பலமும் வாதில்மாடமூஞ் சுற்றுமண்-
ட[ப]மும் அழிவு செல

9. . . . . .
கடவர் [||*] ஆடிப்புணர்த்த[த்*]தினுள்

10. பன்னிருகல நெல்லு சாலையுளமை . ல சா . . . .

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) The ரா in ஏதிராமாண்டு is engraved below the line.
(3) Read மடைப்பள்ளி நாழியால்
(4) Read இடக்கடவர்

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

Be it well. Śrî. In (the town of) Pârthivaśêkharapura, the wise Brahmâpirâja *alias* Nârâyaṇa, adorned with good qualities, having, with magnificence, set up two lamps for the Lord, also made a gift of twelve *ghaṭas* (*kalams*) of paddy for every Punarvasu day in (the month of) Âshâḍha and further made a gift of a splendid *agra* (i. e. *agra-sâlâ* or feeding house) for students.

The year opposite the ninety-eighth (of the Kollam era was current): two (perpetual) lamps were set up for the (Vishṇu) Bhaṭâraka of Pârthivaśêkharapuram, by Kumaran-Nârâyaṇaṉ *alias* Pañchavaṉ Brahmâdirâjaṉ, of Iḍaikuḷattûr in Tûma-nâḍu. Of these two lamps, the buffaloes that were entrusted for one lamp, with the military man Kaṇṇaṉ-Mâṇikkaṉ, numbered seven. From these (buffaloes), a *uḻakku* and *âḻâkku* of ghee measured by the *nâḻi* (measure) of the (temple) kitchen, shall be supplied; (those that were entrusted to the military man Pâgaṉ Śivîndiraṉ were seven (buffaloes also). From these, a *uḻakku* and *âḻâkku* of ghee measured by the *nâḻi* (measure kept) in the (temple) kitchen shall be supplied. The potter Śeṅgôḍaṉ of this place, his brothers and nephews shall (attend to) the repairs, etc., of the temple, the *vâdli-mâḍam*, (the hall over the gateway and the gateway), and the śurru-maṇḍapam. On the Punarvasu nakshatra (that is, the day on which it falls) in the month of Âḍi, twelve *kalams* of paddy for the *sâlai*. . . . . .

KAVIYUR INSCRIPTION OF 4052ND YEAR OF THE KALI ERA

This inscription is engraved on the west, south and east bases of the central shrine of the Siva temple at Kaviyûr, a village 4 miles noth-east of Tiruvalla, the head-quarters of the tâlûka of the same name in the Kôṭṭayam division. Strangely enough this document is dated in tha Kali era. The date is the 4052nd year after the beginning of Kaliyuga. It records that two private individuals, apparently brothers, a piece of land for burning lamps, and offerings.

Text [1]

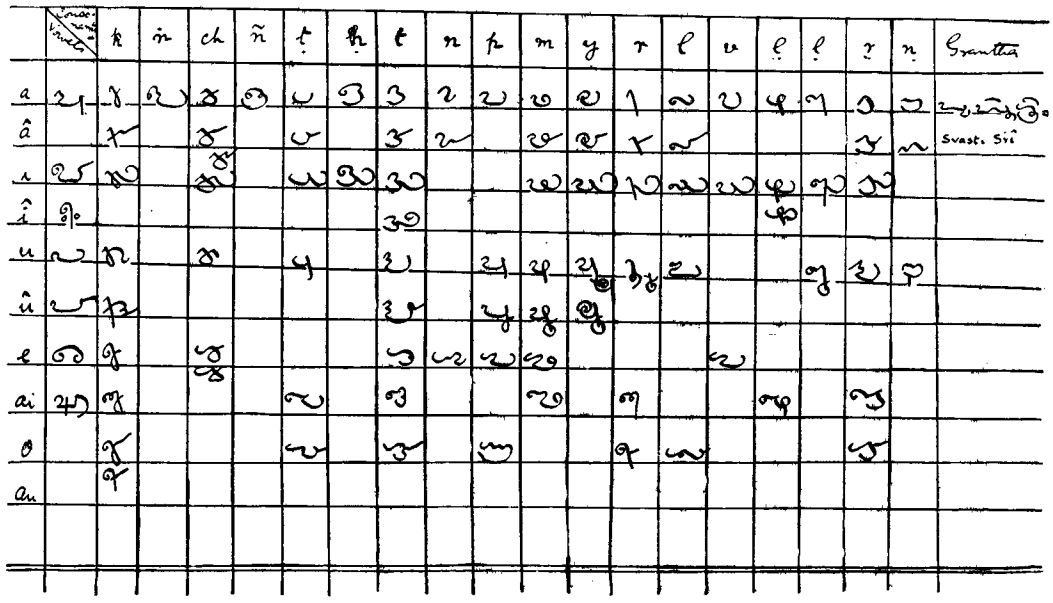
1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கலியுகம் துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்து அய்ம்பத்தீராமாண்டு கவியூர் ஊரார் அவிரோதத்தால் முக்கால் வட்டத்துக்கூடி கோயிலுமுள்ளிருக்க மங்கலத்து நாராயணன் கேயவன் கிடங்கு . . . ஓளதில் தேமங்கலத்தோடியும் எட்டிக் கரியில் பதிணேகலமும் கொடுத்தான் [॥ *] மங்கலத்து [நாரா]யணங்கிரிட்டன் கொடுத்த பூமி குழிக்கொற்றக்கரி கொற் . . கல[மும்] ஈரை[விளாகை] [॥ *] அவகளிடை கொண்ட ஐம்பதின் கலமும் திருக்கவியூர் த்தேவர்க்கு இரண்டு நந்தாவிளக்கும் அகத்[து] . . . . ரவிக்கு[நாழ]ழி உரிதிருவமிர்தும் உச்சிக்கு நாழியரி திருவ . . . இரண்டு கலமுமிப்பூமியாலிருவரும்

2. அமைச்சார் [॥ *] இச்செலவும் இச்செலவினுக்கு அமைச்சபூமியும் விலக்கப் பெறார் [॥ *] விலக்குமூராளர் வெவ்வேற்று வகையால் பெருமாற்க்கு ஐம்பத்திருகழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [॥ *] நாடுவாழுமவர்க்கு இருபத்தைங்க[ழைஞ்சு] பொன் தண்டப்படுவது [॥ *] தானமும் பரடையு மூராண்(ம்)மை[க்]கு மிடைநின்று கேட்டு மூழிக்களத்தொழுக்கப்படி கச்சம் பிழைச்சாராவது [॥ *] விலக்குமவகள்[க்கணு]பந்தம் பறையுமவகளும் இத்தண்டமே படுவது [॥ *] ஊராள[ர]விரோதத்தால் க்கூடியுமிச் செலவுமற்றொன்றினுக்கு செலுத்திக்கப் பெறார் [॥ *] இப்பூமி எல்லாம் உழவு மங்கலத்தவகள் தந்ததியில[வ]த் தோரிருவரும் சிறைக்கரையில் மூத்தவனும் கூழை அடுத்து பலம் மூக்கால்வட்டத்து கொடுப்-

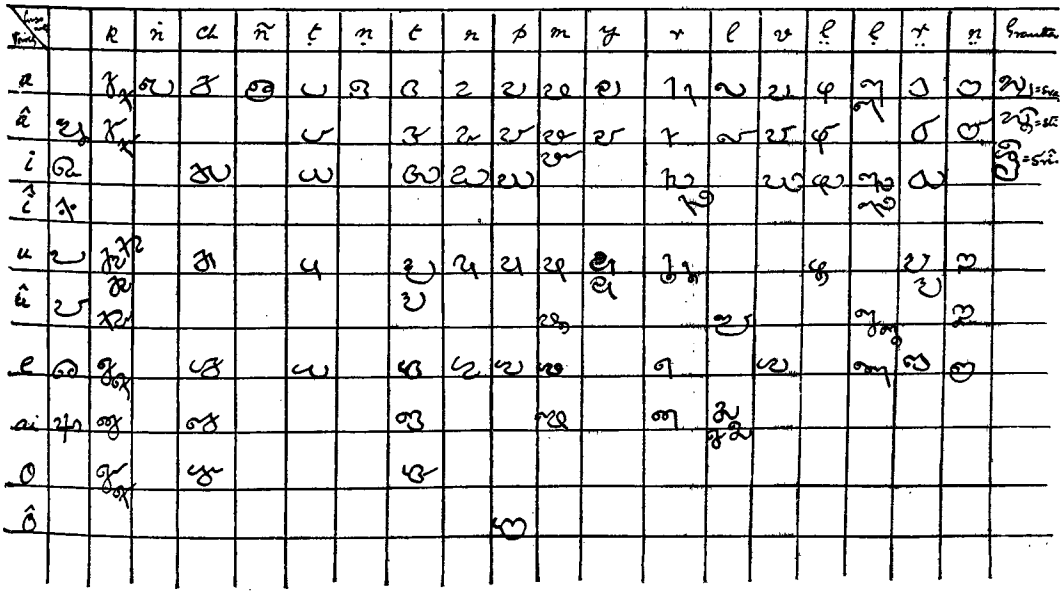
3. பிக்கக்கடவியர்

(1) From inked impressions.

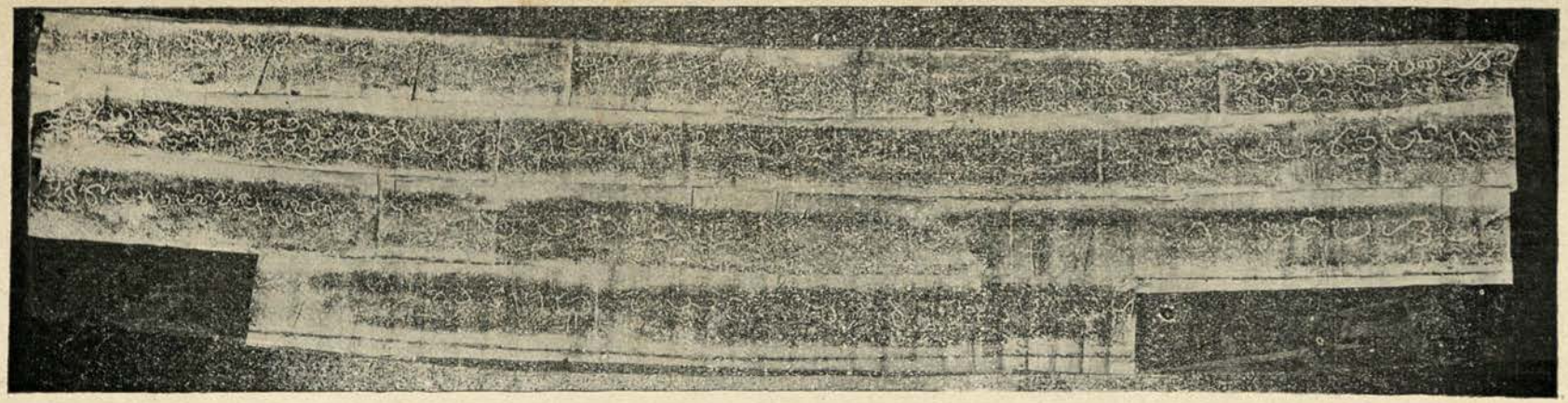
Kaviyur Inscriptions of Kali 4051 (=A. D. 949-50) and 4052 (=A. D. 950-51).



Rajaraja I. (Tirunandikkarai) 18th year.
(Darsanankoppu) 10th year.

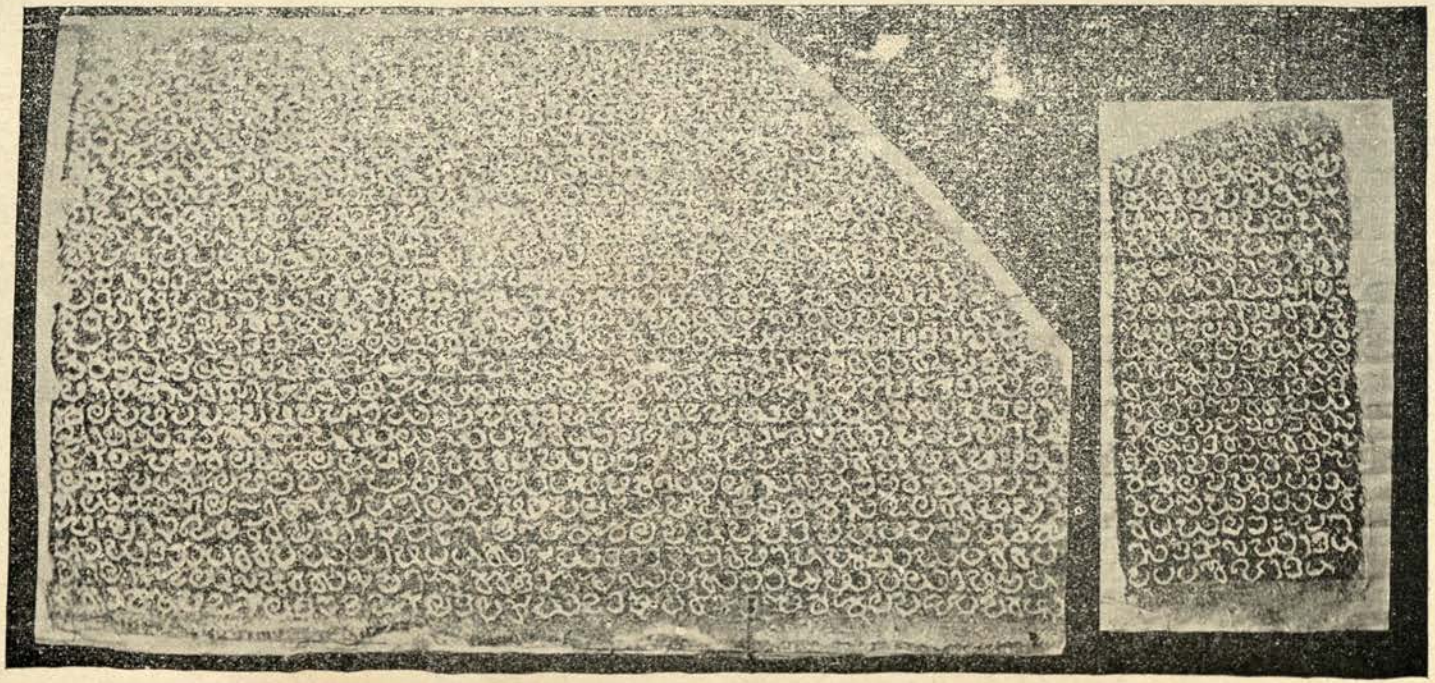


C. Kaviyur Inscription of Kali 4051 (To face p. 289).



SCALE 0.

Kandiyur Inscription of the year 123 of the god at Kandiyur (To face p. 292).



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.12. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the year four-thousand and fifty-two after the Kali (era) began, while the townsmen of Kaviyûr had met amicably in the temple and the king (?) was also present, Nârâyaṇan Kêyavan of Maṅgalam gave . . . . Têmaṅgalatt-ôḍi and fifteen *kalams* (of paddy) in (the field called) Eṭṭikari. The lands given by Nârâyaṇaṉ Kiriṭṭan of Maṅgalam are Kuḻi-korṟakkari and . . . . *kalams* and Iraiviḻâgai. From the fifteen *kalams* got from these, two perpetual lamps (must be burnt before) the god of Kaviyûr; four *nâḻis* and a *uri* of rice for offerings and for the midday offerings a *nâḻi* of rice. These two persons established . . . . . with these lands two *kalams* (1). No one shall misappropriate the amount paid for this item of expenditure. Those that do so, shall be subjected to a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañjus* of gold, which shall be paid to the king. The officer in charge of the district will also pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañjus* of gold. The *stânattârs*, the *parishaiyârs* and the *ûrâḻars* who mediate in such a transaction shall be considered as having broken the compact of Mûḻikkaḻam. Those that plead for the offenders shall also be subjected to a similar fine. Even though the *ûrâḻars* unanimously decide to divert this amount for other purposes, they shall not do so. All these lands shall be farmed by the descendants of the Maṅgalam family and the Mûttavaṉ of Siṟaikkarai, who will also supervise the crop and the harvest, and shall cause the produce to be given to the temple.

KAVIYUR INSCRIPTION OF THE 4051ST YEAR OF THE KALI ERA

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north and west bases of the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Kaviyûr. It records that in the Kali year 4051, a private individual named Dêvaṉ-Sêndaṉ of Magiḻañjêri made a gift of something for offerings, incense, etc. This, as also a large number of the inscriptions on the west coast, mention the 'arrangement or decision made at Mûḻikkaḻam.' He that breaks the objects of any endowment is deemed to have sinned against this decision. It is unfortunate that we cannot know what this decision of Mûḻikkaḻam (*Mûḻikkaḻakkachcham*) is; for, the temple at Mûḻikkaḻam is one of the thousands of temples that fell a prey to the vandalistic tendency of Tippu Sultan. The temple was burnt by him and all the stone records were lost. Quite recently the temple has been repaired in an uncouth manner and the *pûjas* are being conducted in an indifferent style. It is one of the thirteen *pâḍalperṟa sthalaṅgaḷ* of the Malainâdu.

Text (2)

1. வ்வஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கலியுகந்துடங்கி நாலாயிரத்த அம்பத்தோராமாண்டு திருக்கவியூர் பட்டாரக[ர்]க்கு மகிழஞ்சேரித் தேவ[ன்] சேந்ரன் திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிருதுந் திருவக்கிரமுந் திருச்சந்ரணமுந் திருப்புகையு மமச்சான் [॥*] விளக்கினுக்கு உரிநெய்யும் இருநாழி அரித்திருவமிர்தும் புகைய[ரி] மண்ணினுற் செல்விது [॥*] தேவன் சேந்ரனமைச்ச ... ராஞ்செவித்திச்சு கொள்ளக்கடவி[ர்]யர்]

2. ஊராள சேந்ரன் கரி திரு வக்கிரத்தின்னு குடு[க்க*]கடவ சந்ரனத்தின்னு புகைக்கு சி . வன்னில் . . . . அமைச்சான் [॥*] மூழிக்களத்து கச்சத்தோடொக்கும் . . .

KANDIYUR INSCRIPTION OF RAVI KERALAVARMAN. KOLLAM 393.

The village of Kaṇḍiyûr is situated a mile and a half from Mâvelikkarai, the headquarters of the *tâlûka* of the same name in the Quilon division. In the centre of the village is a large Śiva

(1) It might be that these two persons made arrangement to feed two Brâhmanas, for *kalam-amaittal* means establishing, if we may so say, *seats* for eating; that is arranging to feed as many persons as there are *seats*.

(2) From inked impressions.

temple, which contains elaborate, but rough, sculptured panels of stone, made in imitation of wood carving with which north Travancore abounds. The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east base, (right of the entrance), of the *mahâmaṇḍapa* of this temple. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the language is Tamiḻ. It states that **Ramaṉ-Kodavarman**, the governor of **Oḍanâḍu** rebuilt the temple of Śiva at Kaṇḍiyûr; and that the repairs were begun on Friday, the 17th of the solar month Tulâ, **in the Kollam year 392**, and continued till Sunday, the 8th of the month Mêsha, **in the year 393**. It took, on the whole, some eighteen months and odd days.

The year 392 of the Kollam era is said in the document to have corresponded with the 394th year of the god at Kaṇḍiyûr: so also, the year 393 of Kollam, the 396th of the god at Kaṇḍiyûr. In another inscription found in the same temple, the date is given as 123rd year of the god at Kaṇḍiyûr; but does not give the corresponding year of the Kollam or any other era. From these, it appears that the god at Kaṇḍyûr was set up 394 years before the Kollam year 392; in other words, about A. D. 823 and records were dated from that year as the first year of a sort of era prevalent perhaps about this part of the country.

The repairs seem to have been suggested by a woman at Kaṇḍiyûr, named Uṇṇikaḷattiram, a native of Kuṟuṅguḍi, to **Ravi Keraḷavarman, the ruler of Veṇâdu.** It is not quite patent who this woman was and how, if at all, she was related to the king Ravi Kêraḷavarman. The record mentions a large number of public functionaries, who took part in the repairing of the temple. It mentions the following places:—Oḍanâdu, Udaiśiramangalam, Śravira(Srîvîra ?)pperumaṟṟam, Kuṟuṅguḍi, Vêṇâdu, Kuṟaṇdipaḷḷi, Koṟṟanâdu, Kaḍuvûr, Maṟṟam, Mêgûr, Mullaichchêri, Muḻalumôdi, Maraṅṅâḍu, Nandâmaṉaichchêri, Muttampaḷḷi, Vaḷḷôññâvalppaḷḷi, and Madimaṉ. Of these a large number has given birth to the names of a number of families; but where those places are, I am not able to identify. Kuṟuṅguḍi is in the south of the Tinnevelly district, and is famous as one of the *pâḍal-peṟṟa sthalams* of the Śrîvaishṇavas. Vêṇâdu is the South Travancore country.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|| *] திருக்கண்டியூர் உஹாதேவர்க்கு ஸ்வ்வூா ாதித் . . செய்தருளிச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு ௩௱௯௰௪ லாமா-

2. ண்டை மேடவ் வியாழத்தில்க் கொல்லம் ௩௱௯௰௨ ண்டா மாண்டைத் துலா[ஞா]-யிறு ௰௭ சென்ற வெள்ளி அனிழம் இந்நாள் முதல்

3. தளி யாண்டு ௩௱௯௰௬ ாமாண்டை இடபவியாழத்து யிக்கொல்லம் [௩]௱௯௰௩ ாமாண்டை மேடஞாயிறு அ சென்ற ஞாயிறு மகை-

4. யிரம் இந்நாள் [குட்]இடைப்பட்ட காலத்தில்த் திங்கள் ௰௯ னால் நாள் ௫௱௩[௰]. . இந்நாளிக்கண்டியூர் உஹாதேவர் திருவுடம்பு ஸ்ரீ பீடமும்

5. ஒழய (2) ஸ்ரீ விமானமும் அவிக்கிணறும் விளக்குமாடமும் பணிசெய்விச்சு தி[ருக்]-கலசம் முடிச்சருளிய ஓடநாடு வாழ்ந்தருளின்ற உதைசிரம-

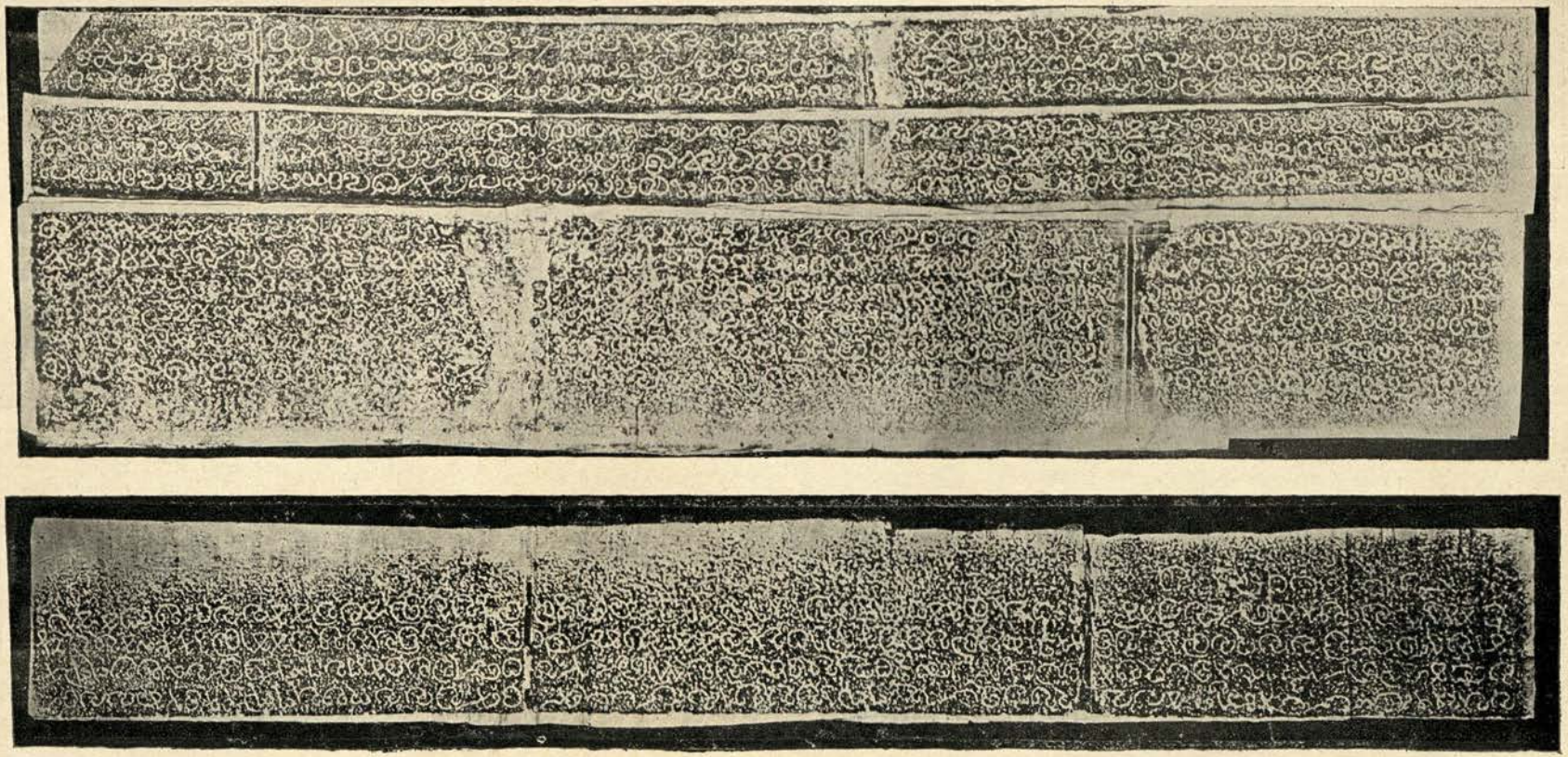
6. ங்ஙலத்து ஸ்ரீவிரபெருமற்றத்து இராமங்கோதவர்ம்ம திருவடி திருவுள்ள [ஞ்செ]ய்-தருள க்கண்டியூர்த் தேவடிச்சி குறுங்குடி உண்ணிகளத்திரம்

7. இருக்க வேணாடுடைய கீழப்பேரூர் . . . . . (3) பாப்பூர் மூப்பு வாழ்ந்தரு-ளின்ற இரவிகேரளவ . . . (4) மதிருவடியில் நின்று திருப்பணி

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) Read ஒழிய.
(3) Read திருப்பாப்பூர்
(4) Read °வர்ம்ம°.

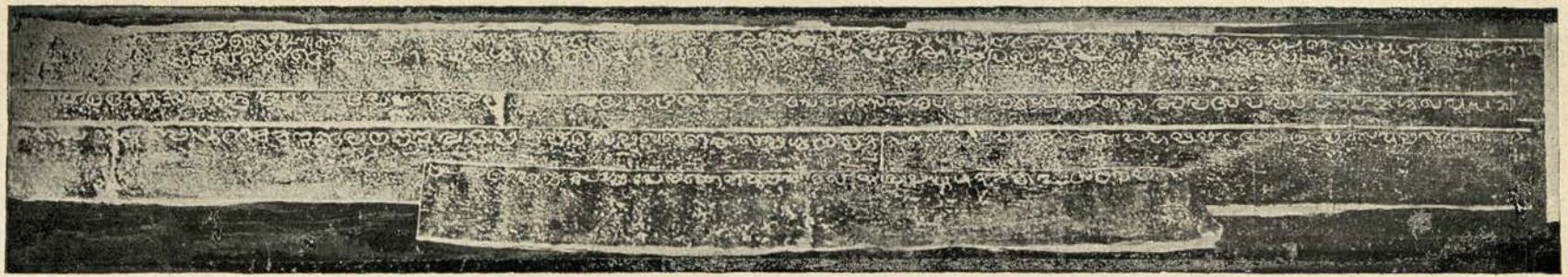
Kandiyur Inscription of Ravi Keralavarman. Kollam 393.

(To face p. 290)



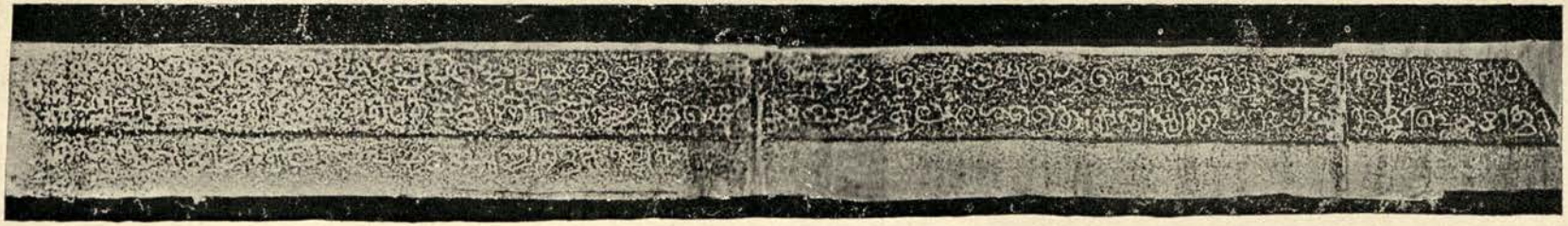
T. A. GOPINATHA RAO SCALE 0.09. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

Tiruvattaru Inscription of Vira Udayamarttandavarma-Tiruvadi, Ko. 398
(To face p. 296)



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.1. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

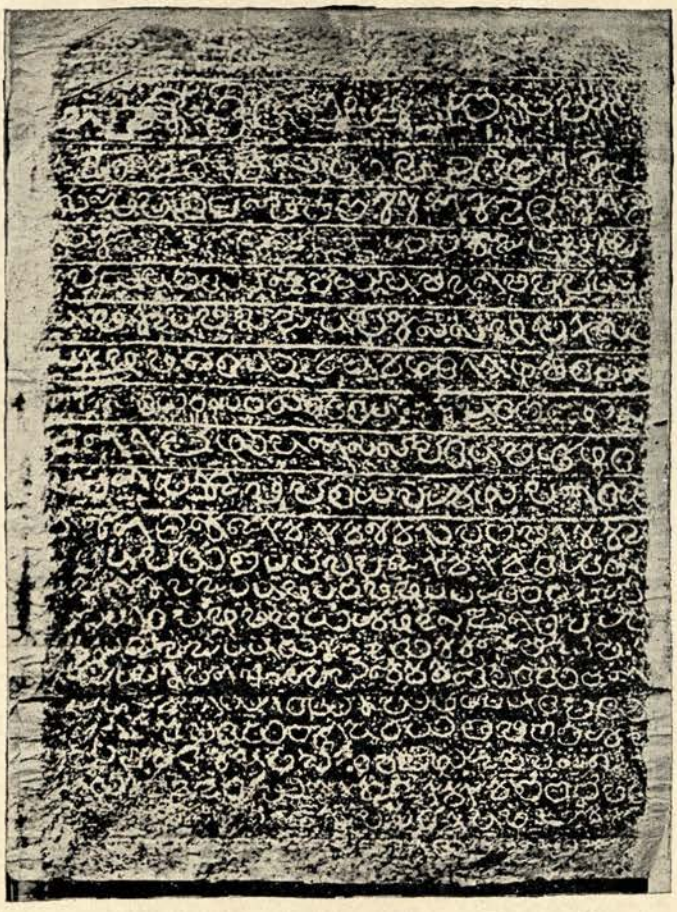
Kandiyur Inscription of Raman-Kodaivarman
(To face p. 294)



SCALE 0.09.

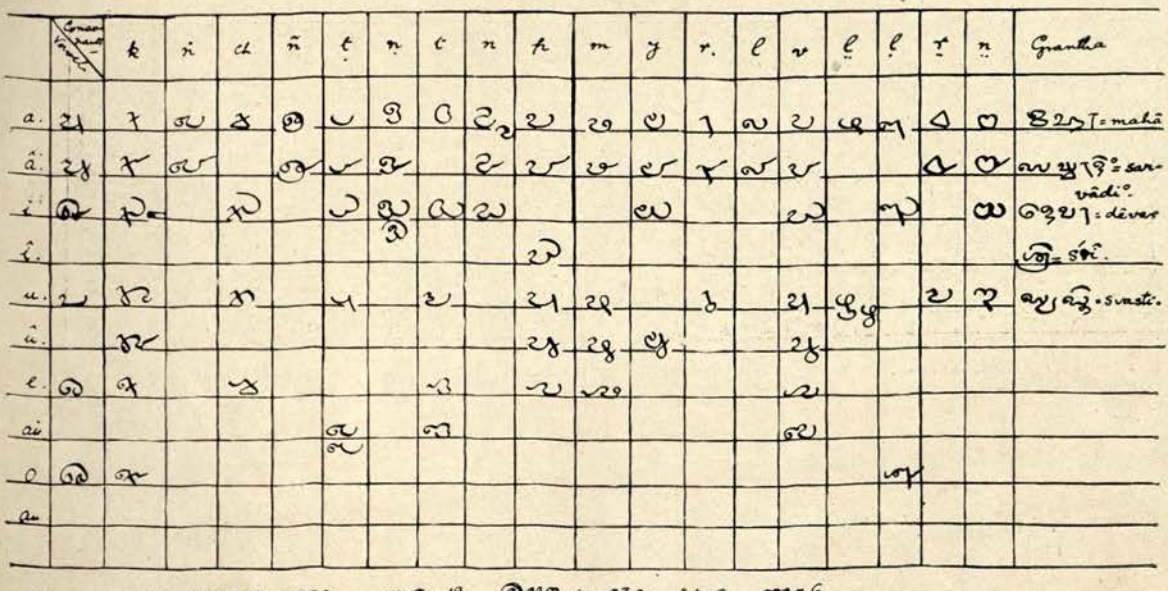
Tirunandikkarai Inscription of the 18th year of Rajaraja I

(To face p. 291)

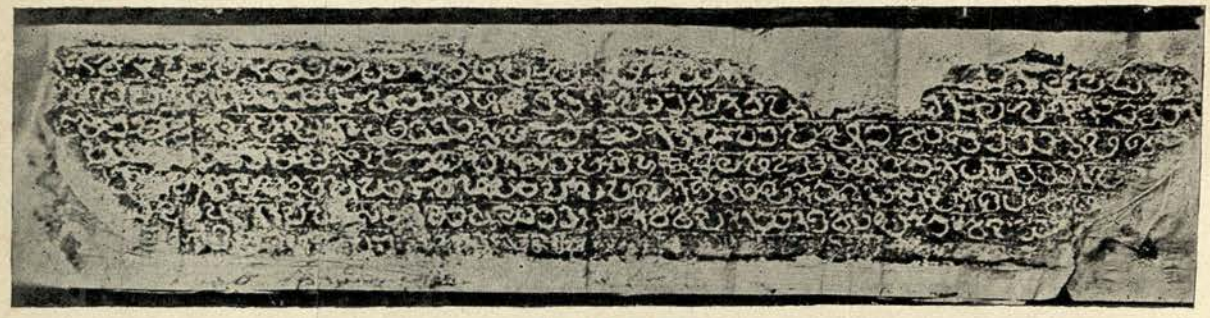


T. A. GOPINATHA RAO SCALE 0.08. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

Kandiyur Inscription of Ko. 396 (A. D. 1221).



Parthivapuram Inscription of Vira-Chola
(To face p. 294)



SCALE 0.13.

Tiruvallam Inscription of Ko. 412
(To face p. 296)

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.1. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

8. செய்விச்சருள இப்பணி செய்விச்சருளி . . . ஒடநாட்டின்னு மூத்ததிகாரஞ்-
செய்த பெருங்ங[லி] . . அத்தங் கோவிந்நன் சேந்நனும்

9. . [ஊ]ர் படுத்தி . தலத்து கோதகேரள[ன்] . . . அதிகாரங் கு[ற]ண்டிப்பள்-
ளிக் கேரளங் குமரனும் . லெ யெழுத்து கொற்றன்னுட்டு கு-

10. ன்றன் ஆதிச்சனும் கிழ்ப்பணி காஞ்ஞிரம . . க்கோவிந்நஞ்சுந்தரனும் எழுத்து
கடலூர் இராம[ங்கு]ன்றனுங் நாட்டுகொரியமற்றத்து

11. கேரளஞ்சிரிகண்டனும் வெ . . க உள்ளிரு . . மை இராமன் உதையனனும்
மேகூர்க்கும் . . . நாட்டு காமங்கோதையும் மந்-

12. திரவோலெ எழுத்து முல்லைச்சேரித்தா[மோதி]ரங் கோவிந்நனும் தளி அதிகாரஞ்-
செய்த சிரி . . . எஞ்திகுமரனும் உள்ளிரு-

13. ப்பு முழலுமோ[டி]க்கு[ம]ர[ஞ்]சேந்நனும் பண்டார உள்ளிருப்பு மரங்நாட்டுகோத
கோவிந்நனும் புள்ளிக்கணைக்கு நந்தா-

14. மனைச்சேரி இராமங்கண்டனும் கண்டியூர் மேலெழுத்து முத்தம்பள்ளி இராமன்
இரவியுஞ்சூளவள்ளொஞ்ஞாவல்ப்பள்ளிக்-

15. குமரங் கோவிந்நனுந் திருப்பணிக்கணக்கு மதிமண் விக்கிர[ம] ஆதிச்சனும் கூடித்-
திருப்பணியும் முடிச்சு திருக்கலசமும் ஆ-

16. டிச்சருளியமைக்கு இவை விக்கிரமன் ஆதிச்சன் எழுத்து [॥ *] புள்ளிக்கணக்கு
எழுதி திருப்பணிசெய்விச்ச நந்தாமனைச்சேரி

17. [இராமங்]கண்டன் எழுத்து [॥ *]

TIRUNANDIKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF THE 18TH YEAR OF RAJARAJA I.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the west wall of the rock-cut Śiva shrine at Tirunandikkarai. It belongs to the **eighteenth** year of the reign of the Chôḷa king, **Râjarâja**, the great. It records that the king ordered that the name of Muṭṭam be altered into Mummuḍiśôḷanallur and granted to the temple of the Mahâdêva at Tirunandikkarai, for celebrating a festival ending on the Śatabhisha *nakshatra* in the month of Aippikai, the birth-day of the king. At the end of the festival the god was to be bathed in the river (*âṟâṭṭal*). Besides this, it was also required that a perpetual lamp be burnt before the god in the name of the king. This lamp was to be known by the name **Râjarâjaṉ-tirunandâ-viḷakku**. The places mentioned in the record are:—Vaḷḷuvanâḍu, Muṭṭam in that *nâḍu*, and Tirunandikkarai. Where this Vaḷḷuvanâḍu is I am unable to say; but mention is made of it in the inscription of Kô-kkaruṇandaḍakkar published in No. I of this Series (see p. 8). From the fact that Tirunandikkarai is said to belong to this *nâḍu* it is certain it must be looked for round Tirunandikkarai. There is a Muṭṭam somewhere near Eraṇiel and perhaps this was the village granted by Râjarâja to the Śiva temple at Tirunandikkarai. Tirunandikkarai is the village in which the rock-cut temple mentioned above is situated. It is at a distance of about eleven miles from Kuḷittuṟai. This place has been taken to be the name of a river, by Mr. Venkayya. The name occurs in a passage which reads thus:—"*Râjâdittadêvar perumbaḍai-nâyakar Malainâṭṭu Nandikkarai-pputtûr Veḷḷaṉ-Kumaraṉ.*" which means 'Veḷḷaṉ-Kumaraṉ, of Puttûr, living in Nandikkarai in the Malainâdu, who was the commandant of a big army under Râjâdittadêva.' Mr. Venkayya writes about it thus:—" ... ... Veḷḷaṅgumaraṉ is said to have been a native of Nandikkarai-Puttûr, *i. e.*, Puttûr on the bank of the river Nandi in the Malainâdu, " and " the first servant of the Chôḷas, a native of Puttûr on the bank of the (river) Nandi in Malainâdu". (1) The Sanskrit passage corresponding to that quoted above reads '*Puttûra-jânmâ*' and '*Kumâra ityakṛita*

(1) D. G. of Archæology's Annual for the year 1905—6, p. 180.

Navâgraharajah', in both of which he is called simply the native of Puttûr or the new *agrahâra*. It is silent about the *agrahâra* being part of Nandikkarai or otherwise.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ॥* திருமகள்போலப் பெ-
2. [ரு]நிலச் செல்வியுந் தனக்கே[யு]-
3. ரிமை பூண்டமை மனக்கொள காந்தளூர் ச[ா]-
4. லை கலமறு[த்தருளி] வேங்கைநாடும் கங்-
5. கபாடியும் தடிகைவழியும் நுளம்பபாடி-
6. யும் குடமலைநாடுங் கொல்லமுங் கலி-
7. ங்கமும் எண்டிசை புகழ்தர ஈழமண்டல-
8. மு . . . ண்டிற வென்றித்தண்டா . . . தென்னெழில்
9. வளர் ஊழியுளெல்லாயாண்டும் தொழுத-
10. [க]விளங்கும் யாண்டே செழியரைத் தே-
11. [சு]கொள் ஸ்ரீ கோ இராசராசகேசரிவன்மர்க்கு
12. [யா]ண்டு பதினெட்டாவது [॥*] இராசராசத்தென்[னு]-
13. [ட்டு] வள்ளுவநாட்டு முட்டம் முட்டமென்னும் பே-
14. [ர்த]விர்த்து மும்முடிசோழநல்லூரென்று பே-
15. [ராக்கி] இந்நாட்டு திருநந்திக்கரை மாதேவர்
16. க்கு பெருமாள் ஐய்ப்பிகைச்சதையத்தினுள்
17. . . . . ஈர . . . திர த்திருவிழாவெடுத்து தி-
18. . . . சதையத்தினுள் ஆறுடி ளுமனஞ்செய்-
19. [வ்]விப்பதாகவும் [॥*] நிசதம் நாழிநெய்யால் ஓ-
20. [ரு]திரு நந்தாவிளக்கு இராசராசனென்னும் தி-
21. . . . . பத்தாகவும் [॥*] உச்ச . . . .

(one more line badly damaged is left untranscribed)

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the eighteenth year of the reign of the king Râjakêsarivarman Râjarâjadêva, the king granted to the temple at Tirunandikkarai the village of Muṭṭam changing its name into Mummuḍi-śôḻanallûr. This is situated in the Vaḷḷuvanaḍu a sub-division of Râjarâja-Teṇṇâḍu. It was ordered that in the month of Aippigai a festival should be celebrated so that it might end on the day of the Śadaya (Śatabhisha) nakshatra when the image of the god at Tirunandikkarai was to be bathed in the river. Also a perpetual lamp named Râjarâjaṇ (after the king) shall be burnt every day.

KANDIYUR INSCRIPTION OF 123RD YEAR OF THE GOD AT KANDIYUR (A. D. 946.)

The following inscription is engraved on a stone lying in the yard in front of the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyûr. The preservation of the record is very good. In the introduction to the inscription published above, p. 289. I have stated that the image of Śiva must have been first set up in he temple in the year 823 of the Christian era. Therefore, this inscription **dated the 123rd year of the Mahâdeva of Kaṇḍiyur** must belong to A. D. 946. It records the gifts of land made to the temple and the

(1) From inked impressions.

arrangements made in regard to the leasing out the lands and the incomes expected out of them and mentions the names of persons who were obliged to pay rents for holding those lands.

Text (1)

1. ஷஹஸ்ரீ [|| *] திருக்க[ண்]டியூர் மாதேவர்[க்கு]ச்செல்ல[ா]
2. கின்ற யாண்டு நூற்றிருபத்துமூன்று (2) [|| *] [இ]வ்வாண்டு கன்[னி]-
3. யில் வியாழந்நின்ற [து]லாஞாயிற்று கோடிக்குளத்தி[ல்*] இரவி[கு]-
4. மாணந்திருக்குன்றப்[போழன்] ராமந்தத்தணும் பண்டார வாரிய[த்]-
5. திலும் வுயிரில் கீர்த்திவனதி தளியதிகாரத்திலும்
6. இடநாட்டு நாராயணஞ் சந்திரசேகரனமைச்ச திருவக்கிரத்தினு
7. பூமிசி[றி]ய பறையன்கரியில் ஐம்பதின்கலமும் புன்னை-
8. . ஞாற்றில் நாலொன்று ஒட்டையிலோரோடியிற் பாதியும் பரடை சி-
9. று நிலத்தி[ல்*] கூறும் சிறுமணலிற்கூறும் மண்வேலிப்புரையிடத்-
10. தில் பாதியும் ஆஞ்ஞி[ணி]க்காலூழ வேர்ச்சையிலொன்றரைஓடியு-
11. ம் பாலேப்பழஞ்சியிற் கூறுங்கழி[னி]க்கரையிற் பாதியுநந்தாமனை-
12. ச்சேரித்தாமோதர நாராயணன் காராண்மைச்செய்து பதினழிப்பறையால் முப்-
13. பத்து முப்பறை வித்துங் குத்து நெலிடங்கழியால் முந்நாழியும் முந்நூ-
14. ற்றுபது தேங்காயுமிரு நூலாம் புரியும் இடங்கழியால் அம்பதினழி
15. உப்புங் கார்த்திபை ஞாயிற்றநம் இடக்கடவியன்(3) புழையிடை மண்ணங் கொ-
16. ற்றன் புறுயில் முக்கூறுஞ் சிறுமுதைவேலி ஊழவேர்ச்சையிற் கூறுந்தா-
17. மரைப்பள்ளி (4) க்கு[ம*]ரம் மணியனும் மல்லியைச்சேரிக்கண்டந் தேவனுங் காராண்மைச்-
18. செய்து முப்பத்துமுப்பறைவித்துங்குத்து நெல் முந்நாழியுமிடக் கடவியர்(3)
19. இரஞ்ஞிதாறுகின்ற பூமியிலிடங்கழியாலேஞ்ஞாழி நெய்க்கு பற்றுமளவு
20. காராண்மைச் செய்து நெய்யுமளக்கக்கடவியன் தாமரைப்பள்ளிக் குமரம் மணி-
21. யன்(3) வடவாய்மனவளாலும் புரையிடமும் கண்டியூரில் புன்னைச்சேரிப்பு-
22. ரையிடமு[ம்*] ஐபனர் கலாப்புரை யிடமும் வபனும் புன்னைச்சேரி இயக்கம்பர-
23. மேஸ்வரனு[ம்*] இயக்கங் கேரளனுங் காராண்மைச்செய்து முப்பத்து முப்பறைமுந்நா-
24. ழிவித்திடக்கடவியர் [|| *] முட்டுகில் வித்தினு பொருமளவு பூமிவிடக்கட-
25. வியர்(3) நெய்தல்மூக்கில் வள்ளோக்கண்ணர்வேலியாகின்ற பூமி வயிரமனை அ-
26. க்கி சருமநாராயணனுங் நாராயணங் கோவிந்தனுங்காராண்மைச் செய்து இடங்கழி-
27. யாலேஞ்ஞாழி நெய்-
28. யும் முப்பதினு-
29. ழிப் பயறும் அள-
30. க்கக்கடவியர் [|| *]
31. நெய் பாலினபெருங்-
32. காலாயிரவி ஐயன்-
33. ருயடி ஒள்ளது காராண்மை-
34. மைச்செய்து இடங்க-
35. ழியாலேஞ்ஞாழி நெய்-
36. ளப்பிது(3)குற்றிக்-
37. காட்டு காமஞ்சத்திக-
38. ன் காராண்மைக்குபடி-
39. ஞாயிறு பறையன்கரி-
40. க்கடுத்த கிழக்கில்

(1) From inked impressions.

(2) The letter *p* in ° *pattu* looks like *m*.

(3) A mark like this represents a full stop in the original.

(4) The letter *li* in ° *palli* is engraved below the line.

41. ஒள்ளது தான் காராண்மை- 42. ச்செய்து முப்பத்தி-
43. ருபறை வித்திடக்- 44. கடவியன்ுவெள்-
45. ளித்தால மிரண்டு [॥ *] 46. வட்டகை இரண்டு [॥ *]

KANDIYUR INSCRIPTION OF KOTAVARMAN

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the east base of the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyûr. It is written in the Grantha alphabet and in the Sanskrit language. It records the same fact as in the previous and gives the day as 15,11564th after the beginning of the Kali era which is represented by the chronogram विषमम् पुण्यमेकम्.

Text (1)

1. स्वस्ति श्री [॥*] भानौ मेषम् प्रविष्टे वृषभजुषि गु[रौ]वेन्दवक्षेऽयुग्मे सेन्दौकुम्भोदयास्तौ य-
2. दुवरवृषभो रामजःकोतवर्मा श्रीकण्ठस्याभिषे[क]म् बहुकलशशतैः कण्ठियूरप्रौढधाम्नो हेमार्म्मा-
3. सौ समान्यः कलिदिनविषमम्पुण्यमेकञ्चकार ॥:—

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS (2)

Be it well. Śrî. When the Sun was in Mêsha, and Jupiter in Vṛishabha, the most respectable Kôtavarma, the son of Râma, and the foremost of the Yadu dynasty, made *abhishêkam* (bathing ceremony) to God Śrîkaṇṭha of the big temple at Kaṇṭhiyûr, with several hundred potfuls of water on the 15th, 11th, 564th day of Kaliyuga.

Translation

Lines 1-15. Hail! Prosperity! The year one hundred and twenty-three of the god Mahâdêva of (the temple) at Tirukkaṇḍiyûr was current. This year when the Jupiter stood in the constellation Kanni, in the solar month Tulâ, while Iravi Kumaran of Kôḍikkuḷam and Tirukkuṇṇappôḷaṉ Râman-Tattaṉ were holding the Paṇḍâravâriyam and Uyîril-Kîṛiti Eṉâdi was the manager of the temple, Narayaṇan Chandraśêkharaṉ of Iḍanâḍu made gifts of (several pieces of land; of these) a piece of land in the plot known as Śiṛiya-Paṛaiyaṉ-kari yielding fifty *kalams* (of paddy), a fourth of another called Puṉṉai-ñâṛu, one half of one *ôḍi* in Oṭṭai, a portion in the (land called) Śiṛuṉilam belonging to the *paraḍai* (*paraishad*) a portion in (the land called) Śiṛumaṇal, one half of the garden (called) Maṇvêli, one and a half *ôḍis* in (the land called) Uḷavêrchchai near Âñjinikkâl, a portion of the (land called) Pâlaippaḷañji, a half in Kaḷaṇikkaṛai; these shall be farmed by Dâmôdaraṉ Nârâyaṇaṉ of Nandâmaṇaichchêri (Illam) and shall supply thirty-three *paṛais* of seed, a *paṛai* measuring ten *nâḻis*; also three *nâḻis* of paddy measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* (daily) and three hundred and sixty cocoanuts, two *tulâms* of tamarind, fifty *nâḻis* of salt measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*; (all these) must be handed over within the month of Kârttiyai.

Ll. 16-18. (More lands given by Nârâyaṇaṉ Chandraśêkharaṉ are:—) three parts in the garden (?) belonging to Maṇṇaṉ-Korraṉ of Puḷaiyiḍai (Illam), a portion of the plot called Uḷavêrchchai (forming part) of Śiṛumudaivêli shall be held and farmed by Kumaram-Maṇiyaṉ of Tâmaraippaḷḷi (Illam) and Kaṇḍaṉ-Dêvaṉ of Malliyaichchêri and they shall give thirty-three *paṛais* of seed and three *nâḻis* of paddy for pounding (every day).

(1) From inked impressions.

(2). Owing to certain letters being indistinct and undecipherable, this portion has not been translated. It describes the position of certain planets other than those mentioned above. An indistinct word *hêmârtmâ* has been left untranslated.

Ll. 19-21. Kumaran-Maṇiyaṇ of Tâmaraipaḷḷi (Illam) shall farm as much of the land called Iraññitâṟu as would suffice to supply five *nâḻis* of ghee measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* and shall supply also that quantity of ghee.

Ll. 21-25. (The lands further given by Nârâyaṇaṇ Chandraśekharaṇ are, as follows:—) The land called Vaḍavâymaṇaivaḻâl and the garden (attached to it), the garden belonging to Puṇṇaichchêri (Illam?), the garden called Aiyaṇârkâlâppuraiyiḍam; these lands shall be farmed by Iyakkaṇ Paramêśvaraṇ and Iyakkaṇ Kêraḷaṇ of Puṇṇaichchêri (Illam) and shall pay thirty-three *paṟais* of seed and three *nâḻis* (of paddy daily). If they fail to supply, they shall forfeit as much of the land as is required for the seed.

Ll. 25-36. The land called Vaḷḷôkkaṇṇârvayal in the (place called) Neydalmûkku shall be farmed by Akkiśarman Nârâyaṇaṇ and Nârâyaṇaṇ Gôvindaṇ of Vayiramaṇai and shall supply five *nâḻis* of ghee and thirty *nâḻis* of green gram measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*. Ây Iravi of Peruṅgâl shall farm the land called Aiyaṇṇâyaḍi and shall supply five *nâḻis* of ghee measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*.

Ll. 37-44. *Kâman Śatti of Kuṟṟikkâḍu* shall farm the plot of land east of his land called the West Paṟaiyaṇkari and shall supply thirty-two *paṟais* of seed.

Ll. 44—46. (Further Nârâyaṇaṇ Chandraśêkharaṇ gave) two silver plates and two cups.

PARTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRACHOLAPPERUMANADIGAL

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a detached stone lying in the first *prâkâra* of the Vishṇu temple at Pârthivapuram. It is broken here and there and therefore the inscription is fragmentary. It records that a person named . . . . p Pallavaraiyaṇ *alias* Śaṅkaraṇ-Iraṇaśiṅgaṇ set up a silver image in the temple of Pârthivaśêkharapuram perhaps and made arrangements for burning a perpetual lamp in the same, both for the merit of Vîraśôḻapperumâṇaḍigaḷ. The record mentions Kuṟuṅguḍi, Muṇśiṟai, Mâṟamaṅgalam, Tirumudâṇkôdu, the Vîraśôḻavaṇ-pâlam and Iraṇaśiṅgaṇ-êri. Of these, Kuṟuṅguḍi is the town now known as Tirrukkuṟuṅguḍi in the Tinnevelly district, famous for its Vishṇu temple and sacred to the Śrîvaishṇavas as one of the *divyadêśams* praised by the Âḻvârs. Muṇśiṟai is a village six miles from Kuḷitturai and contains a large Śiva temple. Tirumudâṇkôdu may be identified with Tiruvidâṅgôdu, which has given the name Tiruvâṅgôdu to the Travancore State. The other places I am not able to identify.

The king Vîraśôḻapperumâṇaḍigaḷ referred to in the inscription must be the Chôḻa king Virarâjêndra, who held sway over the Pâṇḍya country also. The town Eraṇiel in S. Travancore is called Iraṇaśiṅganallûr in inscriptions; perhaps it received its name from either the Pallavaraiyaṇ named in our inscription Iraṇaśiṅgaṇ or some ancestor of his of the same name.

Text. (1)

1. . . . . ரகேசரிவன்மாயின வீரசோழப்பெருமானடிக் , . . திருவாய்
மவ . . . .

2. . . . . த்து வெள்ளித்திருமேனி எழுந்தருளுவித்து கற்பூர . . .
ராய் வெள்ளித்திரு . . .

3. . . . . மைற் . . . குறுங்குடித்திருநந்தா விளக்கு வைத்து முன்சிறைத்
திருமலை . . .

4. . . . . அர . . . . மங்கல மாறமங்கலத்து ஸ்ரீலகுலியமுந்திருமுதான்
கோட்டுத்திருவி . . . .

(1) From inked impressions.

5. . . த . . செய்வித்து வீரசோழுவன் [பாலம்] இரணசிங்கன் எரியுங்கண்டசைம . . .

6. . . . டிய . . . வ . . . . க்கப்ப [ல்] லவ [ரை] யன் ஆயின தருங்கைச்சங்-கரனிரணசிங்கன் செய்வி . .

7. . . . . ஸ்ரீ வி [ஷ்ணு] . . . . . க்கள் ரமெக்ஷ

TIRUVATTARU INSCRIPTION OF VIRA UDAYAMARTTANDAVARMA-TIRUVADI.

Ko. 398.

The inscription edited below is found engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Adikêśavapperumâḷ temple at Tiruvâṭṭâṟu, in S. Travancore. It is an incomplete record, written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in what might be called Malayâḷam language. It states that the king **Vira Udayamârttâṇḍavarma Tiruvaḍi** made arrangement, by gift of land, for the daily supply of rice required for offerings to the god Âdikêśavapperumâḷ at the temple at Tiruvâṭṭâṟu.

Text (2)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கொல்லம் கூ [ற்] றஅ டாமாண்டைக் கர்க்கடகத்தில் வியாழந்நின்ற மீன ஞா [யி] று . . . . . ன்ற வியாழம் அனுழம் இந்நாளால் வேணாட்டு இளங்குடைவாண்-ணருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீ வீர உதையமார்தா [ண்] டவர்ம்மதிருவடி திருவாட்டாற்று பள்ளிக்கொண்ட-ருளின்ற பெருமாள்கு நியதிப்படி முட்டாச்செலவு அரிசிக்குங்கு . மை ஆதிச்சனு தையன்ன-னுந் தம்பிமாற்கும் ஒள்ளநிலம் செதியகடைக்குட்டப்பெறையும் . . . (3) மாத்தறையும் (3) . . . கூட [கூ] வெ [ன] . . . சி . னுடசேசெ . . . . . ம் ஒள்ளமுன்று சலாகையும் அழகக்ச கூ ன்னும்

2. பொலியால் கோதைகல்லூர் கீழச்சேரித்திருக்கோயில்க்கல் கொண்டுவந்து உணங்ஙி உச . . க்கு ஆவழி . . . . . .

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the Kollam year 398, when Jupiter was in the constellation Karkaṭaka, in the month of Mina, on the Anûrâdhâ *nakshatra*, the prince Vîra Udayamârttâṇḍavarma-Tiruvaḍi, occupying the position of *yuvarâja*, (was pleased to grant) the following lands to the god, Âdikêśava-pperumâḷ, who is pleased to be lying at Tiruvâṭṭâṟu. The land named Chediyakkaḍaikkûṭṭapperai belonging to Âdichchaṉ-Udaiyannaṉ and his brothers (of the growing capacity) of...*kôṭṭais* of paddy; the land named Mâttaṟai (of the growing capacity) of...*kôṭṭais* of paddy; total 32 . . . . three *salâgais* and 30 *aḷagachchus*. From the interest derived from these, paddy shall be brought to the palace at Kîḻaichchêri in Kôdainallûr, dried and . . . . . .

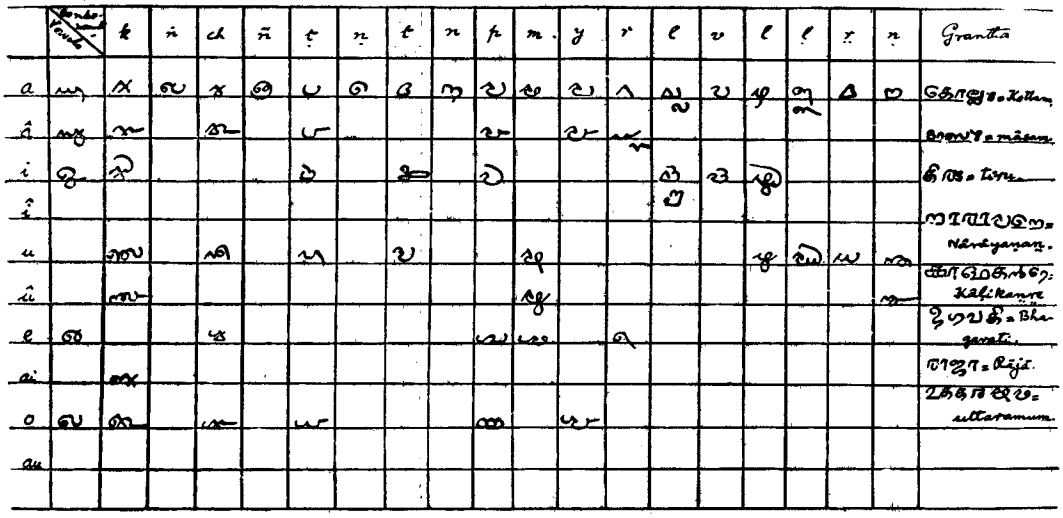
TIRUVALLAM INSCRIPTION OF KO. 412

The inscription edited below is engraved on the north wall of the Brahma shrine in the Siva temple at Tiruvallam near Trivandram. It is dated the **412th year of the Kollam** era, and records gifts made by some private party for offerings to the Mahâdêva and Kaṇṇappaṉ in the temple at Tiruvallam as also for feeding Brâhmaṇas on the Sômavâra Amâvâsyas. The record is incomplete and is of no historical value; but being dated it would serve the student of palaeography in giving him a notion of the shapes of the letters of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the middle of the 13th century A. D.

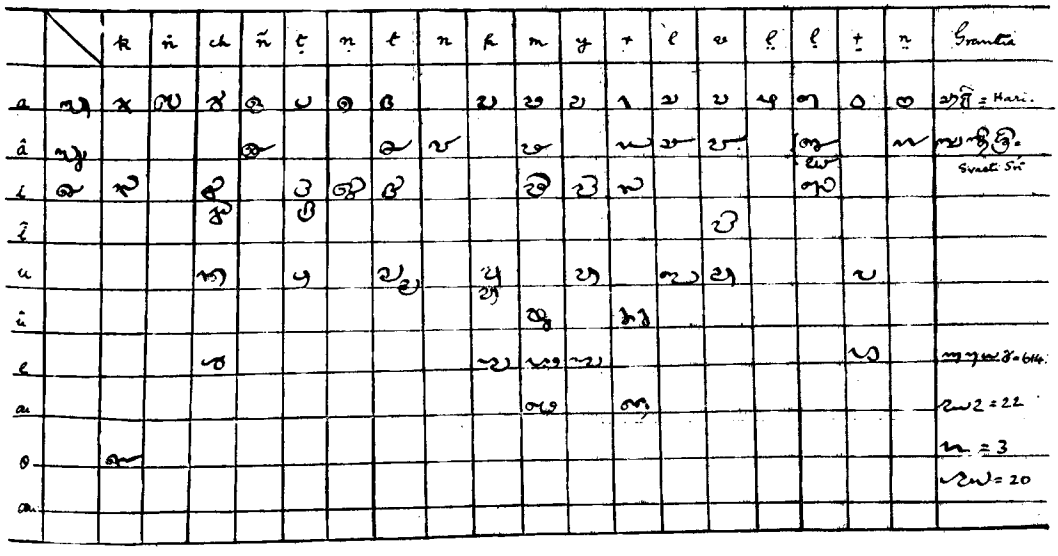
(2) From inked impressions.

(3) Here there are Tamil numerals expressing the extent of land.

Chittaral Inscription of Ko. 54 [8]. (= A. D. 1373.)



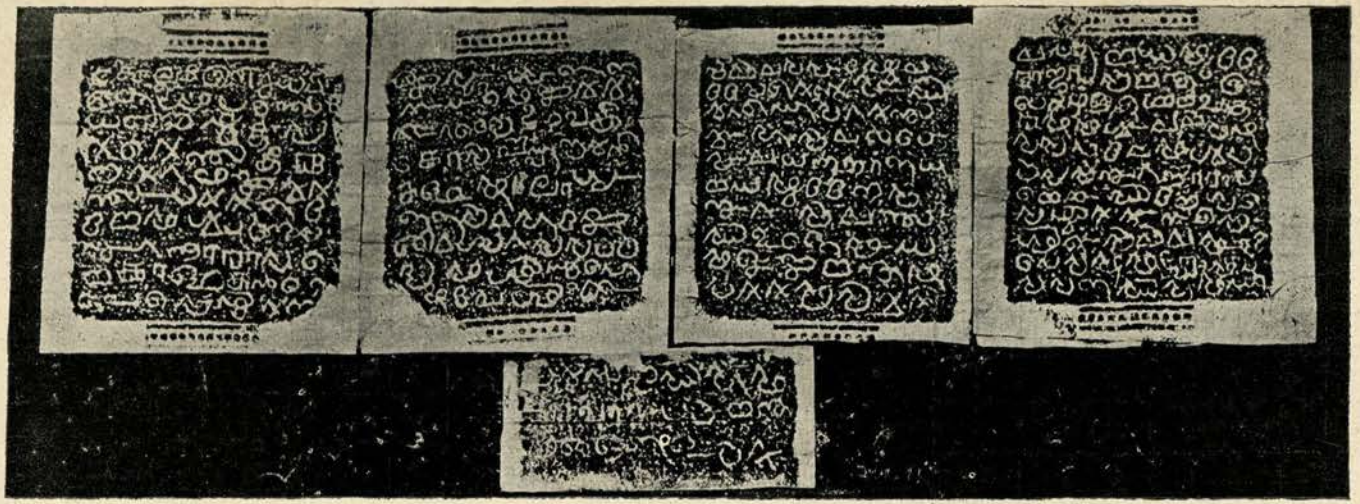
Navaykkalam Inscription of Ko. 614 (=A. D. 1439).



Chittaral Inscription of Ko. 548.

(To face p. 297)

1st Piece 2nd Piece 3rd Piece 4th Piece

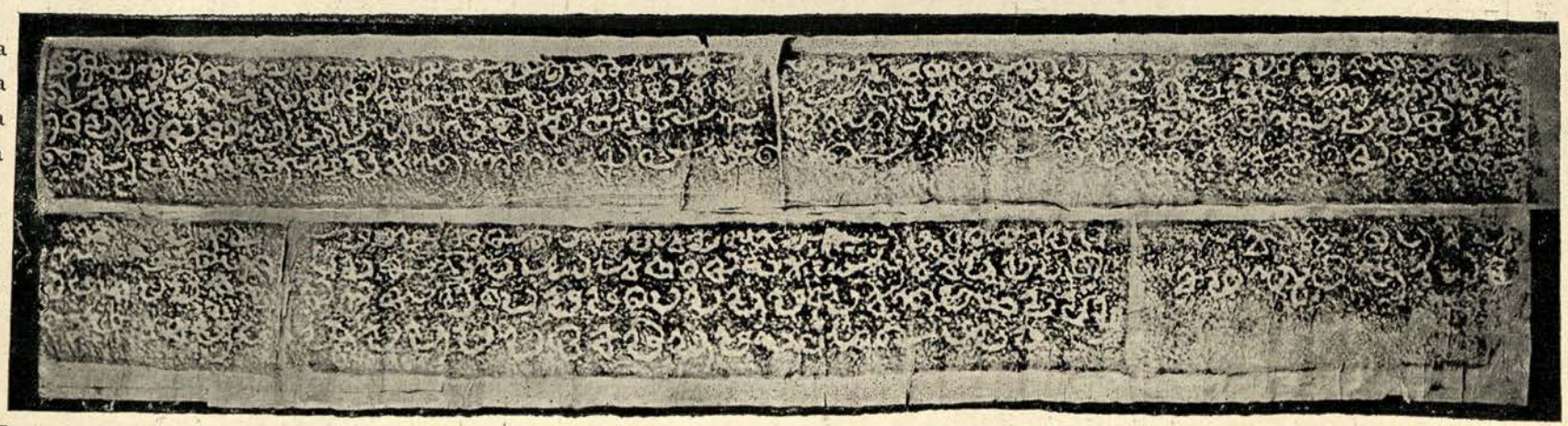


5th Piece

SCALE 0.125.

Navaykkalam Inscription of Rama-Marthandavarman, Ko. 614.

(To face p. 298)



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.13. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|| *] கொல்லம் ௪௱௰௨ ண்டாமாண்டைத்த[னு]வியாழம் மகரஞாயிறு . . . . ஞாயி-
2. று இரேவதி இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து ஸ்ரீமுக மண்டபத்தில்
3. இருந்து செயித செயிகடவோலைக்கரணமாவிது [|*] மடத்துசக்கிதிருவா
4. ண்டி திருவல்லத்து திங்களமாவாதி [தோ]றுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்-
5. ச செலவு திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னும் மாதேவன்திருவடிக்குந்திவருமி-
6. ர்தின்னரி . . . (2) யுந் நமஸ்காரம் . . (2) ன்னும் பேர் கன்னரி வெஞ்சனம் உ-
7. ள்ப்பட அரி . . . (2) யும் ஆராதிக்குந்நம்பிக்கு நெல் . . . (2)
8. திங்கள் உவாவின் தோறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்சரி . . . (2) க்கு-
9. ந்நெல் . . . (2) க்கு

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

In the year 412 of the Kollam era, on a Sunday, the Rêvati nakshatra, when Jupiter stood in the constellation Dhanu, in the (solar) month Makara, the following arrangement was made:—Śakki Tiruvâṇḍi of the *maṭham* gave some paddy (that is, made arrangements for an income of so much paddy annually) for making offerings to the Mahâdêva at the temple of Tiruvallam as also to Kaṇṇappaṉ, on all Sômavâra-Amâvâsyas; for feeding a Brâhmaṇa, and for paying the *pûjâri* of the temple. The quantity of rice required for each item is specified.

CHITRAL INSCRIPTION OF KO. 548 (=A.D. 1373).

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the four faces of a pillar now lying built into the steps leading to the kitchen of the Bhagavati temple at Chitarâl. The inscription is well preserved. It records that one Nârâyaṇaṉ Kâḷikaṉ *alias* Dharmacheṭṭi-nayiṉâr of the city of Tirukkûḍakkarai made certain arrangements by which the temple authorities were obliged to do certain duties in the temple of the Bhagavati of Tiruchchâṇattu-malai. In default of which they were subjected to fines, etc., payable to the king. The exact purport of the document cannot be made out owing to its somewhat fragmentary nature. It is dated the 17th of the month of Mêḍam in the year **Ko. 584.**

Text (3)

On the first face of the pillar

1. கொ௱௫௰௪௱௪௰[அ மா]-
2. ண்டு மேடஉாஸ௰
3. ௰௭ எழுதிய
4. கணக்கு [|*] திரு-
5. னகரம் திருக்
6. கூடக்கரெத்-
7. தன்ம செட்[டி நய]-

(1) From inked impressions.
(2) There are some Tamil numerals expressing the measures of paddy.
(3) From inked impressions.

8. னார் நாராயண-
9. ன் காளிகநு[றே]
10. வெண் பழிக . .

On the second face of the pillar

11. . பாடொள்ள
12. காராண்மதிச்ச
13. சாரணத்து ஸமவதி
14. கோவிலி[ல்] அறைச[ன்]
15. தஹிமு[த]லா யொ-
16. ள்ள பிறவுத்தி
17. எற்பேர்ப்பட்ட-
18. தும் [மேற்படி] ஆண்டு
19. முதல் [மேற்படி] கோ-

On the third face of the pillar

20. விலில்ப் பாதமூல-
21. த்தவரேக் கையாடி-
22. ச்சு அவர்க்கு
23. சா . வில் ஒண்டா-
24. யால் ௰ நாள் அ-
25. ன்று மூத்த னய-
26. னார் . . . . .
27. . . உண்ணு மாறு-
28. ம் இதின்னு மு-
29. டக்கம் பிசகி-

On the fourth face of the pillar

30. ல் அன்று மூத்த-
31. ராஜாவின்னு ரு-
32. ங்கழஞ்சு [பொ]ன் உத்த-
33. ரமும் சொல்லி பழ-
34. யபடி தன்ம செட்-
35. டி நயனார் நாராய-
36. ணன் காளி (1) தன் வெண்-
37. பழிக்காராண்ம
38. [மேற்படி] கோவிலில் மாம-
39. ண்டபமும் திரூமட-
40. ப்பள்ளி(3)யும் அ-

(1) Compare *ḷâ* occurring in the word *âḷâyi* in *ḷ*-6 of the Miṉchiṟai Maṭham Plate.

On the surface below the first face

41. . சர . . யும்
42. [திரு]வா . ட்டின்னு
43. [முஞ்நிரை] . . .

NAVAYKKULAM INSCRIPTION OF RAMA-MARTTANDAVARMAN KO. 614

The inscription edited below is engraved on the west base of the central shrine of the Śaṅkaranârâyaṇasvâmin temple at Nâvâykkaḷam near Attiṅgal, the head-quarters of the tâlûka of the same name. Its preservation is tolerably good. Of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters in which the record is written, there are a few worth noticing. The shapes of the letters *ṇ* and *l* are rather curious; the first is a right handed spiral, while the latter resembles the letter *cha* of the Grantha alphabet. One other peculiarly shaped letter is *ḷâ*. It looks like the numerical symbol 20 of the Tamiḻ alphabet of the medieval times. The peculiar shape occurs also in the word *âḷâyi* found in *l.* 6 of the Miṉchiṟai plate (see below p. 301); and in the words *Kâḷi* and *ṟaḷḷi* occurring in *ll.* 36 and 40 respectively in the Chitarâl inscription, (see above p. 298), the letter *ḷi* also assumes a similar shape. This form is purely modern, not being found in the earlier lithic or copper records. The inscription states that the king **Vira Râma-Mârttâṇḍavarman of Kiḻapperur**, the head of the Jayatuṅganâḍu branch of the Vaḍaśêri Illam, began the repairs to the temple of Śaṅkaranârâyaṇamûrti of Nâvâykkaḷam on Monday, the 20th of the month Iḍavam, corresponding to the second *tithi* and the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, in the **year 613** of the Kollam era and built the temple of stone, built the central shrine and the *maṇḍapa* and covered the *paḍippurai* with copper. The *kumbhâbhishêka* ceremony was performed on Monday, the 24th of the month Iḍavam, corresponding to the fifth *tithi*, the next year, 614.

Text (1)

1. ஹரி [॥ *] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥ *] கொல்லம் சுஆசெ லாமாண்டு இடப ஞாயறு உசெ சென்றநாள் வடசேரி இ[ல்]லத்[து]ள் கிழ்ப்பேரூர் சிரிவீரஇராமமார்த்தாண்டராய சேதுங்க நாட்டு மூத்த திருவடி

2. இருந்நருளியெடம் திருநாவாய்க்களத்து சங்கரநாராயண [மூ]ர்த்தி . . . முன்னுள் சுஆசெ மாண்டு இடபஞாயிறு உடி திங்களாழ்ச்சயும் புண-

3. ர்தவும் திதியயும் அன்று யிதினம் ராசி கொண்டு தங்கோதியமச்சு கல்ப்பணியும் செய்விச்சு சிரிகோயிலும் மண்டபவுமமைச்சு படிப்பு-

4. ரையும் செம்புமேவிச்சு சுஆசெ லாமாண்டு இடபஞாயிறு உசெ சென்ற திங்களாழ்சசயும் பூப்பும் பஞ்சமியும் அன்றே இடபம்

5. ராசிகொண்டு

6. கலசம் ஆடி அருளினது

PARUR ROMO-SYRIAN CHURCH INSCRIPTION OF A. D. 1624.

The following inscription is engraved on a stone slab set up in the north wall of the Romo-Syrian Church at Parûr, the head-quarters of the *tâlûka* of the same name in the Kottayam division. It is written in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and the language is Malayâḷam. It records the **death of the bishop Francisco**, the head of the Mar Thoma Nazaranis (Christians), of the diocese

(1) From inked impressions.

of Malaṇgarai. It is stated that this event took place at ten *nāḻigais* after sunset, on the Sunday which begins the Lent in the month Kumbha of **the year 1624** after the birth of the Messiah.

The deceased bishop is Francisco Roz, a Spanish monk who accompanied Archbishop Menzes. He belonged to the Society of Jesus. For his knowledge in Syriac, he was appointed to teach the youths at the Vaippicotta Seminary, of which he became the Rector. In the Synod of Diamper he acted as Assistant Interpreter between the Syrian clergy and the Archbishop Menzes. When Mar Abraham, the Syrian Metron died, Roz was appointed Bishop, but finding that the appointment would irritate the Thoma Christians, it was suspended for some time. Eventually he became Bishop and was raised to the Archbishopric of Cranganore. Even in the days of Paul Bartholomao there were entertained doubts about the exact date of the death of Francisco Roz. It was put down as having occurred in A. D. 1617. Paul took the trouble to go to Parûr to read for himself the stone inscription written in vernacular language, of which he was informed by the people. He then settled the date as A. D. 1624 and not 1617 as believed till then.(1)

Paul says, " A sepulchral slab of blackish stone inserted in the wall of the *atrium* of the Church of S. S. Gervasius and Protasius in Pattena Parûr, Malabar, (in which church Rozius lived and which he surrounded by a wall, since to live either in Cranganore or Angamale was impossible owing to the continual wars), bears an inscription in the vernacular, written in the ancient Tamil-Malayalam characters.

" In the year of Our Lord 1624, on the 18th day of the month of February, at the commencement of the Lenten fast, (according to the custom of the Christians of St. Thomas), at ten o'clock on the night of Sunday, died Bishop Francis in communion with the Holy Catholic Church of the Christians of St. Thomas.

" I myself copied these words at Parûr on the 10th of September 1785.

" Since, however, these words cannot be understood of Francis Garcia, who was consecrated Bishop at Goa in the year 1637, the date assigned for the death of Francis Rozius must be 1624 and not 1617."

Text (2)

1. மாத்தோமா [||*] மிசியா பிறந்-
2. நிட்ட கதூசூஈஉ௰ச மத
3. கும்ப ஞாயெற்று அஉ . .
4. நோய்ம்ப துடங்ஙன்-
5. ற ஞாறாழ்சச நாள் அ-
6. ச்த்தமிச்ச பத்த நாழி-
7. க்காய் செல்லுன்றப்போ-
8. ள் சுத்தவாள் காத்தோலிக்-

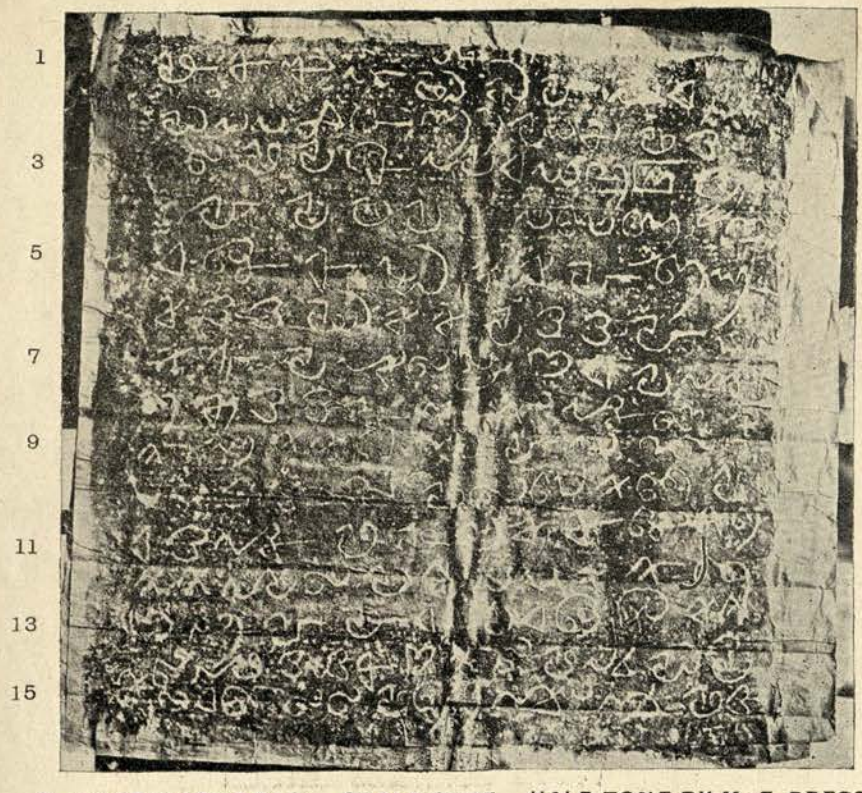
(1) Taken from "India Orientalis Christiana," p. 64, Edition 1792, by Fr. Paulius, O. D. C; I am indebted to the Very Rev. Fr. Dominic, the Vicar Apostolic of Ernakulam, for the translation and the original. The original runs thus :—" Lapis sepulchralis in atrio ecclesiae S. S. Gervasi et, Protasii in Pottono Parur in Malabaria muro insertus in qua ecclesia Rozius habitavit, et quam muro cinxit, cum ob continua bella nec Cranganore, nec in Angamali degere pesset, sequentem fert inscriptionem lingua valgari Malabarica, antiquo caractere Tamulico-Malabarico in lapide nigricante cælatum. Anno Christi nati millesimo sexcentesimo vigestino quarto mense Februario die decima octava jejunio quadragesimali (more Christianorum S. Thomae) intrante die Dominica hora decima noctes in communiere S. Ecclesiæ Catholicae Christianorum S. Thomae in Malabaria episcopus Franciscus obiit."

" Haec verba ego in Parur anno 1785, die 10, Septembris exscripsi. Cum igitur haec de Francisco Garcia, qui nonnisi anno 1637, Goae in Episcopum consecratus fuerat, haud intelligii possint, Francisco Rozio non anno 1617, sed 1624 pro sui obitus anno assignandus est."

(2) From inked impressions.

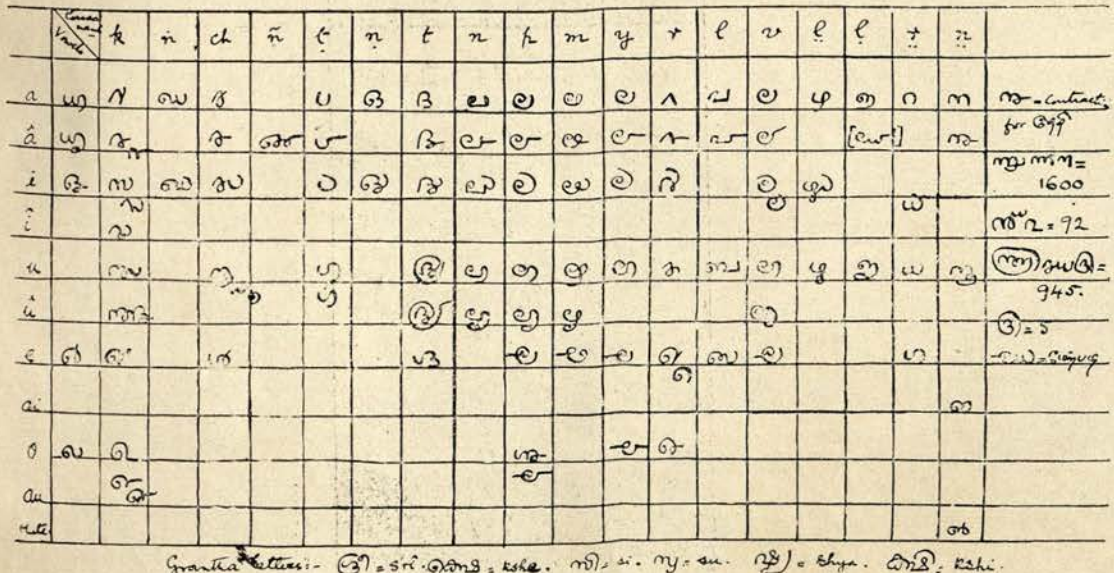
Parur Romo-Syrian Church Inscription of A. D. 1624

(To face p. 299)



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.125. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

Minchirai Matham Plate of S 1692 (=A. D. 1770) or Ko. 945.



Minchirai Matham Plate of S' 1692
(To face p. 301)

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0.5. HALF-TONE BY M. E. PRESS

9. கா அக்க . . . யாறு கூ-
10. ட்டத்திலே மலங்கரை ம[ா]-
11. ற்த்தொம்மா நசறாணிகள்-
12. க்க மேலப்பட்டக்காரை-
13. ன் ஆயா(1)மாற் பெறஞ்சிசுக்-
14. கு மேத்தெறான் காலம் செய்து [|| *]
15. அன்ற கொல்லம் எாகூடுகூ மத [|| *]

Translation

Mâr Thôma. In the year 1624, after the Messiah was born, on Sunday, the 8th of the (solar) month Kumbha, the day on which Lent begins, when ten *nâḻigais* were past after sunset, the saintly Mâr Francesco Metron, who belonged to the Catholic A.....order, and who was the Bishop of the Mâr Thôma Nazarins (Christians) of the Malaṅgari (diocese) died. It was in the Kollam 799th year.

PARUR JACOBITE CHURCH INSCRIPTION OF A.D. 1625.

This is engraved round the margin of a stone fountain placed in the Jacobite church at Parûr. It records that it was presented to the church by one Abraham Manuel.

Text (2)

மிசியா பிறந்நிட்ட ௲௬௱௨௫௫ காலம் விறிச்சிக ஞாயிற்றில் இ மா . . கல்லபோட்டின் அபிராமாநவேள் கொடுத்தூ

Translation

In the month of Vrischikam, in the year 1625 after the birth of the Messiah, Abraham Manual gave this stone fountain.

MINCHIRAI MATHAM PLATE OF S. 1692.

The inscription edited below is engraved on one side of a copper plate preserved in the Miṉchiṟai Svâmi's Maṭham at Miṉchiṟai. Being a very modern document, its preservation is good. It is written in a peculiar type of Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and its language is Malayâḷam. There is practically no difference between *p* and *v*, and *v* and *y* and their secondary vowels. Hardly any distinction exists between *p*, *v* and *y* on the one hand and their secondary *i*'s on the other. The letters *śu* and *ṉu* resemble each other closely. The consonant *l* looks like the modern Tamiḻ, *v* whereas *n* is written like *l* of the medieval Grantha. The shapes of the secondary vowels *tu* and *tû* in this document are unique and are found, so far as I know, in no other records. For the use of the students of paleography a table of the alphabet employed in this inscription is added.

The inscription records an agreement entered into by one Kunnûr Nambûri, with the Svâmi of the Miṉchiṟai maṭham. The Svâmi had deputed one of his disciples, a *sanyâsi*, to supervise the *samudâyam* of the temple at Âviṭṭattûr. This *sanyâsi* died and disputes arose about the management of the *samudâyam*. Thereupon the Nambiyâdiri of Paṟavûr took possession of the *samudâyam* and administered it with the Kunnûr Nambûri as his agent. But when eventually the Svâmi resolved to appoint a proper manager for the *samudâyam*, he first removed the Nambiyâdiri from the management and put in the Kunnûr Nambûri himself. This latter person paid to the *maṭham*

(1) Read ° காரன் ஆய

(2) From inked impressions.

a *aḍiyiṟai* of two thousand chakrams and bound himself to manage the *samudayâm* in a just and honest way. The document is of no historic value but its palaeographic interest is indeed very great.

The following are the names of places that occur in this record :—Miṉchiṟai, Âviṭṭattûr, Kunnûr, Kurimûr and Kuḻikkâḍu. Of these, Miṉchiṟai is situated at a distance of about six miles south of Kuḻittuṟai, the head-quarters of the Viḷavaṅgôḍu tâlûka of the Padmanâbhapuram division, of the Travancore State. Aviṭṭattur appears to be in the Cochin State. I am unable to identify the other places.

Text (1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [|| *] சகாப்(ப)தம் ௲௬௱௯௰௨ னுமேல் செல்லுந்ந கொல்லம் ௯௱௪௰௫ மது விகிற்தி வருழம் இடபஞாயற்று ௫௨ சுக்-

2. கிறவாரெ ரோகணிநக்ஷத்திறவும் அமாவாஸியும் திரகரணவும் ஸுகற்ம்ம[வி]த்திய யோகவும் கூடிய சுப தினத்தில் முன்-

3. சிற மடப்புறத்து [மே]லழி[வ]த்து திருமனஸிலே திருமுன்(ம்)பாரே [மேற்படி] மடப்புறம்வக ஆவிட்டத்தூரு மகாதேவரு க்ஷேத்-

4. திறத்தில் ஸமுதாய பிறவற்த்தி நோக்குந்ந குந்நூருநம்பூறி எழுதிவச்ச தாம்மிற சாஸனமாவது [| *] [மேற்படி] மடப்பிறத்து நிந்நூ-

5. ம் நியமிச்சிட்டுண்டாயிருந்ந சிஷ்யத்தான ஸமுதாயம் மறிச்சு ஆ[ளே]ற்றம் [வ]ந்து பறவூ[ரு] நம்பியாதிறிக்கு ஒதுங்ஙி அ-

6. த்தேகத்தின்றே ஆ[ளா](2)யி ஸமுதாயபிறவற்த்தி ஞான் நடத்திவரும்போள் ஆ ஸமுதாயத்தானத்தில் நிந்நும் நம்பியாதிறியே

7. மாற்றி வேறே ஆள் நிச்சயிப்பான் திருமனஸுகொண்டு நிச்சயிச்சதில் [மேற்படி] ஸமுதாயப்பிறவற்த்திக்கு என்னெ கொண்டு நாலாயி-

8. றம் சக்கிறம் அடியிற தீற்ப்பிச்சு என்றே பேற்க்கு திருவடயாளம் தந்நிறுக்க-கொண்டு கீழில் நடப்பு யிருந்நதுபோலே ஸமு-

9. தாயத்தானம் காணிச்சு ஆதாரங்கள் எழுதி ஞான் ஒப்பிட்டதில்பின்னே நமக்காரம் போசனம் செய்யுந்ந வழிபோக்கனெ கொ-

10. ண்டுமதேப்பிறுகார சனம்மாராயிரண்டு மூத்ததின்ம்மாரே கொண்டும் கணக்கெழுத்-துகாறனெகொண்டும் ஒப்பிடுவிச்சு ஆதாரம் எ-

11. ழுத்தும் மற்றுள்ள ஸகல காறியங்களும் திருமனஸிலே பிறதிபுருஷனாய் ஞான் நடத்தி ஆ வகக்குகல்ப்பிச்சு வச்சிட்-

12. டுள்ள அனுபவங்ஙளும் . . . . ஸ்ரீராம சத்தியமாய் நடந்நுகொள்ளந்நு [|| *] இது அறியும் ஸாக்ஷி குறிமூரும் குழிக்காடும்

13. கிடங்ஙழி . . ம் குந்நநும் அ[றி]வன் எழுத்து மடம்வக கணக்கு குமாரனயிலப்-பனாயன்

Olai document of the Agapparambu Jacobite Church.

(1) From inked impressions

(2) This document uses a peculiar form of the letter *ḷâ*. It is not only from the context that it is read as *ḷâ*, but also from the same form occurring in other records. Compare *ḷi* occurring in the words *Kâḷi* in *l.* 36 and *° paḷḷi* in *l.* 40, of the Chitarâl Inscription, p.

(To face p. 303)

SCALE : ACTUAL SIZE.

From a *olai* document of Ko. 923 (= A.D. 1748) belonging to the Jacobite Syrian Church at Agapparambu near Angamali

Text (1)

1. கொல்லம் கூஉடுகூ மத மிதுனஞாயற்றில் எழுதிய பேர்பாட்டவோலக்காணமாவிது மாங்ஙாட்டில்

2. குமாரைன் சிருகண்டத்திருமுல்ப்பாட்டில் கோவில்க்காரியத்திலிவர் அகப்பறம்பில்-

3. ப்பள்ளிக்காரியத்திலொட . னமஞ்சிலாக எழுபத்து முப்பாஅச்சும் வாங்கிக்கொ-

4. ண்ட கோவில்க்காரியத்திலேக்குள்ள பள்ளித்தாழம் காஞ்ஞிரக்கோட ரண்ட நடயும் வெட்டவும்

5. (வெட்டவும்) படிக்கே போதவிலேக் கண்டமு . ப்பும் இவ்விலம . . . . . அச்ச எடுகூ-

6. க்கும் பேர் பலிச கழிவுமாகி . . . . அம்மார்க்கமே ஈ அச்ச . . . . . கொடுத்த கோ-

7. வில்க்காரியத்திலேக்குள்ள . . .

Translation

In the year 926 of the Kollam era, in the month of Mithunam, the following *pêr-pâṭṭa ôlai* was written. The officers of the palace of Kumâraṇ Sirukaṇḍa-Tirumulpâḍu of Maṇṇâḍu, having received from the . . . . of the Church at Agappaṟambil, seventy-three *achchus*, ... Kâñjirak-koḍa (some sort of umbrella), two *naḍais* (?), lamp, ...

(1) From the original. The fac simile given on the opposite plate is from an eye copy made by me from the original.

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BY

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ADDENDA TO VOL. I.

I am indebted to my friend Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon, B.A., B.L., for the following note :—

"Permit me to call your attention to page 294 of the *Travancore Archæological Series* where there is a Saṅskṛit Inscription belonging to Kaṇḍiyūr. In your introductory remarks you say that "it records the same fact as in the previous and gives the day as 1511564th after the beginning of the Kali era which is represented by the chronogram "Vishamampuṇyamēkam." This when reduced to Kollam Āṇḍu and A.D. comes to $\frac{1511564 \times 4}{1461} = 4813\frac{638}{1461}$ Kali year; the fraction may be left off and taking the year to be 4138 its equivalent Kollam Āṇḍu will be according to the formula "கொல்லத்தில் 'தரளாங்க'த்தை கூட்டுகில் கலிவத்ஸரம்" (and தரளாங்கம் = 3926) = 4138—3926 = 212 M.E. + 825 = 1037 A.D.

"You say that the Saṅskṛit inscription records the same fact as in the previous. But the immediately previous one is of the 123rd year of the God at Kaṇḍiyūr, equivalent to 946 A.D. and records the gift of certain lands to the Kaṇḍiyūr Temple, while the Saṅskṛit inscription refers to the *abhishēkam* of the God. The Tamil inscription at page 289, however, records the fact of the repair of the temple which commenced on Friday 17th Tulām 392 M.E., and continued to Sunday the 8th of Mēḍam 393, on which date perhaps the *Kumbhābhishēkam* was performed, of which the Saṅskṛit inscription is the record. The 'previous' inscription to which you refer at p. 294 is evidently the one at p. 289 and not the one at p. 292 of the 123rd year of the God at Kaṇḍiyūr which immediately precedes the Saṅskṛit one though its translation comes in only after the Saṅskṛit original and the abstract of its contents. The repair was finished on Sunday the 8th of Mēsha according to the inscription at p. 289 and the *abhishēkam* was performed when the sun was in Mēsha, according to the Saṅskṛit inscription at p. 294. On consulting a local Saṅskṛit scholar as to the meaning of the Saṅskṛit text I was told that the expression "हेमार्त्मासौसुमान्य:" has no special significance and that it points to the Kali day of the performance of the *abhishēkam*. Upon this, I set about calculating the Kali day and reducing it to Kollam Āṇḍu and the Christian era. The result is as follows :—"हेमार्त्मासौसुमान्य:" $= \frac{1577558 \times 4}{1461}$ = Kali year 4319 and a fraction (leaving aside the latter), it will be equivalent to K. 4319—3926 = 393 Kollam Āṇḍu and this is exactly the date of the repair of the temple mentioned in the Tamil inscription at p. 289. It will be Ko. 393 + 825 = 1218 A.D. If I am right the above mentioned Chronogram "विषमं" etc. does not correctly represent the date of the abhishēkam."

On page 290, in the text I was not able to find out the exact reading of the word beginning with *sarvvā°*. From the extract given below it will be quite clear that the word is *sarvādityam* = Sans. सर्वादित्य.

சர்வாதித்யம் = பெருவிருந்து, "சர்வாதித்யம் பண்ணினேனத்தவர்கள் சோறுதண்ணீருங்-குறையறுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்குமா போலே,"

ஈடு on 9ம் பத்து, 3ம் திரு., 1ம் பாட்டு.

From this it is understood that *sarvāthitya* is the grand feast, given as for instance in connection with the *kumbhābhishēka* etc., ceremonies. The same occurs also in an inscription found in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai ; it runs thus :—

" திருக்கால்க்கரைப் பெருமான் தீர்பாதீச்சஞ் செய்தருளிச் செல்லாகின்ற மூவாயிரத்தெழு-நூற்றையா மாண்டைக் கெதிராண்டு.....". Herein also the word seems to mean the *kumbhābhishēkas* of the temple at Tirukkākkarai ; this inscription appears to give incidentally the date of construction of the temple as 3705 which seems evidently to refer itself to the Kali era and which is equivalent to A.D., 603·4, a date which does not militate against that of Nammāḻvār (that is A.D. 798 according to Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai), the Śrīvaishṇava saint who has personally paid homage to it in his Tiruvāymoḻi.

T. A. G.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES.

VOLUME II.

No. 1. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF THE 15TH YEAR OF RAJARAJA THE FIRST.

The inscription edited below is to be found engraved on a rock in the first *prākāra* of the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. This rock bears on it several other ancient inscriptions of the kings of the Pāṇḍya and the Chōḷa dynasties. At a later period in the history of this temple, a shrine named Kailāsa was built upon the summit of this little rock and a *prākāra* wall was erected round the shrine. In putting up both these structures a number of inscriptions have been suffered to undergo more or less damage. The one under consideration is built in at the end, but otherwise its preservation is very good.

The alphabet in which the record is written is **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** and the language, **Tamiḻ**. It belongs to the reign of the great Chōḷa king **Rājarāja I** and is dated **the thirtieth day of the solar month Kanni, which corresponded with a Tuesday and the nakshatra Purvābhādra (Puraviraṭṭādi), in the fifteenth year of the reign** of the king. This date has been calculated and verified by Prof. Kielhorn and the result published in the Epigraphia Indica, Volume V, p. 48, as Tuesday, 29th August 999 A. D. The inscription records that certain arrangements were made by the Sabhā and the Mūlaparaḍaiyār regarding the conduct of the secular business of the temple, which the latter declined to do any longer. It is not to give to the public this little piece of information contained in the document nor with a desire to add to the stock of inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja I that the present one is edited, but to revise the interpretation put on certain important passages of the historical introduction by the former editors and which has by sheer repetition got so fast into the mind of the scholars and laymen alike and which has been, equally firmly, believed by at least a small section of the scholars from the very beginning to be an unsatisfactory explanation. A number of facts which have been gathered during the past seven or eight years enables me to review in this paper the explanation offered to one historical event, namely, the so-called destruction of ships by Rājarāja at Kāndaḷūr-śālai.

Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Venkayya were the persons who first took up seriously the study of the Chōḷa records and indeed did very much for the construction of a fairly complete history of the Chōḷas. In translating the inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings they adopted the tentative method. In rendering the particular passage under consideration into "destroying the ships at the road-stead of Kāndaḷūr (or Kāndaḷūr-śālai)" they had to take three steps. In Volume I of the *South Indian Inscriptions* we find the passage

Tirumagaḷ-pōḷa peru-nilachchelviyum taṇakkē urimai-pūṇḍamai maṇakkoḷa-kkāndaḷūr-chchālai kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi,

translated thus: "While both the goddess of fortune and the great goddess of the earth, who had become his exclusive property, gave him pleasure,—was pleased to build a jewel (-like) hall at Kāndaḷūr,"—a translation carrying with it neither the sense of the original as a whole nor based upon anything like the correct understanding of each word of the sentence. Any student of Tamiḻ will be shocked to hear the passage *kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi* translated into 'having built a jewel-like hall,' for, not a single word therein bears any shadow of such a meaning to warrant a translation like the one given by the editors. Dr. Hultzsch, the Editor-in-chief, found at a somewhat later stage that the meaning assigned by him to the passage was untenable. He says: "This expression, which was mistranslated in *Vol. I*, seems to refer to some incident

in the king's early life, perhaps to some feat, by which he showed the great strength of his arm. In an inscription of the 12th year of his reign, which was published in *Vol. I* (No. 146), *காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளின* is the only epithet which precedes the name of the king as a kind of *biruda*". Consequently, he revised his translation of the passage thus : " While his heart rejoiced, that, like the Goddess of Fortune, the Goddess of the great Earth had become his wife having been pleased to cut the vessel (*kalam*) (in) the hall (at) Kāndaḷūr." The third attempt at refining the translation occurs on p. 241 of *S. I. Inscriptions, Vol. II.* The translation runs thus :— ' While his heart rejoiced, that, like the Goddess of Fortune, the Goddess of the great Earth had become his wife,.....having been pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kāndaḷūr-sālai " and the foot-note on it reads as follows : "That this is the correct translation of the ambiguous words *காந்தளூர்ச்சாலைகலமறுத்தருளி*, may be concluded from two inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Kō-Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājādhirājadēva, at Vēlūr and Tiruppaṅgili, which read :-*சேரலன் வேலை கெழுகாந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுப்பித்து*, ' he caused to be destroyed the ships (of) Śēralaṉ (*i. e.*, the Chēra king) at Kāndaḷūr-śālai, which is situated on the sea.' Accordingly, Kāndaḷūr-śālai appears to be a place on the Malabar Coast. In the *Kaliṅgattu-Paraṇi* (xi. 71) the shorter form *śālai* is used for it." This translation has been finally adopted and is now accepted by scholars without dispute. With the facts then available it was perhaps the most satisfactory translation of the passage possible. Let me now proceed with my interpretation of the passage, based upon the new facts since discovered. Before doing so, it is necessary to ascertain definitely the meanings of the words employed in this particular passage occurring in the inscriptions.

The words that have offered the greatest difficulty in translating are *urimai-pūṇḍu*, *maṇakkoḷa* or *maṇakkōḷ* (*karudi*), *śālai*, *kalam* and *aṟuttu*. The compound *taṇakkē-urimai-pūṇḍu* simply means ' having assumed the exclusive possession to oneself ' ; it does not warrant the translation of the passage into " had become his wife ". *Maṇakkōḷ* means ' a fact taken into one's mind, or an assumption ', therefore *maṇakkōḷ-karudi*, means ' having regard to the faith or assumption '; that *maṇakoḷal* has this meaning is not a mere guess based upon probability and the context, but is warranted by the usage of classic authors. The phrase *maṇakkoḷalvēṇḍun* occurs in *l.* 18, *Puṟañjēriy-irutta-kādai* of the *Śilappadigāram ;* the Arumbadavuraiy-āśiriyar gives its meaning thus : *tiru-vuḷḷatt-aḍaikka-vēṇḍum*, that is, ' be it pressed into your mind ' : and Aḍiyārk-kunallār renders it thus *tiru-vuḷḷam-paṟṟal-vēṇḍum*, which is but a paraphrase of the other commentator's explanation. Thus, then, the phrases *maṇakkoḷa* and *maṇakkōḷ-karudi* mean ' having taken (the fact) in his mind ' and ' bearing in mind the assumption.' The next word *śālai*, [1] the true import of which could have been easily found out from such compounds as *āṭura-śālai*, *aṟachchālai*, *ūṭṭu-chchālai* or *aṟavūṇ-śālai* ; in all these instances it means a place where a public institution was situated. All temples had attached to them a boarding school

[1] Compare, (*a*) " *தீர்த்தக்கரையும் தேவர் கோட்டமும்—மோத்தின் சாலையு மொருங்குட னின்று.*"

ll. 27—28, *அழற்படுகாதை, சிலப்பதிகாரம்.*

(*b*) " *வேள்விச்சாலை.*"

l. 170, *வரந்தருகாதை, Ibid.*

(*c*) " *...நான்மறையாளர் நன்முண்டாகென தாமுறைபிழையார் தலைதின் முண்ணுஞ் சாலையும் தளியும்.*"

உதயணன் கதை, வத்தவகாண்டம், யாழ்பெற்றது.

(*d*) " *... சாலை தளி நிறுமின்.*"

v. 306, *ஜீவகசிந்தாணி, நாமகளிலம்பகம்.*

The commentator paraphrases the word *சாலை* as *அறச்சாலை.*

known as *śālai;* and the word *śālā* in Sanskrit definitely means a school, and to an epigraphist the word *śālābhōgam*, meaning the land granted for maintaining the unkeep of a *śālai*, will be very familiar. In this *śālai*, along with the casual visitor Brāhmaṇas, the student Brāhmaṇas, who were permanent residents there, also messed. In this sense the word is used in one of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I, found in Tanjore : it runs thus *śēvittuvanda-Śiva-yōgigaḷ padiṉmarum Uḍaiyār śālaiyilē uṇṇakkaḍavar;* this passage has there been translated thus: "ten Śiva yōgins .....have to be fed in the hall (*śālai*) of the temple." That *śālai* means no other thing but a place where a large number of Brāhmaṇas were fed will become patent as we proceed. Again in an inscription of the king *Kō-kkarunandaḍakkaṉ*, the passages *Kāndaḷūr maryādiyāl toṇṇūṟṟ-aivar śaṭṭarkku śālaiyum śeydāṉ;* and *ich-chālaikku peyda kalāttil Paviḻiya-charaṇattār-uḍaiya-kalam nārpattaindu, Taittiriya charaṇattār-uḍaiya kala-muppattāṟu, Talavakāra-charaṇattār-uḍaiya kalam padiṉālu*" occur. They have been translated thus: 'the king Śrī Karunandaḍakkaṉ made (established) in conformity with the rules of Kāndaḷūr, a *śālai* for ninty-five *śaṭṭars*' and 'Of the seats established in this *śālai*, the members of the Paviḻiya-charaṇa have forty-five, the members of the Taittiriya-charaṇa have thirty-six, those of the Talavakāra-charaṇa have fourteen' (1). From these passages it will be clear that a *śālai* is a place where *brāhmaṇas* are fed, while *kalam*(2), which is the same as *uṇkalam*, is a vessel or leaf from which one eats his food. If it is said that so many *kalams* were allotted for each *charaṇa*, it means that so many seats both in the school and the dining hall were reserved for each *charaṇa*. The last word is *aṟuttu* means cut, destroyed or made to cease. The whole passage beginning from *Tirumagaḷ* and ending with *aṟutt-aruḷi* may now be translated thus: 'Having regard to the faith or conscientiousness that the goddess of the great earth had become, like the goddess of wealth, his own, he discontinued the

(e) 'விசயை, சீவகன் பிறந்தவிடம் சுடுகாடாகக் கிடவாதபடி சாலையாக்கிக் கோவிந்தன் அதற்குரியனாய் நின்று நாடோறும் பிள்ளைப்பாலுமளந்து நெய்யைச் சொரிந்து அமுதத்தையும் ஊட்டப்பண்ணி இவ்வறம் வைகுகையாலே பரிவையகன்றான்.'

Com. on v. 2604, முத்தியிலம்பகம், ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

(f) 'ஸ்ரீபுகலூர் தேவர் மத்யாஹ்நஸம்யி சுமுது செய்தருளும்போது உத்தமாக்ரமாக [ஸுவ]லோகமாணிக்கச்சுத்ரவ்வேதிமம்மலத்து வாகூர் நம்பியார் குளத்திற் தெங்கரையிலே நித்தம் பன்னிரண்டு ப்ராஹ்மணர் உண்பதாக ஜயங்கொண்ட மண்டலத்துப் புலியூர்க்கோட்டத்துப் பேறூர்நாட்டு நெற்குன்றத்து நெற்குன்றங் கிழார் அரயங்கருவுணாயகரான களப்பாள ராஜர் செய்வித்த சாலைக்கு..... சாலைப்புறமாக.....இச்சாலை உண்கைக்கு இறையிலிசெய்து குடுத்து..."

Extract from an unpublished inscription of the Śiva temple at Tiruppugalūr in the Tanjore District.

(1) Trav. Arch. Series, Vol. I pp. 6, 8 and 13.

(2) Compare.

(a) "பொற் கலத்தே எனக்கும் அமுதமிட்டார்." Com. on v. 399, நாமகளிலம்பகம் ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

(b) "செம்பொற் கலத்தையும் பக்கத்தட்டங்களையும் பரப்பித் தங்கின அறுசுவை யடிசிலை யேந்த..." Com. on v. 2025, சுரமஞ்சரியாரிலம்பகம், ஜீவகசிந்தாமணி.

(c) "திருவெள்ளறை திருவானைக்கற் பெருமானடிகளுச்சம்போது அமுதுசெய்யும் போது வேதம் வல்லாநொரு பிராஹ்மணன் உத்தமக்ரமத்து ஊட்டுவிதாக ...வச்சபொன்...இப்பொன்னின் பலிசையால் ஊட்டுவதானபடி தாலமொன்று வட்டிலொன்று..."

kalam (by implication, the feeding) in Kāndaḷūr-śālai (or the feeding house at Kāndaḷūr) (which was instituted by the Chēra who had the presumption to call himself a sovereign before Mummuḍi-chōḷa, the Chōḷa, who had, by right of conquest, claims to the crowns of the Chōḷa, the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms). This apparently uncharitable act, in fact, the serious sin of stopping the feeding of no less persons than the gods of the earth (*bhūsuras*), Brāhmaṇas, which should shock a pious Hindu like the great conqueror Rājarāja himself, would certainly be urged forward as against the present interpretation. The objection would no doubt be true if it was really a fact that Rājarāja stopped the feeding once for all. In this connection we have to refer the readers to an inscription found in Kanyākumāri and published in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, pp. 163-164. Therein we see that what was once the Śrīvallabha-pperuñ-jālai or the large *śālai* established by (the Pāṇḍya king ?) Śrīvallabha was made to cease bearing that name and was re-named Rājarāja-pperuñ-jālai or the great *śālai* of Rājarāja. This king Rājarāja had a fancy in his first conquering expeditions to dub everything with his name; for example, the Pāṇḍya kingdom conquered by him was called Rājarājappāṇḍināḍu. The glory of the Chēra kingdom, from time immemorial consisted in its extensive feeding of the Brāhmaṇas and others; the various *śālais* were the envy of the other kings who did not, at any rate, seem to have been so liberal in the matter of feeding as the Chēras. Rājarāja having assumed himself to be sovereign of the earth evidently desired to have all the charities in his name for which he conquered the various countries and reinstated the charities conducted by others in those countries and called them after his own name. He is represented to have discontinued the *śālai* attached to the temple of Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram and another at Talaikkuḷam. The passages which describe the discontinuance of the working of *śālais* in these places run thus in the unpublished inscriptions in my collection: *Karaikkaṇḍēśvarattu-kkalam-aṟṟa yāṇḍu* and *Talaikkuḷattu-kkalam-aṟṟa-yāṇḍu*, which mean the year in which the *kalam* (or feeding) was discontinued at Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram and at Talaikkuḷam respectively. Both these places do exist now; there are two temples of Karaikkaṇḍēśvara (the god with a stained neck, Śiva); one is situated in the village of Tirunāyiṉārkkuṟichchi near Kaḍigaippaṭṭiṉam and the other in Trivandram. The latter is a small shrine at the end of the Śālaigrāmam and forms a *kīḻīḍu* (subordinate) to the Valiyaśālai Śiva temple. Whether the *śālai* in this Karāikkaṇḍēśvaram temple or that in the Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram at Tirunāyiṉārkuṟichchi was destroyed by Rājarāja it is not possible to ascertain. In all likelihood the latter might be identified with the Karaikkaṇḍēśvaram, whose *śālai* was discontinued by Rājarāja, for, in the village of Tirunāyiṉārkkuṟichchi there is a fairly large temple with a number of inscriptions on its walls and, very likely, there might have been a large feeding house attached to it, which might have attracted the attention of Rājarāja. Talaikkuḷam is also very near Tirunāyiṉārkkuṟichchi.

Now, as for the identification of Kāndaḷūrśālai, a very important fact was brought to my notice by my Pandit Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri which enables me to fix beyond a shadow of doubt its exact position. He informed me that the popular name of the deity of a large Śiva temple, situated in the Brāhmaṇa street in Trivandram Town called the Valiyaśālai, is Kāndaḷḷūrjvālai-Mahādēvar and that there were many cadjan account books and *nīṭṭus* (royal writs or the equally important holy writs of Maṭhādhipatis) about 150 to 200 years old in which the temple was called Kāndaḷūrchchālai. I examined a few of them and in all of these documents the temple is

Extract from the inscription of the Śiva temple at Tiruveḷḷaṟai, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV p. 265.

(d) "...வேதமு வல்லாரிருவர் ப்ராஹ்மணரை ஊட்டுவதற்கு...பொன்னின் பலிசை யால்...ஊட்டுவோமானோம்...தாலமிரண்டு வட்டிலிரண்டும்..."

Ibid, p. 268.

uniformly known as Kāndaḷūrchchālai. I extract from one document a portion of it for the information of the readers :(1)

1. மீனச்சனி மீனவியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம் 956 மாண்டு துலாமாசம் 5 சென்ற செவ்வாய்க்கிழமையும் பரணியும் அபர பக்ஷத்து பிரதமையும் 12 முக்கால் நாழிகைக்குமேல் துவிதியையும் நித்திய யோகமும் கூடிய திவசம் பகல் 5 நாழிகைக்கு மகர ராசி கேரத்து

2. காந்தள்ளூர்ச்சாலை மஹாதேவர் க்ஷேத்திரத்தில் புஷ்பாஞ்சலி உடைய முன்னிறை மட புறத்து மூப்புஸ்தானம் ஆரோஹணமாய கோளாதிவர்ண்ண தூர்ய்யாசிரமி ஸ்ரீ புஷ்பாஞ்சலி தி...ட்டி சாஸ்திர தாஸ கோவிந்த பிரம்மாநந்த தீர்த்தர் எழுந்தருளி இருந்தருளிய இடத்து ; The passage means that when Saturn and Jupiter were in the Mīṇa rāśi, in the Kollam year 956, on the 5th, in the solar month Tulā, which was a Tuesday and the *nakshatra* Bharaṇi and the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight (and *dvitīyā* was to begin after $12\frac{3}{4}$ *ghaṭikās*) and the yōga *nitya*, at 5 *ghaṭikas* after sun-rise, in the Makararāśi, Gōvindabrahmānanda Tīrtha ascended the pontifical seat and became the *pushpāñjali-svāmiyār* (the *sanyasin* who does worship to the image of god with flowers) of the temple of the Mahādēva at Kāndaḷūr-śālai.....The Valiya-śalai temple is situated at least 3 miles away from the sea and வேலைகெழு காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை means the Kāndaḷūr-śālai surrounded by or situated near the sea. The same sort of description is given of Tiruvanandapuram, also another quarter of the town Trivandram, in Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*, பெரியநீர்வேலை சூழ்ந்த... (திரு)வனந்தபுரம்(2), the beautiful (city of) Anantapuram surrounded by the large watery ocean. In the earliest inscriptions of Rājarāja I so far discovered dated the 8th and 10th years of the king, the only military achievement ascribed to him is the discontinuance of the Kāndaḷūr-śālai. It appears therefore that the earliest known great act of Rājarāja I is the conquest of the Chēra country and the discontinuance of the various *śālais* existing in that country. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* very prominently mentions the fact of the conquest of the Udiyar-maṇḍalam (the Chēra kingdom) by Rājarāja, who, it is stated therein, was seated upon his incomparable elephant like the rising sun (upon the summit of the Udayagiri) and the performance in the conquered country of the festival of the Śatabhisha nakshatra(3). We know that the Śatabhisha nakshatra was the natal star of Rājarāja I and that he also instituted a festival of seven days' duration to the god at Tirunandikkarai in South Travancore to commence seven days earlier than the day of the Śatabhisha nakshatra in the month Aippiśi (See *Travancore Archæological Series, pp.* 291-292).

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(1) The original is in the Malayālam characters and in the Malayālam language : for the benefit of the Tamil knowing scholars, the inscription is here given in Tamil.

Mention is made of the temple of Kāndaḷūrśālai-Mahādēvar in an inscription in my collection (No. 16 of 1084). It reads thus :—" ஆலத்தூர்தேசத்து சுரப்புக்காட்டில் குளத்தின்கீழ் காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை மாதேவர்க்கு வாரம்போக..." "Deducting the rent due to the (god) Mahādēva of the Kandaḷūrśālai on (the lands situated in the village of) Śurappukkāḍu in the Ālattūr-dēśam."

(2) திருவாய்மொழி, 10-ம் பத்து, 2-ம் திரு., 4-ம் பாட்டு.

(3) " சதயநாள் விழா உதியர் மண்டலம்
தன்னில் வைத்தவன்றனியோர் மாவின்மே
லுதய பானுவொத்துதகைவென்ற கோ
ளெருகைவாரணம் பலகவர்ந்ததும் "

பா. 24, ராசபாரம்பரியம், கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி.

Herein the conquest by Rājarāja of the Udiyar-Maṇḍalam and of Udagai or Udayagiri, perhaps the important outpost of this name next to Padmanābhapuram, and the performance of the festival of Śatabisha nakshatra in the conquered country are mentioned.

Kāndaḷūr seems to have had from very early times an important *śālai* which served as a model to all others. For, we learn from the inscription of the king Karunandaḍakkaṉ that he made arrangements for the conduct of a boarding school for Vēdic students after the model of the Kāndaḷūr-śālai. In spite of Rājarāja's attempt to subvert the name of the Chēra institution, it seems to have resisted successfully the forcible attempt and continued to be conducted only in the name of these kings. For, we see Rājādhirāja and Kulōttuṅga I, repeatedly turning their attention to this *śālai* and discontinuing its maintenance in the name of the Chēras. Then, again, Parāntaka Pāṇḍya, a later king of the Pāṇḍya dynasty and a contemporary of Kulōttuṅgachōla I also claims to have interfered with the Kāndaḷūr-śālai.(1)

We have already mentioned that the Chēras were always famous for their charitable feeding. Tamiḻ literature contains the praises of several ancient sovereigns of the Chēra country as great givers of food: for example, Puruñ-jōṟṟu-Udiyaṉ-Śēral Ādaṉ is said to have fed the contending armies of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas in the great Mahābhārata War.(2)

Another ancient king called Imayavarambaṉ I *alias* Neduñ-chēral-Adaṉ is said to have been so enthusiastic in offering food to all those that visited him, that owing to the enormous number of his guests he felt a shortage of hands for adequately supplying their wants and consequently urged even the high-placed ladies of his household to work in the kitchen. He is further described as one who could not endure people being insufficiently fed. The Chēra King Śelvakkaḍuṅ-gō-vāḻiy-Ādaṉ was a great patron of the brāhmaṇas. He was ever busy arranging for the brāhmaṇas performing yāgas in his country.

This ancient *ūṭṭuppurai* institution, which was maintained out of the rich donations made for the purpose by liberal kings and pious individuals in the past, under government supervision, remained from time immemorial the just pride of the kings of the Malabar Coast; but owing to the stress of modern civilization and perhaps other circumstances such as financial, the *ūṭṭuppurais* in the Cochin and Travancore States have been mostly abolished within the past ten years. It is this gratis feeding of the indigent poor that earned for these two Native States the name of Dharmarājya, by which name it is even now referred to by people outside these States.

Text.

1. [�ஷஸ்ரீ] [॥*] திருமகள் போலப் பெருநிலச்செல்வியுந் தனக்கே யுரி-
2. மை பூண்டமை மனக்கொளக் காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுத்தருளிக் க-
3. ங்கபாடியும் நுளம்பர்பாடி[யு]ம்(3) தடியர்பாடியும்(4) வேங்கைநாடும் கு-
4. டகமலைநாடுந்(5) தண்டாற்(க்)கொண்டு தன்னெழில் விளங்க வூழியில் எல்லாயா-

(1) "காந்தளூர் மண்டோற்ற வேந்தர்மறம்" Śuvaaṉ Māṟaṉ *alias* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ, the feudatory of the Pallava kings Paramēśvaravarman II and his successor Nandivarman Pallavamalla, appears to have defeated the combined armies of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras at Kāndaḷūr. See the *Journal of the S.I. Assn. Vol, II.* pp. 8, 16 & 20.

(2) "ஓரைவ ரீரைம் பதின்ம ருடன்றெழுந்த போரிற் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்றாது தானளித்த சேரன் பொறையன்மலையன்."

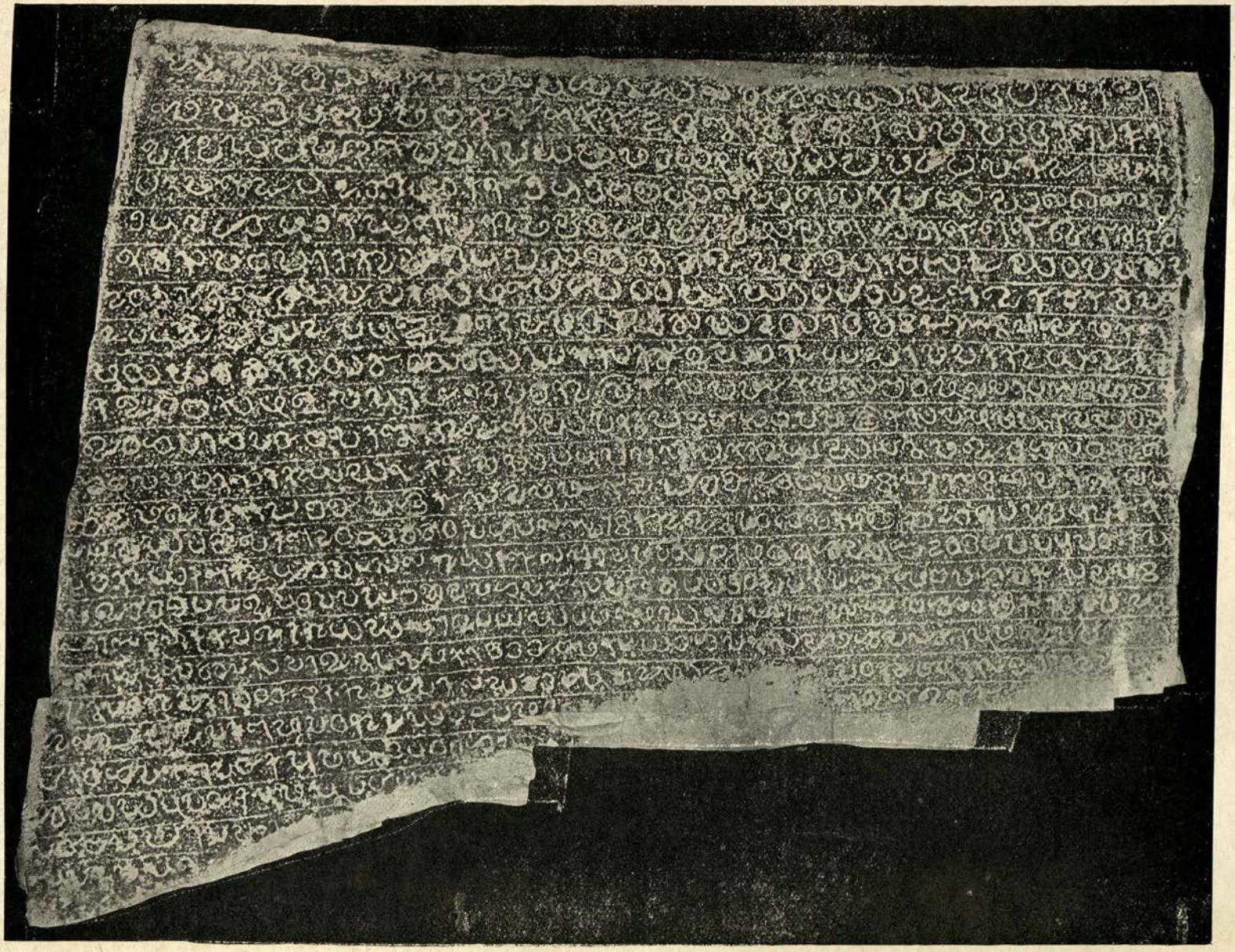
(3) Read நுளம்பர்பாடியும்.

(4) Read தடியர்பாடியும்; other inscriptions of Rājarāja call this country as தடிகைபாடி.

(5) Other inscriptions have குடமலைநாடு, a name which appears in the text of சிலப்பதிகாரம்; Aḍiyārkkunallār, its commentator renders this name in his commentary unvariably into குடகமலைநாடு. Thus it appears குடமலைநாடு is the older form of குடகமலைநாடு.

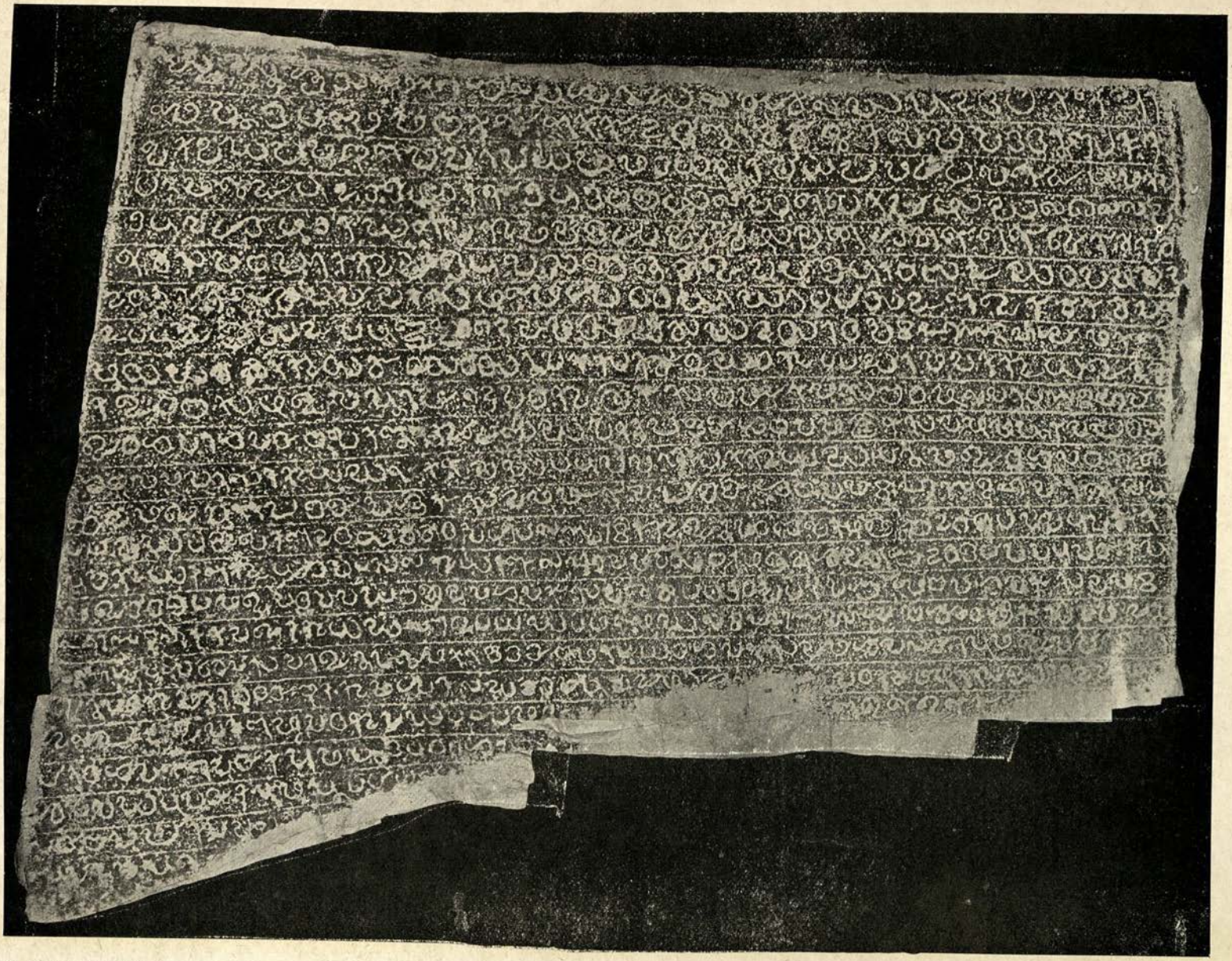
வாழ்த்துகாதை, சிலப்பதிகாரம்.

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0. 1 Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJARAJA I.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0 1 Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

5. ண்டுந் தொழுதகவிளங்கும் யாண்டே(ய்) செழியரை தேசுகொள் கோஇராச ராச-

6. கேசரி[வ]ன்மர்க்கு யாண்டு பதினைஞ்சு [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு கன்னி நாயிற்று முப்பதா-

7. ந்[தியதி] செவ்வாய்க்கிழமை பெற்ற புரவிரட்டாதி நாள் இராசராசவள-

8. நாட்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு ஸ்ரஹ்மதெயம் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து உஹா-[*] ஸபையோம் காள-

9. மூதிவி[ச்சு]க் குறிசாத்தி[த்தி]ருவக்கிர சாலையிற் கூட்டம் நிரம்பக்கூடி இருக்-

10. க[।*] இதன்கீழ் இவ்வூர் மா[தெவ]ற்கு ஸ்ரீகாரியமாராய்கின்ற மு(மூ)ல பரடஸபையார்

11. இத்தேவர் தேவதானங்களுக்கு இறையிறுக்க[உ]ண்ணாதென்றும்(1) ஸ்ரீகாரியமும் ஆராய[உ]ண்ணா-(1)

12. தென்றும் பரடைக்குடியிலாகளா(ய்)யிட்டுப் பரடைக்குடியிலாரும் இத்தேவற்கு இ-

13. றையும் இறுக்க[உ]ண்ணாது(1) ஸ்ரீகாரியமாராய ஊண்ணாதென்றும்(1) உஹா [*] ஸபையார் கை(ய்)வி-

14. ட்[டே]டாம் [॥*] விடநாங்க[ளை]ந்(2) தனிச்சுத்துடரில் ஸ்வாமிக்கு ஒரு-பத்தைங்கழஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவதாக-

15. வும் [॥*] குடிகள் துடரில் குடிகளால் ஐ(ய்)ம்பதின் கழஞ்சு செய்தர பொந்தண்டப்படுவதாகவு-

16. ம்[॥*] இத்தண்டம் இறுத்துப் பின்னையும் தேவகாரியஞ்சுட்டித் துடராய் போமென்று தேவகாரியம் உ-

17. ஹாஸபைக்கு இக்குடியிலா[ரை] ஓட்டி விட்டமையில் உஹாஸபையோம் செய்த ஸ்ரீகாரிய[மாவது].

18. [ஸபை]யோம் வைச்ச வாரியர் இரு[வரு]ம் கரணத்தானும் கூடி தேவகாரியம் செய்வதாகவும் [।*] இவ்வாரிய[ர்]

19. இருவற்கும்(3) கரணத்தானுக்கும் பேரால் நியதம் [அய்]நாழி... பதகு(4) மாழாக்கு இ.....

20. நெல்லும் இவ[ர்*]கள் மூவற்கும் வீட்டைமுதல்.....கள் ஓரோ ஓரோகா.....

21. செய்து விடுவதாகவும்[॥*] ஆட்டாட்டை.....

22. வதானம் ஊரவ.....

(END BUILT IN).

(1) Read ஒண்ணாது.
(2) Read நாங்களே.
(3) Read இருவர்க்கும்.
(4) Read பதக்கு.

Translation.

Ll. 1-10. Be it well! Prosperity! In the fifteenth year of (the reign of) the king **Rājarājakēsarivarman**, who, keeping the fact in his mind that, like the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become all his own, was pleased to discontinue the feeding (*kalam-aṟutt-aruḷi*) at Kāndaḷūr; whose prowess was glowing by having taken with his army Gaṅgapāḍi, the Nuḷambarpāḍi (the country of the Nuḷambas), the Taḍiyarpāḍi (the country of the Taḍiyar), Vēṅgaināḍu and Kuḍagamalaināḍu; who abstracted the glory of the Śeḻiyar (the Pāṇḍyas) in that (very) year which was worthy of being worshipped by the other years as the year in the (whole of) eternity;—on the **thirtieth day** of the month **Kaṉṉi** (which was a) **Tuesday** and (the nakshatra) **Puraviraṭṭādi** (Pūrvāshāḍha), while we the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Suchindram, a *brahmadēśa* (a village granted to brāhmaṇas and inhabited by them) belonging to Nāñjināḍu (a sub-division) of the Rājarājavaḷanāḍu, having blown the horn (*kāḷam*) convened a full meeting of the *kuṟi* (*sabhā*) which assembled in the *agra-śālā* (dining hall in the temple).

Ll. 10-14. In this meeting we, the members of the *mūlaparaḍai-sabhā*, who are managing the business of (the temple of) the (god) Mahādēvar of this village, informing that it was impossible for us (hereafter) to pay the rent on the lands belonging to the temple (*dēvadāna*) nor was it possible for us to manage the business (of the temple); and that it was impossible (even) for the tenants of the *paraḍai* (*paraḍaiyil-kuḍiyilār*) to pay rent nor to manage the business, made over (the charge of the rent recovery and the management of the business of the temple) in the hands of the *mahāsabhā*.

Ll. 14-15. Having (now) left off (these responsibilities), if any one of us singly lay any claim, such an one shall suffer a fine of ten *kaḻañjus* of gold; if (on the other hand, any) one of the tenants should make any claim, that one shall submit oneself to a fine of fifty *kaḻañjus* of gold.

Ll. 16-17. We further renounced in favour of the *mahāsabhā* our claims on the management of the god's business (fearing) that even after paying down the said fine, (some one) might lay pretensions (to the right of management, etc.); and (therefore) made these tenants subject to the *mahāsabhā*.

Ll. 17-20. Thereupon we, (the members of) the *mahāsabhā* made the following arrangement: the two *vāriyars* and a *karaṇattāṉ* appointed by the *mahāsabhā* should manage the business of the god; (for which) five *nāḻis*.....*padakku* and *āḻākku*.....paddy.....

(The rest of the inscription is fragmentary and cannot be translated).

No. 2. AN INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.

The subjoined inscription is engraved upon two sides of a single copper-plate, and was through the perseverance of my pandit Mr. V. Srinivāsa Sāstri, Smritiviśārada, brought to light. It is said to belong to the Talamana Illam near Changanāśēri.

The document is incomplete; there ought to be at least one more plate which is not forthcoming. The inscription is in an excellent state of preservation. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of the same kind as that found in the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman Parāntaka Paṇḍya. Both the vertical and the slanting varieties of letters have been used indiscriminately in the writing,—a fact evidencing the statement made by me elsewhere that the verticality or the slantness of the letters does not form a criterion for the determination of the age of a Vaṭṭeḻuttu document, as was supposed by some epigraphists. The peculiarities of the alphabet of this type have been commented upon by the editor of the Madras Museum Plates of Jaṭilavarman in some detail in his paper on this grant and by me in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I,

p. 286 and need not therefore be reiterated here. A number of Sanskrit words, *e. g.*, *Nama-śśivāyaḥ*, *Śrī Rāja-rājādhirāja-paramēśvara bhaṭṭāraka Rājaśēkharadēvarkku* in *l.*1 ; *Rājaśēkharadēvar* in *l.*2 and *Mātri-parigrahamu* in *l.* 5 occur in this document and these are written in the Grantha characters, which are somewhat later than the alphabet of the "Kāśākuḍi" and other early Pallava grants : but more nearly akin to those of the fragmentary record published by me in the *Travancore Archæological Series* on pp. 198-200.

The inscription belongs to the reign of a king hitherto unknown to history. He is called Rājaśēkharadēva and bears the imperial titles *Śrīrāja*, *Rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Bhaṭṭāraka ;* in the 12th year of the reign of this king an arrangement was made by the people of the eighteen *nāḍus* belonging to Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and the townsmen of Vāḻaippaḷḷi who assembled under the presidency of the king Rājaśēkharadēva. It was resolved in the meeting (1) that those who hinder the performance of the firmly established *bali* ceremony (*muṭṭāppali*) should be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *dināra*, and be considered to have committed the sin of having married their own mothers, (2) that the servants who let the ceremony fall in desuetude should be also obliged to pay each a fine of.....*nāḻis* of paddy each time the ceremony was stopped on account of their negligence. The paddy obtained as *padavāram* should be added on to the amount set apart for the *śānti* or *pūjā*, and (the remaining) nine parts for the *bali* ceremony. The paddy levied as fine was made payable to the temple before the midday *bali* of the day of the Pushya nakshatra, perhaps of each month. If the fine was not paid in due time, the delinquent should be subjected to twice the fine from the day of default. (3) The following plots of land were given to the (god) of Kailāsa (*Kaīlādam-uḍaiyaṇār*) namely, (*a*) *Kīraṉ-kaḍambaṇār-kari* yielding ten and fifteen *kalams* of paddy respectively in alternate years, (*b*) *Maṇḍila-kaḻam* and *Uḻa*[*śē*]*li* yielding ten *kalams*, (*c*) *Kaḻḻāṭṭu-vāy-vēli* of five hundred *nāḻis* (*c*) *Kāñjikkā* yielding five hundred *nāḻis*, (*d*) *Ūragam* and *Pīlikkōṭṭu-puraiyiḍam* and the adjoining *puraiyiḍam* belonging to Śaṅkarī, (the daughter) of the Kāvadi, Kaṇṇaṉ, yielding a hundred and fifty *tūṇis* of paddy and three *dināras*. (*e*) Two *vēlis* in the *maṟṟam* in the Aiyaṅkāḍu.....Dāmō (daraṉ).....

One of the notable facts in the document is the mention of the coin *dināra*, the *dinarius* of the Romans, which probably was current so late as the time of the record under discussion.

The age of the king Rājaśēkhara cannot be exactly determined at present, as the date given in the document is merely the regnal year of the king ; but from the palæographical standpoint, we may confidently state that it cannot be later than the 9th century nor earlier than the 8th century A. D. The name Cheṉṉittalai Aḍigaḷ Irâyaśēkharan occurs also in the Huzur Treasury Plates belonging to the temple of Tiruvallā, as a past donor to that temple ; from the palæography, this latter document can be assigned to the 9th—10th century A.D.

The discovery of this record is of very great importance for the history of Kēraḷa as also that of Saṅskṛit literature. Hitherto we had no document of the early kings of Malaināḍu. That Rājaśēkhara was indeed a real Chēra king could be inferred from the imperial titles borne by him, from the grant of lands made by him in the vicinity of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy in the heart of Kēraḷa and from the fact that the persons who attended the meeting convened by him were residents of the eighteen districts surrounding Vāḻaippaḷḷi (a suburb of the modern Changa-nāśēri), another place very near Tiruvāṟṟuvāy, also in Kēraḷa. As we have already observed, the palæography of the inscription does not warrant us to assign the record to a period earlier than A.D. 750 or later than 850 ; there is therefore an irresistible temptation to consider the question of the identity of this king with Rājaśēkhara the celebrated Saṅskṛit poet. It is a fact too well known to the students of Saṅskṛit literature that Mādhavāchārya in his *Śaṅkaravijaya* mentions a person named Rājaśēkhara and calls him a king of Kēraḷa and states

that he presented three *nāṭakas* of his own composition to the great *advaita* teacher Śaṅkarāchārya. But the author of the *Śaṅkaravijaya* does not mention the names of the three dramas. In a later work called *Jagad-guru-ratnamālā-stava* which gives an account of the *svāmis* of the *Kamakōṭi-pīṭha* or the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭha of Śaṅkarāchārya, and which is based upon several earlier accounts such as the *Śaṅkaravijayas* of Ānandagiri and Mādhavāchārya, the author Sadāśiva-brahmēndra has the following verse :

कृतसट्टकसत्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतयायावरराजशेखरान्धम् ।
हृतवन्तमनन्तमन्त्रशक्तिं व्रतिगङ्गाधरमाश्रयेऽर्थसूक्तिम् ॥

We know from some copper-plate grants belonging to the Kumbhakōṇam Maṭha that the author, Sadāśivendrasarasvati lived in the second half of the 16th century A.D. and the commentator of this work *Ātmabōdhēndrasarasvati* was the co-disciple of the author. He comments upon the verse thus :

कृतेति कृतं सट्टकं कर्पूरमञ्जरीनामापरूपकं येन कृतसट्टकः त्रिनाट्यबन्धे बालरामायणप्रचण्ड-पाण्डवविद्धसालभञ्जिकाख्यरूपकत्रयविरचनेन योव्रतः नियमस्तेन सहितात्रिनाट्यबन्धव्रतः सचयः यायावरराज-शेखरः तदाख्यः कविः तस्यान्ध्यमपाटवमक्ष्णोरागन्तुकत्वादिति ज्ञेयम् ॥

From this we are informed that the Kēraḷa king Rājaśēkhara was the author of *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Viddhasālabhañjikā*, *Prachaṇḍapāṇḍava* and *Karpūramañjarī* and that his blindness was cured by Gaṅgādharavrati, third in descent, according to this authority, from Abhinava Śaṅkara.

But some of the following internal evidences and facts seem to militate against such a supposition.

(1) That he was the *guru* of a king named Mahēndrapāla *alias* Nirbhaya.

(2) He, being called *guru*, *upādhyāya*, &c., titles which are generally borne by brāhmaṇas, is believed to be a brāhmaṇa ; also, because he is said to have belonged to the Chāhamānakula (the Chōhans) he should be taken to be only a Kshatriya.

(3) He mentions Akālajaladā, the Mahārāshṭra Chūḍāmaṇi, as his great-grandfather and he also states that one of his ancestors was Surānanda of Chēdimaṇḍala.

(4) He mentions Mahōdaya as his capital. He also mentions the name Kanyākubya and Gādhipura, which are synonyms of Mahōdaya.

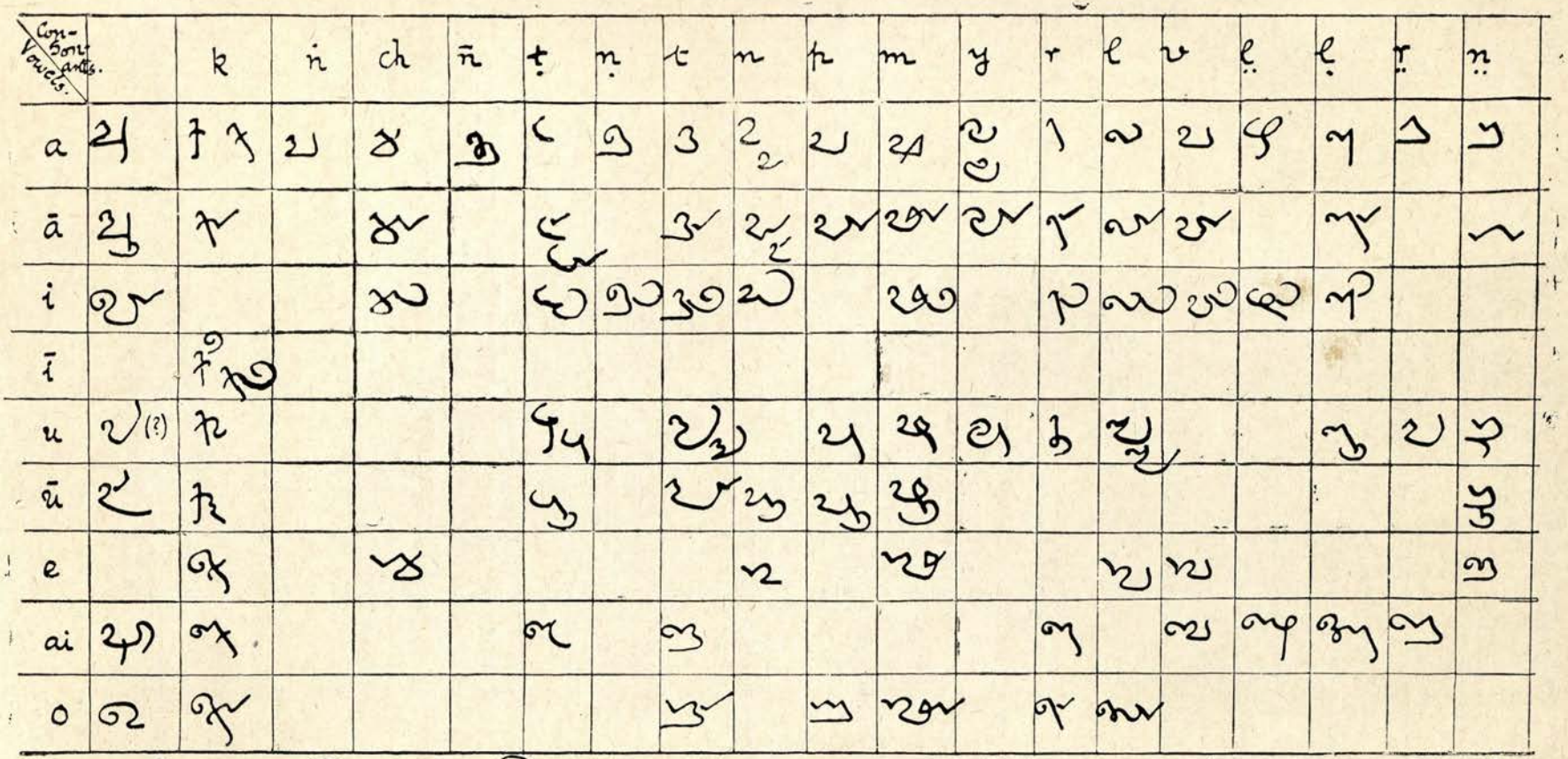
(5) He makes mention in his *Bālarāmāyaṇa* of the following authors. Bhāvabhūti, Meṇṭha, Śaṅkaravarman, Taraḷa and Kavirāja ; and in the *Karpūramañjari*, the author of Mṛigaṅgalēkha, Aparājita, Hala (Śātavāhana, the author of *Bṛihat-kathā*), Hariśchandra, Nandi-chandra and Kōṭīśa. Of these Śaṅkaravarman and Aparājita appear to have been the contemporaries of Rājaśēkhara.

(6) Rājaśēkhara refers to the *Āścharyamañjarī*, a work of Kulaśēkhara and we know this work was written by the same Kulaśēkhara who wrote the *Tapatī-Saṁvaraṇa*.

(7) A verse is quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvaḷi* as being that of Rājaśēkhara ; it mentions that a person named Raṇavigraha was the contemporary of Rājaśēkhara.

In (2) the name Chāhamāna might well be a mislection of the word Chēramāna ; and the mislection might have been suggested by the more modern and prominent dynasty of the Chōhan Rajputs, and the name Chēramāna of an important dynasty of ancient kings of Drāviḍa is almost forgotten in more recent times. That he is dubbed *guru* and *upādhyāya* and that he was a Yāyāvara does not militate against his being a kshatriya and a king of Kēraḷa. For, from the very

TABLE OF VATTELUTTU LETTERS EMPLOYED IN THE INSCRIPTION OF RAJASEKHARA.



നമശ്ശിവായഃ ശ്രീ രാജരാജാധി രാജപരമേശ്വര ഭട്ടാരക രാജശേഖര ദേവർക്കു = namaśśivāyaḥ śrī rājarājādhi rājaparamēśvara bhaṭṭāraka Rājaśēkhara dēvarkku.

മാതൃപരിഗ്രഹം = māṭṛiparigṛiham.

earliest times, the kshatriya women were consorting with Brāhmaṇas, more especially in Kēraḷa, and the Kēraḷīya kings had and have practically been leading the life of brāhmaṇas, studying all *śāstras* and teaching them also to students who went to them for tuition. Again, after they had attained a certain age these kings abdicated the throne in favour of their juniors and led the life of *Vānaprasthas* or *Yāyāvaras*. No more prominent example of this could be quoted than the abdication a year ago of the highly cultured Rājā of Cochin, who is now devoting his well-earned repose to the pursuit of his favourite study, the Vēdānta. Hence Rājaśēkhara might very well have been a *guru* and a *upādhyāya* and yet be a kshatriya and *yāyāvara*. That his capital was Mahōdaya (4) need not drive us to seek his kingdom elsewhere in Northern India. Mahōdaya is the name of Tiruvañjaikkaḷam or Koḍuṅgōḷūr (the modern Cranganore). This Tiruvañjaikkaḷam, the ancient seat of the Chēramāṉ-perumāḷs is actually referred to by the name Mahōdaya or Mahōdayapaṭṭaṇam in medieval Tamiḻ literature as also in a number of epigraphical records.* That Rājaśēkhara mentions the names Kanyākubya and Gādhipura, the synonyms of the North Indian Mahōdaya is but natural; for, what places more important than Mahōdaya of the north is worth being visited by his hero Rāma on his way down to South India? But in the portion where the Sītā-svayamvara occurs in the Bālarāmāyaṇa, while he mentions such kings as those of Karnāṭaka, Kāñchīpura and Siṁhala as having attended it, he does not mention the king of Kēraḷa as one of them. As suggested by my friend Mr. K. P. Padmanābha Mēnōn, B.A., B.L., the omission was due perhaps out of modesty, if we take Rājaśēkhara the poet himself to be the then king of Kēraḷa. His mention of Akālajaladā, the Mahārāshṭrachūḍāmaṇi and Surānanda of the Chēdimaṇḍala (3), kings of two different royal families as his paternal ancestors appears absurd unless we take that the descent is traced in the female line. In the latter case the father and other ancestors may belong to different families, the marital tie having been of the same type as in the modern *sambandham* or the Gāndharva form. This mention of members of two families as his ancestors clearly shows that Rājaśēkhara belonged to a community, whose women were following the Gāndharva form of marriage which was at one time universal in the Drāviḍa country and which had become by the time of our record peculiar only to Malabar. In confirmation of the hypothesis that Rājaśēkhara was a Kēraḷīya we have one more fact. It is the mention of the god Padmanābha, one of the most famous deities of Malaināḍu and the tutelary deity of the Mahārājas of Travancore, who traces his lineage from the Chēramans, in his *Bālarāmāyana*. The verse in which the name occurs runs thus:—

निश्शेषं काश्यपाय कृतविधिगुरवे दक्षिणीकृत्य पृथ्वीं
काण्डैर्ज्योतिश्शिखण्डैर्मधुरिपुशयनेप्यस्तवान् वारि येभ्यः ।
तानेलानाळिकेरीक्रमुकफणिलताराजरम्भावनन्ता-
नम्भोधेर्गर्भभागानधिवसति सदा भार्गवो भर्गशिष्यः ॥

Mr. Padmanābha Mēnōn believes that Malabar was the land inhabited by the race of people known as the Nāgas and hence the people of the present day are known as Nāyars (a

* Compare "மலைநாட்டி...பழம்பதிதான்...திருவஞ்சைக்களமு நிலவிய சேரர்குலக்கோ வீற் றிருந்து முறைபுரியுங்குலக் கோமூதூர் கொடுங்கோளூர்" (v. 1), "மதில்சூழ்...வளநகர் தான் கோதை யரசர் மகோதையெனக்குலவு பெயருமுடைத்துலகில்" (v. 4), "பொன்னிவளநாடகன்று மகோதை யினின் மேற்புக்கால்..." (174), பெரியபுராணம், கழற்றறிவார்புராணம்.

'*Magōdaiyarpaṭṭiṇattu Iravikorttan*'. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV, pp. 294-5. '*Malaimaṇḍala—*[*ttu*] *Magōdayarpaṭṭaṇattu Īrāyiran Śiriyān*'. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 198.

corruption of Nāgas): he finds in another verse of the work quoted above a reference to the Nāgakanyās of Kēraḷa and to the Pāṇḍya king: the verse is as follows:—

यत्कीर्त्तिं मलयाद्रिचन्दनलताकुञ्जे भुजङ्गाङ्गनाः
श्रुत्वा तच्छबरीजनात्फणिपतेर्गायन्ति यं गीतिषु ।
पाण्ड्यस्सोयमुदन्वन्यवृषाकिण्मान्यदस्यस्वयं
दातुं मौक्तिककामधेनुरसमा सा ताम्रपर्णी सरित् ॥

So much in support of the Kēraḷa king Rājaśēkhara being identified with the poet of the same name. Let us now turn our attention to the other side of the question.

If Rājaśēkhara was, as he says, the great-grandson of the Mahārāshtra-chūdāmaṇi Akālajaladā, a name which must be taken to be a synonym of Akālavarsha, he must be the great-grandson of either Kṛishṇa I, Kṛishṇa II or Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, all three of whom being Akālavarshas. These kings lived in about A. D. 750, 898-912, and 950 respectively. Of these, Kṛishṇa the first, is perhaps the only one who could have been the great-grandfather of Rājaśēkhara, while the other two Kṛishṇas, being rather later in point of time, cannot be his great-grandfather as will be presently demonstrated. The mention of Śaṅkaravarman, who appears to be Śaṅkaragaṇa *alias* Raṇavigraha of the Kalachūri dynasty of Chēdi (5) as his contemporary brings down the age of Rājaśēkhara to A. D. 940-950. And Aparājita another of his contemporaries has to be identified with the Śilahāra prince of that name, who is said to have lived in the last quarter of the 10th century A.D. The age of the various persons mentioned by Rājaśēkhara as his contemporaries distinctly show that Rājaśēkhara the poet, though he might be a Kēraḷīya king, must have lived long after Śaṅkarāchārya who is known to have flourished in the earlier decades of the 9th century A.D. He cannot also be identified therefore with the king Rājaśēkhara of the document under consideration: for, his age from the palæography is not so late as A.D. 950. We should therefore assign a later period to the poet Rājaśēkhara and if it is possible to identify him with a Kēraḷa king, then the second and later king Rājaśēkhara should be a successor in the line of the Rājaśēkhara of our record and very likely be also his nephew and successor.

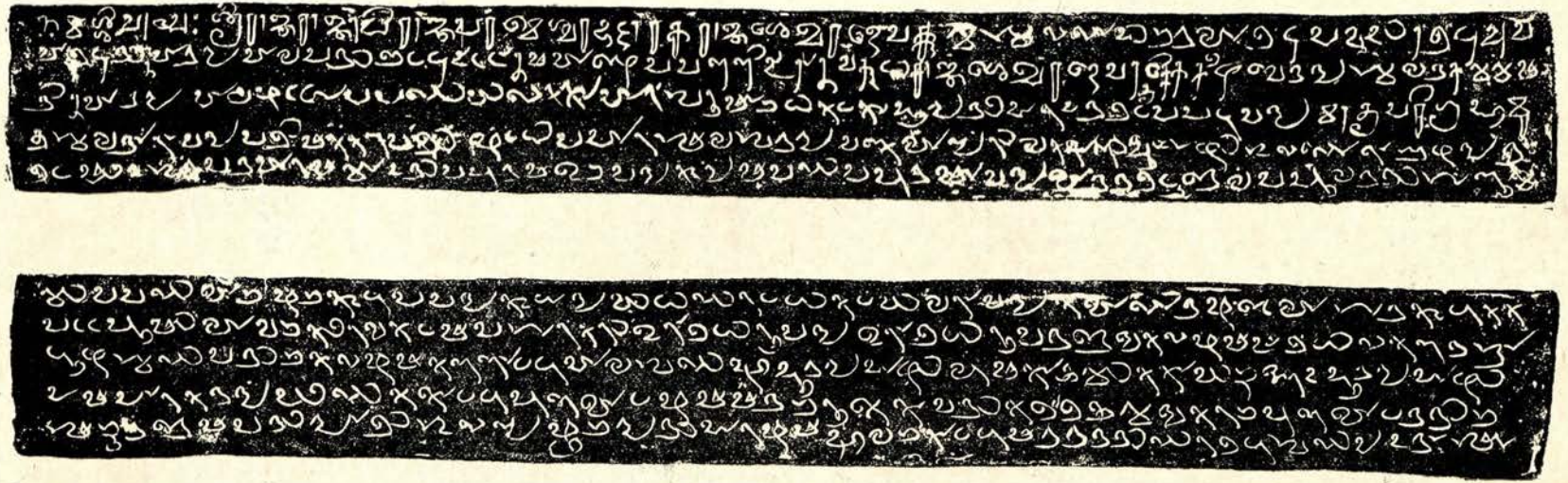
The editor of the *Tapatī-saṁvaraṇa* takes its author, Kulaśēkhara, to be the Śrīvaishṇava saint of the same name; if this surmise be correct, Rājaśēkhara the poet who quotes the *Āścharyamañjari*, another work which is attributed to the author of the *Tapatī-saṁvaraṇa* should have lived only after Kulaśēkharāḻvār. The Honourable Mr. L. D. Swāmikkaṇṇu Piḷḷai has, from the calculation made from the astronomical details furnished by the *guruparamparās* of the Srīvaishṇavas for the birth of this *āḻvār*, arrived at A.D. 766-767. Hence Rājaśēkhara should have lived sometime after A.D. 767 (6).

To sum up—

(i) the king Rājaśēkhara of the copper-plate under notice was different from Rājaśēkhara the poet;

(ii) that he lived about the beginning of the 9th century A.D., which is the period in which Śaṅkarāchārya flourished and that therefore he might have very likely known and seen the *āchārya*;

(iii) that if the poet Rājaśēkhara was a Kēraḷa king he should have been later in point of time than the Rājaśēkhara of our document, and might perhaps be his successor;



T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE O. 64. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

(iv) and that the poet should have lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.D.

Thus, there appears to be some foundation for the faith that at the time of Śaṅkarāchārya there lived in Kēraḷa a king named Rājaśēkhara, though he might not have been the author, according to this tradition, of three dramas and other works.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and Vāḻaippaḷḷi ; of these the latter is a flourishing suburb of the town of Cheṅganāśēri and has an old Śiva temple with some excellent wood-carvings in it.

Text.(1)

First Side.

1. நமஶ்ஶிவாயஃ [॥*] ஶ்ரீராஜராஜாயிராஜபரமேஶ்வர ஹட்டாரக ராஜஶேபர தெவக்கு-ச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு பந்[நி]ரண்டு [।*] அவ்-
2. வாண்டு தி[ரு]வாற்றுவாய் பதினெட்டு நாட்டாரும் வாழைப்பள்ளி ஊராருங் கூடி ராஜஶேபரதேவர் [சூ]தக்கி(2) க்கீழ்வைத்து செய்த கச்சம்[॥*].
3. திருவாற்றுவாய் முட்டாப்பலி விலக்குவார் பெருமானடிகட்கு நூறுதிநா ரந்தண்டப்படுவது [।*] மாத்யபரிஶ ஹஶு-
4. ஞ்செய்தாராவது [॥*] பணிமக்கள் முட்டிப்பார் மெய்வேற்று வகையாலுரிய்க் கொளி ஆனாழி(3) நெல்லொரொபொழுது த-
5. ண்டமிந்நெற் பதவாரம் சாந்திப்புறம் [।*] ஒன்பது கூறும் பலிப்புறமா வது [॥*] இத்தண்ட[ந்](4) தைய்ப்பூயத்தினாளுச்-

Second Side.

6. சிப்பலிஇன்முன்(5) குடுப்பது[॥*] குடாதுவிடிலிரட்டி கடவியராவது [॥*] கஇலாத(6) முடையானாற்கு குடுக்க-
7. பட்டபூமியாவன [।*] கீரங்கடம்பனார்கரி ஓராண்டிருபது ஓராண்டிருபத்தை ங்கலமும் [।*] மண்டிலகளத்தோ-
8. டூழசேலி(7) பதின்கலமும் [।*] கள்ளாட்டுவாய் வேலி ஐநூற்று நாழியும் [।*] காஞ்சிக்காவினுளைந்நூற்றுநாழி-
9. உம் [।*](8) ஊரகத்து பீலிக்கோட்டு புரைஇடமு(ம்) மதனருகே காவதிகண் ணஞ் சங்கரன் புரை இடத்தின்-

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(1) From both the original and the impressions.
(2) Perhaps திருவடிக்கீழ்வைத்து.
(3) Read நானாழி.
(4) Read தைப்பூசத்தினாள் ; this ṇā is engraved below the line.
(5) Read பலியின்முன்.
(6) Read கைலாச முடையானாற்கு.
(7) Is it உழ வேலி ?
(8) Read நாழியும்.

10 மேனூற்றைம் பதி(1) தூணி நெல்லு மூன்று திநாரமும் [1*] ஐயன்காட்டு மற்றத்திலிரண்டு வேலி உந்(2) தாமோ-

(INCOMPLETE).

Translation.

Line 1. Adoration to Śiva. The year twelve (of the reign) of the prosperous king Rājaśēkharadēva (who bore the *birudas*) Rājādhirāja, Paramēśvara and Bhaṭṭāraka (was current),

Line 2. (The following was) the arrangement made by the men of the eighteen *nāḍus* belonging to Tiruvārṟuvāy and the townsmen of Vāḻaippaḷḷi who met under the presidency of (literally at the feet of) Rājaśēkharadēva.

Line 3. Those who stop the perpetually endowed *bali* ceremony (*muṭṭāppali*) in the Tiruvārṟuvāy (temple) should pay to the king (or the god?) a fine of one hundred *dināras;* and (are to be considered) as having taken their (own) mothers for their wives.

Line 4. Among the servants, those who stop (the *bali* owing to their own negligence), should each pay a fine of paddy as measured by and made up to four *nāḻis* for each occasion (the *bali* is so stopped).

Lines 5-6. Of this the paddy due as *padavāram*(3) should go to the capital (set apart) for the *śānti* and the (remaining) nine parts for the *bali*. (And) this fine should be remitted before the midday *bali* of the Pushyanakshatra in the month of Tai. If not so paid, they become liable to pay twice the amount. The following are the lands given to the (god in the shrine named?) Kailāsa: the plot (*kari*, belonging to), Kīraṅkaḍambaṉār, which yields one year twenty and another year twenty-five *kalams* (of paddy); Maṇḍilakkaḷam together with *Uḻaśēli* yielding ten *kalams;* Kaḷḷāṭṭuvāy-vēli (or a plot of land one *veli* in extent in Kaḷḷāṭṭuvāy), yielding five hundred *nāḻis;* from Kāñjikkā, five hundred *nāḻis;* from the gardens (*puraiyiḍam* named) Pīlikkōḍu and the garden belonging to Kaṇṇaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ who held the position of a *kāvadi* (accountant) which adjoins it (Pīlikkoḍu puraiyidam), both situated in Ūragam and yielding one hundred and fifty *tūṇi* of paddy and three *dināras;* two *vēlis* in the land *(maṟṟam)* in Ayyaṅkāḍu, Dāmōdaran's.....

(1) Read நூற்றைம்பதின் தூணி.

(2) Read வேலியும்.

(3) This word occurs also in an inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman at Tirukkākkarai. Its exact meaning however is not known. Compare with this word, the *kō-ppadavāram* and the *padippadavāram* occurring in the Syrian Christian plates of Kōṭṭayam.

NO. 3. INSCRIPTION OF VĪRA-PĀṆḌYADĒVA AT SUCHĪNDRAM.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the natural rock situated in the first *prākāra* of the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. The space on the rock on which this epigraph is engraved was first ruled and between every two lines the writing is executed. There are on the whole thirty lines of writing in a fairly good state of preservation. The inscription is written in Tamiḻ and Grantha characters and in the Tamiḻ language. The few Saṅskṛit words, such as *Svasti Śrī* (*l.*1) *Vīrasiṁhāsana* (*l.*6), *Trailōkhya* (*l.*6), *tribhuvaṇa-chchakravarttigaḷ Śrī Vīrapāṇḍyadēvar abhishēka* (*l.*7), *Rāsitāgōttrattu*, *Āślāyana-sūttrattu* (*l.*8), *tiruv-āyushyārtthamāha* (*ga*) (*l.*11), *dānam* (*ll.*12 and 18), *Suchīndram* (*ll.*18 and 30) and *prasādam* (*ll.*21 and 28), &c., are written in the Grantha alphabet. The letters, both Grantha and Tamiḻ, resemble very closely those of the time of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa I (compare the Plates given in S. I. I. Vol. III, Part II and in *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I, plate facing the text of the Cape Comorin inscription of Parāntaka Pāṇḍya) and might therefore be assigned to the eleventh or the twelfth century A.D.; they are clearly earlier than the alphabet employed in the Śrīraṅgam inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III (see also the plate that accompanies his article on that inscription).

The inscription has an introduction (*mey-kkīrti* in Tamiḻ) which claims only one act of valour to its hero, Vīra Pāṇḍya, namely his subjugation of the Malaināḍu. Since the epigraph is engraved at the time of the coronation or a few days later, the military achievement of the king referred to above must have taken place before his coronation. As there was nothing more to add to the credit of the newly crowned king in his introduction, the poet has, as usual with the Pāṇḍya records of the medieval period, introduced the traditional doings of the earlier Pāṇḍyas of the semi-historical period attributing them to his hero: for instance it is stated that he fought in the Mahābhārata (!), went on an embassy for the sake of some kings (perhaps the Pāṇḍavas, as the word *kings* is in the plural number), fought in the battles between the *Dēvas* and the *Asuras*, wore the necklace of the lord of the gods (Indra), and learnt the Tamiḻ literature from Agastya. The Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates also claim practically the same achievement for the earlier members of the Pāṇḍya dynasty; "the inscription next proceeds to mention the achievements of Pāṇḍya kings in the past without giving any names. Among these may be mentioned the churning of the ocean for nectar; appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace; mastering the Tamil language; bringing back the sea; obtaining the titles Pūḻiyaṉ and Pañchavaṉ; founding the city of Madura and fortifying it; excelling paṇḍits in learning Tamiḻ and Saṅskṛit; .....engraving the fish, the tiger and the bow on Mount Mēru;..... translating the Mahābhārata into Tamiḻ....." . The earlier inscription of Rājasiṁha II, recorded on the larger Śiṉṉamaṉūr plates, is much more modest than the record under discussion; the former claims for one of the ancestors of Rājasiṁha II only the credit of having got the Mahābhārata translated in Tamiḻ (*Mahābhāratam Tamiḻ-ppaḍuttiyum*), but does not make him figure as party in the war.

The document is not dated for obvious reasons: for, it was practically of the first few weeks of the first year of the reign of the king. There is neither the title Jaṭāvarman nor Māravarman prefixed to the name; there is simply the phrase *kō-mudal-korṟavaṉmarāṉa* in their stead. The record, while incidentally referring to the coronation of the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva (*abhishēkam*), states that for ensuring long life to the king, certain land-grant was made to the god at Suchīndram. At the time when he made this grant, the following persons were present with the king: Nārāyaṇaṉ Śēṇḍaṉ *alias* Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu Nambi of the Rāsitāgōtra (?) and the

Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Piḷḷaiyār Vīrakēraḷadēvar and Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṉār the *uttara-mantrin*. The land granted was called the Adavōḍu-tōṭṭam and it was situated near the village of Pūśaṅkuḍi in the Puṟattāyanāḍu of the southern division (*teṉkuṟṟu*). The boundaries of the Adavōḍu garden were: on the east, the *nīrnakkal* of the *Pādari-tōṭṭam;* on the south, the stone pit (quarry); on the west, the well situated near the plot of the land known as the *karkaṟai-vayal* in Puḷḷāḷaṅkuṟichchi and on the north, the *kaḍambu* (tree) on *karaḍi-kumbal* (perhaps a heap of boulders); this garden had two tanks in it, as also some uncleared land (*kāḍu*) belonging to it and the whole measured seven *vēḷis* in extent. The taxes on it were abolished and the land was granted as an *iṟaiyili* and so as to include in it the right of *kārāṇmai;* the previous occupants were expelled and its old name was also changed—into what, it is not stated. The king commanded that the order might be engraved on copper and stone. The royal order granting the land was written down by the *tirumantra-vōlai* (secretary) Ambalavaṉ Vēḷāṉ *alias* Nittaviṉōda-mūvēndavēḷār of Murappunāḍu; it was initialled at the end (*kaḍai-īḍu; lit.* placing, that is, writing, at the end, by the commander-in-chief Chandraśēkharaṉ *alias* Vīrapāṇḍyamūvēndavēḷār of Iḷa-vēṇbaikkuḍi, and was signed by the *puravari-tiṇaikkaḷanāyakam* Nārāyaṇaṉ Kēśavaṉ *alias* Teṉṉava-śikhāmaṇi Mūvēndavēḷār of Viḷattūr in the Malaikkūṟṟam; and by the *mukaveṭṭi-nāyakam*, Tāyan Poṉṉaṉ *alias* Kuṟumbiluḍaiyāṉ of Araiyanēri in the Śembilnāḍu and by the *kūṟṟukku kūṟu* (*kuṟṟukku kuṟu śeyvāṉ*) Pēraruḷāḷaṉ Kaṟṟaṅguḍiyāṉ *alias* Vāṇavaṉ Vaḷudikkōṉ of Kōṭṭūr in the Tiruvaḷudivaḷanāḍu.

There are a few inscriptions known to belong to the reign of a Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva which give us some clue to the identification of the Vīra Pāṇḍya of our record. An inscription at Tirukkaḍavūr (in the Tanjore district) dated the 34th year of the reign of Māravarman Kulaśēkharadēva states that the country was in a state of confusion and that the people were in distress. This state of things is believed to have been brought about by the king making over a portion of his dominions to his younger brothers and by his having subsequently resumed them. This latter act of his seems to have involved Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyadēva and later on his son Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva in a war with Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva (the son of Parākrama Pāṇḍyadeva) and his son Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍya. It was in this war of succession that the Chōḷa kings Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III had to intercede on behalf of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyadēva and his son Vikrama Pāṇḍyadēva. From the Ārappākkam inscription of Rājādhirāja II, we learn that the army of the Siṅghaḷadēśa, which came from Ceylon to help Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva overran a considerable portion of the Chōḷa domonions, destroyed and desecrated Hindu temples, and made the people of the Ārappākkam region tremble as to how the war was going to end. The king Rājādhirāja sent an army, defeated and drove away the Singhalese army. At the time Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III entered into the conflict, Kulaśēkhara evidently seems to have died and the war was carried on by his son Vikrama. Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III states that he also defeated the *maṟava* army, drove away the Siṁhaḷas into the sea, took Madurai from Vīra Pāṇḍya and bestowed it upon Vikrama Pāṇḍya, the son of Kulaśēkhara. After this event, the king Vīra Pāṇḍya once again rose in rebellion, deposed Vikrama Pāṇḍya and assuming the Pāṇḍya sovereignty proceeded against the Chōḷa, whom he encountered in Neṭṭūr, but sustained defeat at the hands of his adversary; and it is said that he lost his crown. But the war was continued by his son Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍya. He seems also to have been overcome by Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III who however pardoned him and his father Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva.

In another inscription found in the same temple it is distinctly mentioned that Vīra Pāṇḍya the opponent of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III at first took refuge with his near relations at Kollam (Quilon, the capital of the Kūpaka.kings) and that the Vīrakēraḷa said to have been conquered by Kulōttuṅgachōḷa III was also a Pāṇḍya.

The facts that Vīra Pāṇḍya took refuge with the Kūpaka king at Kollam and that his son bears a distinctly Kēraḷa name, Vīra-Kēraḷa, enable us to surmise that the then reigning Kūpaka was perhaps named Vīra Kēraḷa [1], that his daughter was married by Vīra Pāṇḍya and that the Pāṇḍya crown prince was named after the maternal grandfather.

Another inscription from Murappunāḍu in the Tinnevelly district informs us that Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva conquered Īḻam, Koṅgu and the Śōḻamaṇḍalam and that he was pleased to perform the anointment of the heroes and victors at Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr (Chidambaram). Before the wars of succession Vīra Pāṇḍya might have invaded and conquered Īḻam (Ceylon) in a subordinate capacity and afterwards become friendly with the Ceylon king. The first fact might have served as the basis of his boast of having conquered Īḻam, while the latter might account for the help he received from the Singhalese. That a large portion of the Chōḻa country was taken by him is evidenced by the Ārappākkam and the Tirukkaḍavūr inscriptions and is not inconsistent with his claim for the conquest of the Chōḻamaṇḍalam, nor with the performance of his anointment of heroes and victors at Chidambaram, which is so near Tirukkaḍavūr. Thus then, there appears now no difficulty in taking the Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva of our inscription as identical with Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya mentioned above. This identification is borne out by the further fact that his son (*Piḷḷaiyār*) is said to be Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyadēva, a name which is also assumed by the Uttaramantrin Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṇār. The uncertainty of Vīra Pāṇḍya's retaining the throne, nay even his life, seems to have troubled the minds of the good *brāhmaṇa* officer, Nārāyaṇaṉ Śēndaṉ *alias* Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu Nambi, the crown prince Vīrakēraḷa Pāṇḍyadēva and the Uttaramantrin Vīra Kēraḷa Pāṇḍyakkōṇār and prompted them to get the king to grant this land to the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin for granting him long life.

If the surmises made above are correct, the king Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva becomes the contemporary of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅgachōḻa III. Mr. Venkayya has expressed his opinion that there is nothing against identifying the Vīra Pāṇḍya, the opponent of the Chōḻas, Rājādhirāja and Kulottuṅga, with a Vīra Pāṇḍya the initial year of whose reign is A.D. 1253. It appears to me that this identification is untenable, because the last year of Kulōttuṅgachōḻa III hitherto known is A.D. 1215 and he that fought and lost his life with one whose reign ended in A.D. 1215 cannot have been crowned in A.D. 1253.

Vīra Pāṇḍya might be one of the brothers of Kulaśēkhara to whom the latter gave some territories, or he might be the son of his brother. In the latter case Parākrama Pāṇḍya, the father of Vīra Pāṇḍya, must be a brother of Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya (perhaps an elder brother).

The one solitary military achievement that is mentioned in our inscription, namely, his conquest of the Malaināḍu might have taken place sometime before his coronation; in this expedition he perhaps defeated Vīrakēraḷa, took his daughter in marriage and afterwards reinstated him on his throne.

The period of the history of a dynasty of kings, who are deprived of their kingdom and liberty by foreign conquest, but are suffered to live in a subordinate position to the conquerors, is

(1) In all probability, the Virakēraḷa, king of the Kūpaka country, conquered by Vīra Pāṇḍya was the father of Saṅgrāmadhīra Ravivarman. Ravivarman, in his turn, is said to have married the daughter of a Pāṇḍya king after defeating him; it might be that Ravivarman attacked and defeated the adversary of Vīra Pāṇḍya (*i.e.*, Vikrama Pāṇḍya) and married his daughter. With the friendship thus secured with Vīra Pāṇḍya and Vikrama Pāṇḍya by marriage ties, he was able to overrun the country as far north as Conjeevaram, defeat the Telugu-Chōḍa princes and be anointed at Kāñchi.

always hazy and therefore difficult to picture; for example, the subjugation of the Chōḷas by the Pallavas, which took place evidently sometime in the reign of the Pallava Mahēndravarman I. or perhaps earlier has completely wiped out of memory of the people the history of the predecessors of Vijayālaya; a similar period of haziness in the history of the Chola kingdom and confusion in the order of succession among the kings followed the conquest and subjection of the Chōḷa country by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, (Kannaradēva). The same state of confusion regarding the history of the Pāṇḍyas occurs in the period covered by the reigns of the Chōḷa kings beginning with Parāntaka I, up to Rājarāja III, a period of over three centuries. If we hear anything about the Pāṇḍya kings at all, during this period, it is only casually, when we learn barely their names and what happened to them. But when we come to the reign of Rājarāja III, when the Chōḷa power was visibly on the decline, we see the activities of Māṟavarman and Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyas in subverting the Chōḷa domination in the Kāvērī delta. The history of these later Paṇḍyas, who enjoyed some sort of independence would be easy at present to work out, if all the materials that lie locked up to the advantage of no one in the office of the Madras Epigraphist were made available to the world at large or to competent scholars outside the department. An attempt in the direction of the construction of such a history of the later Pāṇḍyas was made successfully in Vol. I, No. VI of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. It is perfectly possible to bring into proper alignment the innumerable Sundara Pāṇḍyas, Vikrama Pāṇḍyas, Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍyas, Vīra-Pāṇḍyas and others, and to build up their history, which is of special interest just now, because of the theory of contemporaneous multiple sovereignty of Pāṇḍyas propounded by the Hon'ble Mr. L. D. Swāmīkkaṇṇu Piḷḷai and of the attempt of Mr. R. Sewell to disprove this theory.

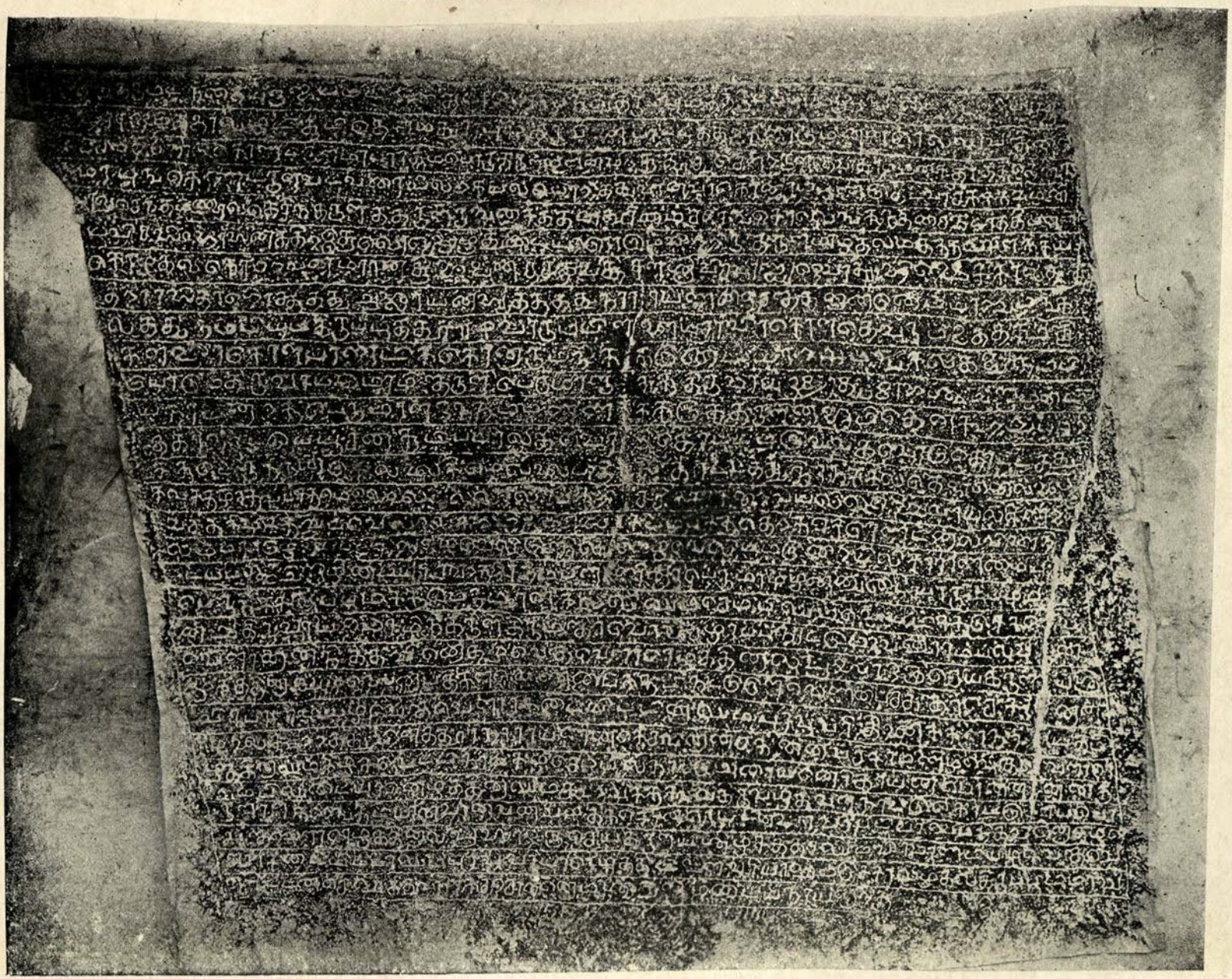
The names of places that occur in this inscription are:—Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam, Tirupputtūr, Puṟattāyanāḍu, Pūśaṅkuḍi, Puḷḷālaṅkuṟichchi, Murappunāḍu, Maṟavaṉūr, Veṇbaikkuḍināḍu, Malaikkūṟṟam, Viḷattūr, Śembiḷnāḍu, Arayanēri, Tiruvaḷudivaḷanāḍu, Kōṭṭūr and Kaṟṟaṅguḍi. Of these, Tirupputtur is the head-quarters of the Taluka of the same name in the Madura district. Puṟattāyanāḍu is the name of a portion of South Travancore and South Tinnevelly district. Murappunāḍu, is in the Śrīvāikuṇṭham Taluka of the same district; Maravaṉūr should be looked for near Murappunāḍu; Tiruvaḷidivaḷanāḍu, appears to be the name of the country round Āḻvār-Tirunagari; Kōṭṭūr should be looked for near Āḻvār Tirunagari. There are two places called Vēmbaṅkuḍi in the Trinchchuḷi Taluka and the Śivagaṅga Taluka respectively, of the Madura district; either of these might be identified with Veṇbaikuḍi.

Text.(1)

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*]பூமடக்தையுஞ் ஜயமடந்தையு [ம்*] பொலிந்து திருப்புயத் திருப்ப பார் [முழுது] ங்குடை நிழற்ற [(பராகூ8)](2)
2. [பராகூ] மத்தால் முடிசூடி தென்மதுராபுரி[த்] திருவிளா[ய]ாட்டத்திற் கண்டு மன்னரெல்லா[ம்*] வந்திறை-
3. ஞ்ச மலைநாடு கொண்டருளி மாபாரதம் பொருதருளி மன்னவற்கு தூது சென்றரு[ளி] தேவாசுர [மது]கை தரித்தி தேனுரு-
4. மாயுங் (3) கொண்டருளி வடவரையி(ல்)ற் கயல் பொறித்து வானவர்கோனரம் பூண்டு திடவாசகக்குறுமுனி-

(1) From the impression prepared under my supervision.
(2) Here is some confusion in the letters caused by interlineation, erasure &c.
(3) Perhaps the reading here is தேனுருமா(றை)யுங்

SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA.



5. பால் செந்தமிணூல் தெரிந்தருளித் தளிருங்கைத்த[1] மாதுரிமைச் செங்கோ-
லெங்குந் திசை நடாத்தி மன்னி-
6. ய வீரஸிம்ஹாஸனத்திற் த்ரைலோக்ய[2] முழுதுடையாரோடும் வீற்றி-
ருந்தருளி மாமுதல் மதிக்குல[ம்*] விளக்கிய
7. கோமுதல் கொற்றவன்மரான த்ரிஜுவனச்சக்ரவர்த்திகள் ஸ்ரீவீரபாண்ட்ய
தேவர் அபிஷேக காலத்-
8. திற்[3] ராஸிதாமோத்ரத்து ஆஸ்வாயனஸூத்ரத்து[4] நாராயணன்சேந்த
(த)னை இடையாற்றுமங்க-
9. லத்து நம்பியும் திருப்புத்தூராழ்வாரும் பிள்ளையார் வீரகேரளதேவரும்
உத்தரமந்திரி-
10. கள் வீரகேரளபாண்டியக்கோனாரும் நிக்க[5] இடையாற்று மங்கலத்து நம்பி-
11. யோடும் திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளி பெருமாளுக்கு திருவாயுஷ்யாத்யமாஹ[6]
ஸுவிந்த்ர முடை-
12. ய நாயனாற்கு பெருமாள் தாநம் பண்ணிக்குடுத்தருளின ஊமி தென்-
கூற்றுப் புற-
13. த்தாநாட்டுப் பூசன்குடிப்பால[த]வோடு தோட்டம்[॥*] இவ்வதவோடு-
தோட்டத்து-
14. க்கு பெருநான்கெல்லை [।*] கீழெல்லை பாதிரித்தோட்டத்து நீர்நக்கல் தென்
னெல்லை-
15. கல்க்குழிக்கு வடக்கு மேலெல்லை புல்லாலங்குறிச்சிக் கர்கறைவயலில் ஒற்று-
வாயல் கிணற்-
16. றுக்கு கிழக்கு வடவெல்லைகறடிகும்பல்கடம்புக்கு தெற்கு ஏரி இரண்டினால்
விளை நி-
17. லமும் காடுமுள்ப்பட நில[ம்*] ஏழுவேலி [॥*] இந்நிலமேழுவேலியும்
இறையிலி காராண்மையு[மு]-
18. ட்பட ஸுவிந்த்ரமுடைய நாயினாற்கு தாநம்பண்ணினார் பெருமாழ்[7] [।*]
முன்னுடையாரும் பழம்-
19. பேரும் நீக்கி [॥*] இப்படிக்கு பெருமாள் கல்லிலும் செம்பிலும் வெட்டிக்
குடுக்கவெ-
20. ன்று திருவாய்மொழிந்தருளி திருமந்திரவோலை முரப்புநாட்டு மறவ
னூரம்பலவன்
21. வேளானை நித்தவினோத மூவேந்தவேளாரெழுத்தினால் ப்ரஸாதஞ்செய்த
ருளிய ஸ்ரீ-

(1) Perhaps தளிரிருங்கை.
(2) Read த்ரைலோக்ய.
(3) Read °த்தில்.
(4) Read ஆஸ்வலாயன.
(5) Read நிற்க.
(6) Read °மாக.
(7) Read பெருமாள்.

22. முகத்தினாலும் ஸேனாபதிகள் வெண்பைக்குடிநாட்டு இளவெண்பைச் சந்திர சேகரனான-

23. வீரபாண்டியமூவேந்தவேளார் கடையீட்டினாலும் புரவுவரிதிணைக்கள நாய-கம்-

24. மலைகூற்றத்து விளத்தூர் நாராயணன் கேசவனான தென்னவசிகாமணி மூவேந்தவேளாரெ-

25. ழுத்தினாலும் (கி) முகவெட்டி நாயகம் செம்பில் நாட்டு அரையனேரி தாயன் பொன்னனான கு-

26. றும்பிலுடையானெழுத்தினாலும் கூற்றுக்குகூறு திருவழுதிவளநாட்டு கோட்டூர்ப் பேர-

27. ருளாளன் [க]ற்றங்குடியான் வானவன் வழுதிக்கோன் ெ....ட்டின் உள் வரிபடியாலும் நி[த்*] தவினோத மூெ-

28. வந்தவேளாரெழுத்தினால் ப்ரஸாதஞ்செய்தருளிய ஸ்ரீமுகத்தாலும் வீர பாண்டிய மூவேந்த வே-

29. ளார் கடையீட்டாலும் புரவுவரியா ரெழுத்தி[ட்ட] உள்வரியாலும் இக்கால முதல் திருப்படிமாற்று-

30. ள்ளிட்டன செலுத்துவாராகச் சொன்னோம் ஸுசிந்த்ரமுடைய நாயனா ற்கு [॥*].

Translation.

Lines 1-13. When the monarch of the three worlds (*tribhuvana-chakravártti*), the Koṟṟa-varman Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva, who made the lunar race illustrious (by being born in it) and who was the foremost among kings,—while the maiden of the flower (Lakshmī, the goddess of riches) and the maiden of victory (Jaya-Lakshmī) were residing on his shoulders, while his umbrella was affording shade to the whole world—, was crowned (solely) through his prowess; was pleased to take the Malaināḍu and was paid homage to by all the kings who visited him in his own capital; was pleased to fight out the war of Mahābhārata; was pleased to go out on an embassy for the kings (Pāṇḍavas?) [fought in the battle] between the *dēvas* and the *asuras*; was pleased to take . . . . . ; engraved the (figure of the) carp fish on the northern mountain (Mēru); wore the necklace of the lord of the gods (Indra); was pleased to learn the Tamiḻ literature from the sage (Agastya) who was strong in words (speech) and short in stature; protected all the quarters (of the globe) with the sceptre held in his hand which was as soft as tender leaf; and was pleased to be seated upon the resplendent and victorious throne (*siṁhāsana*) with (his consort) the possessor of the three worlds,—at the time of the coronation (of Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva), when there were present Nārāyaṇaṉ-Śēndaṉ *alias* Iḍaiyāṟṟu-maṅgalattu-Nambi of the Rāsitā-gōtra and the Āśvalāyana-sūtra, Tirupputtūr-Āḻvār, the prince Vīrakēraḷadēva and the *uttara-mantrin* Vīrakēraḷapāṇḍya-kkōṉār, the king was pleased to speak to Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalattu-Nambi that for granting him (the king) long life, he was pleased to make a grant of land to the god at Suchīndram; (its name was) Adavōḍutōṭṭam which was situated in Pūśaṅguḍi (a village) in the Puṟattāyanāḍu. The four major boundaries of this Adavōḍu-toṭṭam (were):—

Lines 14-30. The eastern boundary was the *nīrnakkal* of the Pādiri-tōṭṭam; the southern boundary, the stone pit (quarry), situated to the north of which was (the land that was

granted); the western boundary was the well called Orruvāyal-kiṇaṟu in the field called the Karkaṟai vayal in (the village of) Pullālaṅkuṟichchi, to the east of which was situated (the land that was granted); and the northern boundary was the *kaḍambu* (tree) near the Karaḍi-kumbal. (The extent of this land) was seven *vēlis* including the two tanks, the arable land and the forest land. The king presented to the god at Suchīndram this (plot of) land which was made tax-free and so as to include the right of *kārāṇmai*, after the old tenants and its old name was removed. Thus the king was pleased to command (the grant) to be engraved upon stone and copper; the order which was drawn up by the hand of and proclaimed by the *tirumandira-ōlai* (secretary) Ambalavaṉ-Vēḷaṉ *alias* Nittavinōdamūvēndavēḷāṉ of Maravaṉūr in the Murappu-nāḍu, which was initialled at the bottom by the *sēnāpati* (commander-in-chief) Chandraśēkharaṉ *alias* Vīrapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēḷār of Iḷaveṇbaikkuḍi in the Veṇbaināḍu, which was signed by the *puravuvari-tiṇaikkaḷa-nāyakam* Nārāyaṇaṉ-Kēśavaṉ *alias* Teṉṉavaśikhāmaṇi-mūvēndavēḷār of Viḷattūr in the Malaināḍu; by the *mukaveṭṭi-nāyakam* Tāyaṉ Poṉṉaṉ *alias* Kuṟumbiluḍaiyāṉ of Arayanēri in the Śembilnāḍu, and by the divisional officer Pēraruḷāḷaṉ Kaṟṟaṅguḍiyāṉ *alias* Vānavaṉ-vaḷudikkōṉ of Kōṭṭur in the Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu. Thus did we (the king) order that from this time (day) all expenses (of the temple) including the *tiruppaḍimāṟṟu* be supplied to the god at Suchīndram in accordance with the order issued by Nittavinōdamūvēndavēḷāṉ, initialled by Vīrapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēḷār and signed by the *puravuvariyār*.

No. 4. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF ŚRĪVALLAVAṄGŌDAI AT TIRUVAṆVAṆḌŪR.

A single copper-plate bearing on it a complete inscription of the reign of Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, a king of Vēṇāḍu, till then unknown to epigraphy was discovered by me and published in 1907 in the 9th Volume of the *Epigraphia Indica*. No other incriptions of this king were available till 1911; during the field-season of that year two stone inscriptions of this king were discovered in the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr. They are edited below from impressions prepared under my upervision.

The Māmbaḷḷi plate—the one published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IX—is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in the Tamiḻ language. It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era, and records that on a Sunday corresponding to the Aśvati nakshatra in the month Vṛiśchika, when the Jupiter stood in the Tulā rāśi, one Umaiyammai of Tirukkalayapuram set up an image in the temple at Ayirūr. The English equivalent of the date was calculated by Prof. Kielhorn and found to correspond to Monday, the 10th November, A.D. 973.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved on the base of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple in the Śrīvaishṇava *pāḍal-peṟṟa-sthalam* of Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr. This village is so situated that it is not easily accessible even during the summer season when the harvest is over, and more so during the winter season. There is no public road or pathway leading to it and one has to walk over the bunds of the fields to reach it. The inscriptions are in a very damaged condition due to exposure to the sun's heat. Both of them are unfortunately undated; one of them,—A,—records the gift of land made by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai to the god of the temple at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, for food-offering and other purposes; while, the other,—B,—registers a similar grant made for a similar purpose by the same king, to the Tiruvāyambāḍi (the temple of Kṛishṇa). These two records, therefore, practically add nothing to the history of this king, but they are certainly important in that they establish the genuineness of the Māmbaḷḷi-plate.

A

This inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in the Tamiḻ language. The alphabet resembles very much that of the Māmbaḷḷi plate and therefore needs no special remarks. The epigraph records that **Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, the governor of Vēṇāḍu** made a grant of land to the god at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr; from the income of which the following expenditure had to be met:—

(i) two *nāḻis* of rice to be spent on [something which is not clear; the stone is here damaged.]

(ii) three *nāḻis* of rice for the *Śrībali*. After this, the stone is once again badly broken and the writing on it cannot be deciphered. Evidently the rest of the inscription seems to prohibit the *ūrāḻars* &c., from interfering with this item of expenditure; and if they did, they were made subject to a fine of some sum of gold,[1] (here the stone is damaged), to the god in the temple and twenty-five *kaḻañjus* and five *kāṇams* to the then ruling king. This expenditure should be supervised by 'the three-hundred of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu.' Further fines for remissness on the part of some one (who it is, it is impossible to find from the record) in performing these duties is next mentioned; if the duties were not

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[1] Perhaps 15 *kaḻañjus* and 5 *kāṇams* of gold.

performed for a period of five days, the delinquent should pay double the amount that would have been spent during those days; if however the lapse of duty extended to ten days, he would be made liable to pay a fine of sixty *kaḻañjus* of gold. Next comes a mutilated portion of the record, which is unintelligible. Lastly, it is stated that all those who do harm to this charity would be subjected to the *Mūḻikkaḷa-kkachcham.*

Text.[1]

1. [ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ] [॥*] திருவண்மண்டூர்ப்பட்டாரகர்க்கு வேணுடைடை[2] ஸ்ரீவல்ல
வங்கோதை செ[ன்ன]டைக்கமைச்ச பூமியாவது [।*]-

2. [தே]க[ர]விங்ஙனு[ர்] கரி நூற்றுக்கலமும் [।*] பரவனூர்கரி யிருபத்[ை]தங்-
கலமும் [।*] த[ப்ப]றலில் (?) உன்னதன்வைப்பு-

3. யிருபத்[ை]தங்கலம் [।*] யிந்திரனீலன் கரியில் விலைக்கு கொண்ட சான்றூர்
நெல் ஒன்பதி[னு]ழிப்-

4. பறையாலறுபது பறை [।*] பு[ல] . வளைச்சேரியி...ள்ளுடைக் [க]ண்ட .
வி.....

5. ரின்னுயிருநாழி அரிதி[சி]வலிக்கு முக்[கா]லு முங்நாழி அரிப[லி]மி.....
க்க.....பன்னு.....அரி [॥*]-

6. யிப்பரிவெ.....படாலத்தோடொத்திருப்ப[து].... ஆக்கக்கடவியர் பாட்ட
மாளர் [॥*] ஸ்ரீவல்லவங் கோதை-

7. யிவ்வறுநாழி அரிக்கு அமைச்சபூமி [நாடோ?] கொ...ண (or த)...ண
கரியும் பரவனூர் கரியும் உன்னதன்வைப்பும் யிந்திரன்னீலன் கரியா.....

8. ச்சேரி அவரள.....கு கைகொண்ட சான்றூர் நெல் ஒன்பதினுழிப் பறையால்
[ல]றுபது பறையும் யிவ்வறுநாழி அமைக்க.....

9. ச்சபூமி யி[ச்]செலவினுமி.....தம்ப.... றயப்பெரூர் ஊராளனும் பொதுவாள
...யும்.....பெருமானடிகள்க்கு அ[ன்று].....ப்ப.....

10. டிறு...னுனு...கோவிங்ஙிருபத்தைங்கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படிவிது
ஊராளரு...யய(?) கழைஞ்சை அஞ்சுகாணம் [பொன்த]ண்டப்படகட.....

11. ச்செலவு நன்றுழை நாடுவாழுமவர் முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக்கட
வியர் [॥*]...ண்ட...கொ...அஞ்சு நாள் முட்டிக்கில் முட்[டிரட்டி] செலுத்
தக்கட[வி]-

12. யன் [॥*] பத்துநாள் முட்டிக்கிலறுபது கழைஞ்சு பொன்தண்டப் படிவிது
[॥*] சென்ற செலவு.....டு[ம்]...ட்ட.....[வி வ?] சத்துங்கொன்று (?) ந்
நீக்கி [பொன்] செலுத்தக் கடவியர் யிச்செ-

13. லவு எவ்வகைபட்டோரு [ம்*] விரோதிக்கில் மூழிக்களக்கச்சம் [॥*].

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(1) From the paper impressions of the inscription.

(2) Read வேணுடையய.

Translation.

Line 1. Be it well ! Prosperity ! The lands set apart by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, the governor of Vēṇāḍu for the temple of the Bhaṭṭāraka at Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr are :—

Lines 2-4. The land (belonging to) Gōvinnaṉār (producing) a hundred *kalams* (of paddy) The Paravaṉārkari, twenty *kalams*. The *vaippu* (land) belonging to (or known as) the Uṉṉataṉ of Tapparal, twenty-five *kalams*. From the land purchased by the Śāṉṟār out of the (plot known as) Indraṇīlaṅkari, sixty *paṟais* of nine *nāḻis* (each). In the Pula...vaḻaichchēri .....

Lines 5-8. Three *naḻis* of rice for the *śrībali* (to be offered) three times a day ..... The tenants (*pāṭṭam-āḷar*, in Mod. Mal. *Paṭṭaḻis*) shall make up (the required quantity of paddy ?). The lands set up by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai for these six *nāḻis* of rice are : Gōvinnaṉārkari, Paravaṉārkari, Uṉṉataṉ-vaippu, from Indraṇīlaṅkari.....the sixty *paṟais* of paddy each of nine *nāḻis* (capacity) from Śāṉṟār who took.....

Lines 9-13. (This portion which is damaged in many places seems to record that the) Ūrāḻars and Poduvāḻs are prohibited from interfering with the income set apart for the above purpose. If they did, they were to pay to the then ruling king a fine of.....Gōvinnaṉ shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañjus* of gold and the *ūrāḻars* shall pay a fine each of... *kaḻañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold. The three hundred of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu shall supervise the income (collect) and pay it (to the temple) ..... If the purpose (for which the arrangement was made) falls in arrears for five days, the person who is in remissness shall be obliged to pay twice his dues. If, however, it falls in arrears for ten days, he shall be subjected to a fine of twenty *kaḻañjus* of gold..... whoever does injury to this item of expenditure will come under the operation of the Mūḻikkaḻakkachcham.

B

The following inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapam* of the same temple. It is also written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and in the Tamiḻ language and is much more damaged than A. In this document arrangements similar to those in A are also made in connection with the Tiruvāyambāḍi temple. At present the Tiruvāyambāḍi temple, which is situated on the north-west of the chief temple of Vishṇu in Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, is completely ruined and is marked by a heap of well-dressed and moulded stones which belonged to the ruined temple.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] திருவாயம்பாடிக்கு வேணுடைய ஸ்ரீவல்லவங்கோதையச் சென்னடைக்கமைஞ்ச(1) பூமியா [வோர்] பட்[டி]யார்கள்[ய்]ம் [பு]றயும் வெரு [தை or ணை]யும் புகாட்டுகு (?).....க்கி.....
2. அய்ங்கல [முமாக]ழிய ஓ...நிலம்நூ (?) றுகலமும் வெண்பாலை வயலில் அய்ங்கலமும் க...ணுறத்தியும்.....
3. டி[ப]...நூ...ப்ப...ண்ணயால்...ந்நி...த்த....காழியால் [அறுக்நூற்].....
4. திரு[வாயம்பா]டி செ...வர் வேணுடைய [ஸ்ரீவல்வங்கோதை]...நிலக்கும் ...இச்செலவு முட்டிக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர் ம...-

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(1) Read அமைச்ச.

5. ...ம்...முட்டு...க்கு மவ...கழைஞ்சு தண்டப்படுவித...ை[ழ] ந[ா]டு[வா] ழுமவர[ள்]க்கு இருபத்தைய் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்பவிது [॥*] ஊர்க்கா(?) பந்திரு.....

6. ...அம்முந்நூற்றுவரும் கண்டு செலுத்தக்கடவிர் [॥*] இச்செலவினு விரோதிக்குமவன் மூழிக்களக்கச்சம் [॥*] ஷுவஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*].

Translation.

Line 1. Be it well! Prosperity! The lands that were set apart for the temple of Tiruvāyambāḍi (Kṛishṇa's) by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai governor of Vēṇāḍu are:—the Paṭṭiyarkari,..... five *kalams*,.....hundred *kalams*, Veṇpālaivayal, five *kalams*,.....were set apart for the temple of Tiruvāyambāḍi by Śrīvallavaṅgōdai, governor of Vēṇāḍu.....If by the negligence of any, this item of expenditure is stopped, that person shall pay double the amount due from him.....shall be liable to the fine of.....*kaḻañju*.....and shall pay a fine of twenty-five *kaḻañjus* of gold to the three hundred of Naṉṟuḷaināḍu..... Those three hundred shall supervise this charity and get it duly performed. He that does injury to this expenditure shall come under the operation of the Mūḷikkaḷa-kkachcham.

No. 5.—AN INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIṀHA VĪRA KĒRAḶA VARMAN : No. 671.

The inscription edited below is found in the temple of Gaṇapatinaḍai at Quilon. It is written in four sections in the **Grantha** or **early Malayāḷam** characters and is in a good state of preservation. It belongs to the reign of a king called **Jayasiṁha** ***alias*** **Vīrakēraḷavarman** and is dated the **Kollam year 671**. In this year, in the solar month Mithuna, when Jupiter stood in the Tulārāśi, in the Vṛiśchika lagna and in the nakshatra Anurādha, the ascetic Nityaprajñamuni performed the **abhishēka** to the god Gōvinda in Nētrapura, after renovating the temple. It is stated at the end of the record that the king of Kēraḷa made arrangements for the daily worship of the god Gōvinda at the command of the lord of Kōḷamba.

From the inscriptions of Ravivarman Saṁgrāmadhīra (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IV and of this Series, Vol. II), it is found that the name of his father was also Jayasiṁha *alias* Vīrakēraḷavarman ; that the 33rd year of his age corresponded to the year A.D. 1299-1300. So, the year of his birth should be A.D. 1267. Even granting that Ravivarman was his first born child and that he was born to him at such an early age as 20, Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷa, the father of Ravivarman should have flourished from A.D. 1247. But the king of our record who bears the same name is at least 250 years later than the first one. The Kēraḷa kingdom said to have been conquered by Ravivarman Saṁgrāmadhīra seems to have been still in the possession of his descendant Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷavarman, the prince mentioned in the present inscription.

The Hon. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai has been good enough to supply me with the following note regarding the date :—" Kollam 671, Solar month Mithuna, Jupiter in Tulārāśi, lagna Vṛiśchika and nakshatra **Anurādha = A.D. 1496, Wednesday, June 22,** on which day Anurādha nakshatra ended about 24 *ghaṭikas* after mean-sunrise. The day was the 26th of Mithuna month and the mean longitude of Jupiter on that day was 209 degrees which is the last degree of Tulārāśi. No week-day being given in the inscription, the details cannot be verified by means of the week-day : but the data as to the position of Jupiter and the nakshatra afford a means of check."

No. 51 of 1084.

Section I

1. हरि श्री [।*]
2. मंगलं
3. भवतु [।*]

Section II

4. स्वस्त्यस्तु जयसिंहस्य
5. वीरकेरळवर्म्मणः
6. तथा तद्वंशजानाञ्च
7. राज्यस्य नगरस्य च

Section III

8. कोळंबे पुनरेकसप्ततियुते संवत्सरे षट् शते
9. नित्यप्रज्ञमुनिस्थिते[ऽ*]थ मिथुने भानौ तुलायां गुरौ ।

10. गोविन्दम् वृषभे[ऽ*]भ्यषेचयदनूराधे मुहूर्ते शुभे
11. श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरे[ऽ*]वतात्स नवतां प्राप्ते चिरन्नो विभुः ॥

Section IV

12. श्रीमन्नेत्रपुरेशस्य
13. पूजार्थं केरळेश्वरः
14. शर्म्मणा कल्पयामास
15. कोळंबेशस्य कल्पनाम् ॥

Section V

16. शुभ-
17. मस्तु

Translation.

Hari Śrī! Be it auspicious!

May it be well with Jayasiṁha *alias* Vīrakēraḷavarman; and so to his descendants, kingdom and city.

In the year 671 of the Kollam era, when the sun was in the Mithunarāśi and Jupiter in the Tulārāśi, at the auspicious moment of Anurādha, during (the ascendancy of Vṛishabha) the sage Nityaprajña bathed Gōvinda. May the lord (Gōvinda) protect us long in the prosperous Nētrapura whose temple has been renewed.

For the purpose of conducting the daily *pūjas*, &c., the lord of the prosperous Nētrapura, the king of Kēraḷa did (*i.e.* obeyed) with pleasure, the command of the lord of Kōḷamba.

May it be prosperous!

No. 6.—AN INSCRIPTION OF VIRA RAVI RAVIVARMAN AT TRIVANDRAM. KAḶI 4702=KOLLAM 776.

We have already learnt from the three inscriptions published in Volume I, pp. 176-180 of this Series, of the existence of a king of Vēṇāḍu named Vīra Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ of the Kīḻappērūr Illam and the Tiruppāppūr Svarūpam, that he flourished in the first decades of the seventeenth century A. D., that he had two younger brothers named Ādityavarman and Rāmavarman, that he married two wives named Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai and Iḷaiya-Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai, and had perhaps a sister or some other important female relation; one of these inscriptions gives also the names of the consorts of the brothers of the king; in these inscriptions the king is stated to have performed the sixteen great gifts (*mahādānas*) beginning with the *tulāpurusha-mahādāna*, and that he was a devotee of the god Padmanābhasvāmiṇ at Trivandram; his mother was Umaiyammai, born in the Rōhiṇī nakshatra, while the king himself is said to have been born in the Jyēshṭhā nakshatra; he seems to have made Trivandram his residential quarters. This king and practically the whole of his family have spent large sums of money on the extensive repairs to the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvāṭṭāṟu; Vīra Ravi Ravivarman himself has repaired almost the whole of the temple of Vīrakēraḷēsvara at Muttaḷakkuṟichchi.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the two faces of the *tulābhāra-kkal* in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandram and is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet in which it is written is Tamiḻ; some Saṅskṛit words which occur in the document, *e.g.*, *svasti śrī* in l. 1. *saṁvatsaram* in l. 5, *sūrya-grahaṇattu* in ll. 18-19, *svarūpa* in ll. 22-23 and *dāna* in l. 27, are written in the Grantha alphabet. The record is dated the four thousand, seven hundred and second year of the Kali era which corresponded with the year 776 of the Kollam era; when Saturn stood in the Tulā-rāśi and Jupiter in the Kanyā-rāśi, on Saturday, the 12th of the (solar) month Mithuna and nakshatra Punarvasu, when there occurred a solar eclipse, on this sacred occasion, the king Vīra Ravi Ravivarman performed the *tulāpurusha* ceremony, that is, the ceremony of weighing oneself against gold and distributing the gold among brahmaṇas. The two wives of the king built a *maṇḍapa* in commemoration of this important event in the life of their husband.

In the table of eclipses of the sun appended to Messrs. Sewell and Dīkshit's *Indian Calendar*, we find that a total eclipse of the sun had occurred on the 20th of June, 1601 A.D., which is equivalent to Kollam 776. So, the date of our inscription should be the 20th June 1601. In Mr. Nāgamayyā's *Travancore State Manual* it is stated that "Śrī Vīraṇ Ravi Ravivarman of Jayasiṁhanāḍu reigned in Travancore from Vriśchikam 771 to Makaram 782 M.E. (A.D. 1595-1607)." Mr. Ayyā informs us that there are several documents in the chronicles of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple from which, as also from inscriptions, he seems to have made out the length of the period of the reign of the king. If the information supplied by Mr. Nāgamayyā is correct, the *tulābhāra* ceremony referred to in our inscription should have taken place five years after the accession of the king. The inscription under notice bears out the statement that Vīra Ravi Ravivarman performed the sixteen *mahādānas*—at least so far as the *tulāpurusha* is concerned. It is not known why Mr. Nāgamayyā calls this king a member of the Jayasiṁhanāḍu family, while all the inscriptions distinctly refer to him as a member of the Kīḻappērūr Illam and of the Tiruppāppūr family. Perhaps the temple documents referred to by him state so.

Text.[1]

(West).

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*]
2. நாலாயிர-
3. த்தெழுநூற்-
4. றிரண்டு ஸம்-
5. வசுஸரஞ்-
6. செல்லா நின்ற-
7. துலாச்சனி
8. கன்னியில்
9. வியாழம்
10. நின்ற கோல்-
11. லம் எாஎய-
12. சுஹு மிழு-
13. நமாஸம்
14. யஉ சென்ற
15. சனியாட்(ச்)-
16. சையும் பு-
17. ணர்தமும்
18. பெற்ற ஸூர்யக்-
19. ரு ஹணத்துளள்

(South).

20. கீழப்பேரூர் இ-
21. ல்லத்தில் தி (ரு)
22. பாப்பூர் ஸ்வ-
23. ரூ பத்தில் ஸ்ரீ-
24. வீர இரவி இரவி வ-
25. ன்மரான குல-
26 சேகரப் பெருமா[ள்]
27. துலாபுருஷஹா ந-
28. ஞ் செய்த மண்ட-
29. பம்பணிசெய்-
30. ப்பிச்ச இரவிவன்-
31. மரான குலசேக-
32. ரப் பெருமாளு-
33. டைய கெட்டி-
34 ணத்தவராய
35. இரையுமக் குட்-
36. டி அம்மையும்
37. இரையுமக் குட்டி
38. அம்மையும் மண்-
39. டபம் கெட்டிச்சது.

(1) From impressions prepared under my supervision.

Translation.

Be it well ! Prosperity ! In the year four thousand, seven hundred and two (current), when Saturn was in the Tulā (rāśi), Jupiter in the Kanyā (rāśi), in the Kollam year 776, on a Saturday which was the 12th of the month Mithuna and (nakshatra) Punarvasu, when there occurred an eclipse of the sun, the (king) Vīra Ravi Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśēkharapperumāḷ of the Kīḻappērūr Illam (house) and belonging to the Tiruppāppūr Svarūpam (family) weighed himself against gold ; (in commemoration of this event), the *maṇḍapa* in which the *tulāpurusha-mahādāna* was given away (to Brāhmaṇas), was built by the wives (*keṭṭinattavar*) Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai and (Iḷaya) Iraiyumakkuṭṭiyammai. These built the *maṇḍapa*.

No. 7.—SOME INSCRIPTIONS OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

The Cochin plates of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi of Malabar were long known to scholars and have afforded ample scope for learned discussions ever since they were published by Dr. Gundert. Even before they were edited by him, there were some editions of it that are not well-known to the scholarly public. Dr. Burnell informs us, "The existence of this grant has long been known. A. Moens (a Dutch Governor of Cochin) first gave an account of it (in Busching's Magazine) in the last century (*i.e.*, 18th). A little later on followed the account by Anquetil Duperron. At the beginning of this (19th) century F.W. Ellis (a Madras Civilian and the real founder of Dravidian Comparative Philology) translated them in a most scholarly manner; but his sudden death in 1819 prevented the publication of his essay which remained unknown till 1844, when Sir Walter Elliot discovered and printed it with an excellent facsimile in Vol. XIII, part ii of the Madras Literary Society's Journal." Besides these editions, it has got a Hebrew translation of it, which Dr. Gundert considers to be only a hundred years old (in his time, but at the present time about 150 years). The learned remarks of Dr. Gundert about this version run thus. "The Hebrew translator seems neither to have understood much of the original Tamil nor to have cared about rendering it faithfully." A translation of the Hebrew version in English is given by Dr. Gundert in Vol. XIII, part ii of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science.* In quite recent times Dr. Hultzsch gave his version of this well-known record in Vol. III of the *Epigraphia Indica;* in translating it he has followed closely Mr. Ellis; he has made no attempt at fixing the age of the document either on the palæographic or other grounds, nor are his edition and translation free from errors.

The dates for this king arrived at by the early editors ranged between A.D. 168 to 774; Kukkil Kelu Nayar asserted that it belonged to 169, Burnell to 774 while Ellis stated that it was 1500 years old, that is, the beginning of the 4th century.

Though a large number of inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi had been gathered from different parts of Travancore, not one of these contained the necessary astronomical data for calculating the date. The most notable discovery, since Dr. Hultzsch's edition of the Cochin plates of this king, is that of a single copper-plate, bearing on it a complete inscription recording a gift by a petty prince to the temple at Tirunelli. It is dated in the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman. It was first discovered by Mr. L. A. Cammiade, B.A., B.L., Bar-at-Law, Presidency Magistrate, Madras, several years ago and he very kindly lent it to me for examination. This plate contained a complete set of astronomical details which made the calculation of its equivalent and verification possible. The date is given there as the thirty-fifth year opposite the sixth which was opposite to the second year of the reign of the king; that is, 2nd+6th+35th=43rd year; in that year the gift was made on a Wednesday, the eighth (expired) day of the solar month Mīna and nakshatra Uttara Phalguni, when Jupiter stood in the Tulā rāśi. The date was calculated for me by the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai: he writes "I took the period from A.D. 949 to 1329 (380 years) and find only one year in which 9th Mīna was a Wednesday, when Jupiter was in Tulā and moon in Uttara-Phalguni (*eṭṭu śeṇṛa* is, I believe, 9th and not 8th). The year in question is A. D. 1020-21, when 9th Mīna was Wednesday, 1st March, 1021 A.D., on which day Jupiter was in Tulā (longitude about 186° Tulā), and the moon was in **nakshatra** Uttara-Phalguni, whose ending moment was 57½ *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise. In A.D. 1115-16,

the next most likely year, 8th Mīna was A. D. 1116. I do not find any other year in the period of four centuries (A. D. 950 to 1350) when 8th or 9th Mīna was a Wednesday and when Jupiter stood in Tulā rāśi and the moon in *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni." This gives us A. D. 978 as the initial year of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

In the light of the date-calculation of this record, it has become easy to fix the exact dates of the other inscriptions which are edited in this article.

The inscriptions edited below have been gathered from Tirukkākkarai, in North Travancore; Peruneyil and Tirukkaḍittānam near Chaṅganāśēri and Mulikkalam near Ālvāy. We also know that during the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman grants were made to the temple at Tirunelli. From the situation of these places one can say that the kingdom of Bhāskara Ravivarman should have extended from at least Wynaad in the north to Chaṅganāsēri in the south, a distance of 1°56′ and therefore comprised the whole of the Malayalam country consisting of the British Malabar Districts, the Cochin State and more than half at least of the present State of Travancore. He can therefore be no petty chieftain but might be rightly considered to be a suzerain lord of the Malaināḍu. This surmise is borne out by the fact that there ruled under him as Provincial Governors a number of minor chiefs, **Nāḍuvāḻis**, such as those of the Puṟaikiḻānāḍu, Kuṟumporaināḍu, Veṇpolināḍu, Vēṇāḍu and Naṉṟuḷaināḍu. In somewhat later times these subordinate princes appear to have become independent probably because the central Government disappeared for reasons not known at present; they became the *rājas* of the well-known later kingdoms of Vadakkiṅkūṟu, Tekkiṅkūṟu, Travancore, &c. Thus there seems to be some reason for the faith held by all the present day Malabar princes that they are all representatives of a Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ, for, they all were serving the same sovereign; whether they were lineal descendants of the Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ or not we cannot vouchsafe for.

From the fact that Bhāskara Ravivarman commenced his reign in A.D. 978 and ruled for at least 58 years, that is, till A.D. 1036, it is certain that he was the contemporary of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndrachōḷa, who ruled from A.D. 985-1014 and A.D. 1014-1046 respectively. Rājarāja mentions in a large number of his Tanjore inscriptions that he conquered the Chēramāṉ of Malaināḍu, whereas Rājēndra Chōḷa claims to have conquered the Chēra and taken several ancient islands belonging to him; one of these was Śāntimat-tīvu which was strongly fortified and on this account was chosen by Parśurāma for depositing the highly praised golden crown, and the crown and the necklace, the heirlooms of the Chēra kings. Very likely Rājarāja I conquered Bhāskara Ravivarman, whom Rājēndrachōḷa I must have also defeated and plundered him of his heirlooms. Since the latest date hitherto known of Bhāskara Ravivarman is his 58th year corresponding to A.D. 1036, it may be surmised that he might have died in the war with the king Rājēndrachōḷa and his kingdom broken up into the petty principalities of Vaḍakkiṅkūṟu, Tekkiṅkuṟu, Vēṇāḍu, &c., and these might have acknowledged the supremacy of the conqueror and might therefore have been suffered to rule over their principalities as vassals. No doubt, the above surmise is put forward as a mere hypothesis and the correctness or otherwise of it has to be determined by further researches.

Concerning the period of accession of the king Bhāskara Ravivarman in the year A.D. 978-9, Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai writes thus:—"It follows from the dates of the Tirunelli plate, No. II and that of No. 102 of 1084 of the Travancore Collection that the reign must have commenced in or before October and after April, in other words, that the regnal years changed numbers in this interval; so that if April 1016 was at the end of the 38th year and March 1021 was at the end of the 43rd year, October 1021 may have been in the beginning of the 44th year and deducting 21 from either side we have October 1000 A.D. = beginning of the 23rd year."

A.—TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. I OF THE REIGN OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman is engraved upon the west and south bases of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam, a village situated 2 miles east of Changanāśēri, the headquarters of the Tālūka of the same name in the Kōṭṭayam Division of the Travancore State. Tirukkaḍittānam is one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* or *pāḍalperra* Vaishṇava-kshētras in the Malaināḍu ; the praises of the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam have been sung by Nammāḻvār who lived, according to the astronomical calculations of the Hon. Mr. L.D. Swamikannu Pillai, in A.D. 798. Consequently the temple existed from at least the 8th century of the Christian era. The temple has several inscriptions on its walls, a large number of which belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman and are edited in this paper. It is built in the fashion of the Malabar temples, namely, with a circular central shrine surrounded by a raised rectangular covered walk with door-ways pierced in it on the four directions. The central shrine in this temple is a doubled roofed one and its walls bear fairly well-preserved paintings of a somewhat later period. The inscription under notice is dated **the twelfth year opposite to the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman** that is, A.D. 992; it records that Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍaṉ, the Governor of Vēṇāḍu granted some taxes (?) to the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam. It is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḻ language**. The chieftain of Vēṇāḍu mentioned herein was a vassal of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi and has figured as a signatory in the Tirunelli grant published in the *Indian Antiquary*. The compound word Vēṇāḍu has been split up into **vēḻam** and **nāḍu** by the late Mr. Sundaram Pillai and interpreted by him as the country abounding in elephants. I have shown elsewhere that Vēṇāḍu is the country of the *Vēḷs* or the chieftains, in this instance, of the Āy dynasty and has nothing to do either grammatically or even etymologically with elephants. The inscription is incomplete and therefore it is difficult to make out its exact sense.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] கோப்பாக்கரிரவிவர்மர்திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டி ரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதிர் ப[ந்]தீராமாண்டு [।*] வேணுடைய கோவர்தன[ம்] மார்த்தாண் டன் அமைச்சு நன்றுழைநாடு வாழ்ந்து திருக்கடித்தானத்தால் நாட்டினுக்கு ஆட்டுங்கொள் ளும் [உ]டம்பாட்டால் வாழ்க்கை [அ]கப்ப . இடங்கழியால் பன்திருக்கலந் நெல் [முக்க]ல [வரு ?] கொள்ளு அமைச்சு மிக்கது.

(INCOMPLETE).

Abstract of Contents.

While the twelfth year opposite to the second of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, Gōvarddhana Mārttāṇḍaṉ who had [1] (the chieftainship of) the Vēṇāḍu, ruling (also) the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu established.....with twelve *kalams* of paddy as measured by the *eḍaṅgaḻi* (a measure) which was collected from the Tirukkaḍittānam district as the tax due (to Gōvarddhana Mārttaṇḍaṉ) for administering the country [2]; the balance.....

[1] The word *amaichchu* occurring after the name of the chieftain may be taken to mean simply 'having set up or established' or, with some probability, as describing him as a minister of Bhāskara Ravivarman and in that capacity as having been given the governorship of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu.

[2] The word *vāḻkkai* appears to bear some relation to the phrase nāḍu-vāḻuginra which means '(who) makes the country prosper (by his reign)'; *vāḻkkai* is perhaps the tax due to the king who affords protection to or *nāḍu vāḻvikkiṉṟadu* and is used here in this sense.

B.—PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The inscription edited below is engraved upon the base of the central shrine of the temple, at Peruneyil, a suburb of Chaṅganāśēri. It is an unfinished record written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and is dated the **2nd+12th**, that is, the 14th year of an unmentioned king. From the fact that the year 12th is opposite to the second, which opposition to the second year being a special feature of the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, as also from the fact that there are found in the same temple inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, the inscription under consideration is also taken to belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

Some arrangements are said to have been made by the townsmen of Peruneydalūr, the *poduvāḷs*, the *sabhā* of the village of Kīḻakkuḷaṅgarai, Nārāyaṇaṉ Śrīdharaṉ of Pandāvūr and the Vēṇaḍu chief who was governing also the Naṉṟauḷaināḍu; since the inscription is unfinished, nothing regarding the arrangements could be said. This meeting is said to have taken place when Jupiter stood in the Makara rāśi, on the 20th (expired) of the solar month Mīṉa, which was a Sunday and the nakshatra Punarvasu.

Text.

1. [ஸ்வஸ்தி]ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இரண்டாமாண்டைக்கெதிர் (ா) பந்தீராமாண்டை மகரத்-
தில் வியாழந்நின்ற மீனஞாயிறு இருபது சென்ற ஞாயிறாண்ட புணர் [த்த*]-
த்தினாள் பெருநெய்தலூரும் பொதுவாளும் கீழ-
2. க்குளங்ஙரைத்தபையும் பந்தாவூர் நாராயணஞ்சிரீதரனும் நன்றுழநாடுவா
[ழு]ன்ற வேணாடுடைய.

(UNFINISHED).

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the twelfth year opposite to the second, when Jupiter stood in the Makara (rāśi), in the (solar) month of Mīna, on the twentieth day (expired, that is, the 21st), on the Punarvasu nakshatra, the townsmen of Peruneydalūr, the Poduvāḷs, the *sabhā* of Kīḻakkuḷaṅgarai, Nārāyaṇaṉ Śrīdharaṉ of Pandāvūr.....governor of Vēṇāḍu administering the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu.....

C.—TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. II OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

This inscription is engraved upon the north and west walls of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam and is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and the **Tamil** language. It belongs, according to the reading of the inscription, to the **thirteenth year** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman.** A point worthy of note in the inscriptions of this king is that all of them are dated in some years **opposite the second.**—The second year has been obviously omitted here through inadvertence; for, on working up the astronomical details they are found to agree actually only with the fifteenth year. Regarding the date Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai writes thus: "No. 89 of 1086 (of the Travancore Collection). 13th year: Jupiter in Ṛishabha, Tulā month. Of the years A. D. 990, 991 and 992 which correspond to the 13th, 14th and 15th regnal years in this series, only A. D. 992, Tulā month, answers the description, 'Jupiter in Ṛishabha'. I suspect that '*iraṇḍām-āṇḍaikk-edir*' which is present in all the other Bhāskara Ravivarman dates has been left out in this case and that the regnal year is really the 15th." It records the

PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. B.

SCALE O. 2.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co , Madras.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

following arrangements resolved upon in the meeting of the townsmen (*ūrār*), the *paruḍaiyārs* and the *poduvāḷs* held in the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam ;

(*a*) The chief townsmen (*ūrāḷar*) and the *paruḍaiyār* (members of the council, *sabhā, parishad*) were prohibited from stopping the amount expended on the food-offerings to be made to the god, in burning the perpetual lamp, for feeding *brāhmaṇas* and in the recitation of the *Mahābhārata*, by deterring the tenants holding the lands set apart for these purposes from paying the rents to the temple and the *ūrāḷar* &c., were also prohibited from receiving the rents themselves.

(*b*) They were further prohibited from undertaking to pay the amounts by collecting the rent from the tenants, or to hold the tenancy themselves or to receive bribes in connection with the appointment of the officiating priests and the reader and expounder of the *Mahābhārata.*

(*c*) They should not allow the appointment of the officiating priests (*śānti śeyyumavargaḷ, pūjāris*) to last more than three years at a time.

(*d*) These *Ūrāḷar* and the *paruḍaiyārs* who held at the time of the meeting of the *ūrāḷars* &c. mentioned in this record the lands meant for the food-offerings and for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* should measure and deliver in the temple precincts the paddy due from them before the Tiruvōṇam (Śravaṇa nakshatra) day in the month of Iḍavam : those who hold the lands meant for the perpetual lamps should deliver one half of their dues on the Chitrai-vishu day and the other half on the Aippigai-vishu day. If the delivery is delayed for three days, they should pay double their dues ; if the payment is delayed for longer periods, they should not merely be obliged to recoup all the dues but also lose their tenancy.

(*e*) The income from those items that are set apart for the lamps and food-offering ; or for the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* and the lamps ; or for food-offering and feeding of the *brāhmaṇas* or for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* should not be appropriated to or spent upon one another, but must be expended only for those purposes for which they are intended.

(*f*) The officiating priests should not be permitted to hold the tenancy of the lands set apart for any of the purposes detailed above or occupy the position of a *paruḍaiyār*.....

(*g*) .....

(*h*) Those that actively help in obstructing the above arrangements or advising others to do so should be liable to a fine of twelve *kaḷañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold to the *Sabha ;* in addition to this they should pay a fine of the same value to the god of the temple and to the then reigning king. The abettors in such illegal acts as those above mentioned should also pay a similar fine.

(*i*) The rent from lands set apart for burning lamps during the month Vṛiśchika (Kārttigai) should deliver the ghee for that purpose before the *saṅkrānti* of that month : there need be no sureties demanded for the punctual performance of the contract. But, if the lamp was allowed to remain unlit on account of the remissness of the persons responsible for the supply of the ghee, they should pay down a fine of ten *kāṇams* of gold to the king.

Elsewhere it has been pointed out that *Śāstras, Purāṇas and Itihāsas* are required by the *āgamas* to be recited in temples every day and that for this arrangements were generally made either by the king or by private donors.

Even now the person who does the *śānti* (or *pūja*) in a temple in Malabar is appointed only for a limited period say for three or six years, after which he should vacate his post in favour of another. This rule, very healthy in principle, is not observed in the temples of the other parts of the Madras Presidency. As has been remarked in the paper on the "Suchīndram Inscription of Rājarāja I," the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas in temples is a feature very peculiar to Ancient India and it still lingers in the usefully conservative Malabar Country alone. The rules regarding the conduct of the managers of the temples and of the *pūjāris* show clearly the need for such stringent measures for all times and have even now been producing good results in the conduct of the affairs in the temples.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோப்பாக்கரனிரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற ஆருமாண்டைக் கெதிரேழாமாண்டு இடபத்துள் வியாழங்நின்ற துலாஞா-யிற்று திருக்கடித்தானத்து முக்கால் வட்டத்தவிரோதத்தால் ஊரும் பருடை-யாரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூடிச்செய்த கருமமாவது [।*] பட்டாரகருடைய திருவமிர்து நந்தாவிள-

2. க்குந் திருவக்கிரமு மாபாரதமு பூமியோடமைஞ்ஞு செலவித்திலுயும் (?) புக்கு விலக்கவும் பொருள்கவரவு முட்டிக்கவும் பெறூர் [॥*] ஊராளரும் பரடையாரு[ம்] இச்செலவு செலுத்தவும் பாட்டமாளவுஞ் சாந்திக்கு மாபாரிதத்தினுங் கைக்[கூலி] கொள்ளப் பெறூர் [॥*] சாந்தி செய்யுமவரீள மூவாண்டில் மிக வைக்கப்பெறூர் [॥*] ஊராளரும் பரடையாருந் திரிவமிர்-

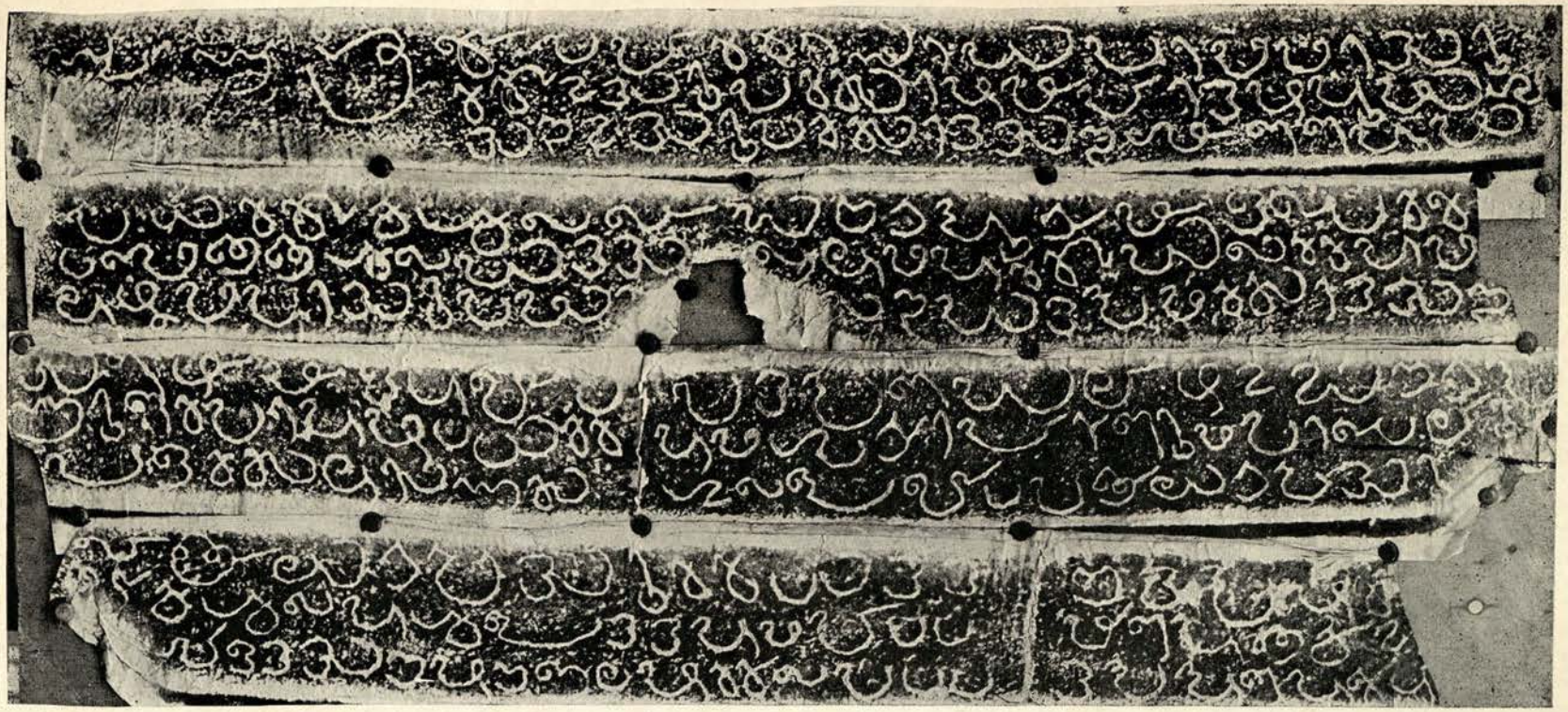
3. தினுந் திருவக்கிரத்தினு மொள்ள பூமியுழுமவர் திருவமி[ர்தி]னு வித்தமக்-கிரத்தினு உணக்கியுரிபோகி நெல்லு இடபஞாயிற்று திருவோணத்தின் முன்னேய் முக்கால்வட்டத்து அளவு கொடுக்க கடவியர் [॥*] நந்தாவிள-க்கு செலுத்துமவர் சித்திரை விழுவினு பாதியட்டக் கடவியர் [।*] நின்ற பாதியுமப்பியை விழுவிதிகையட்-

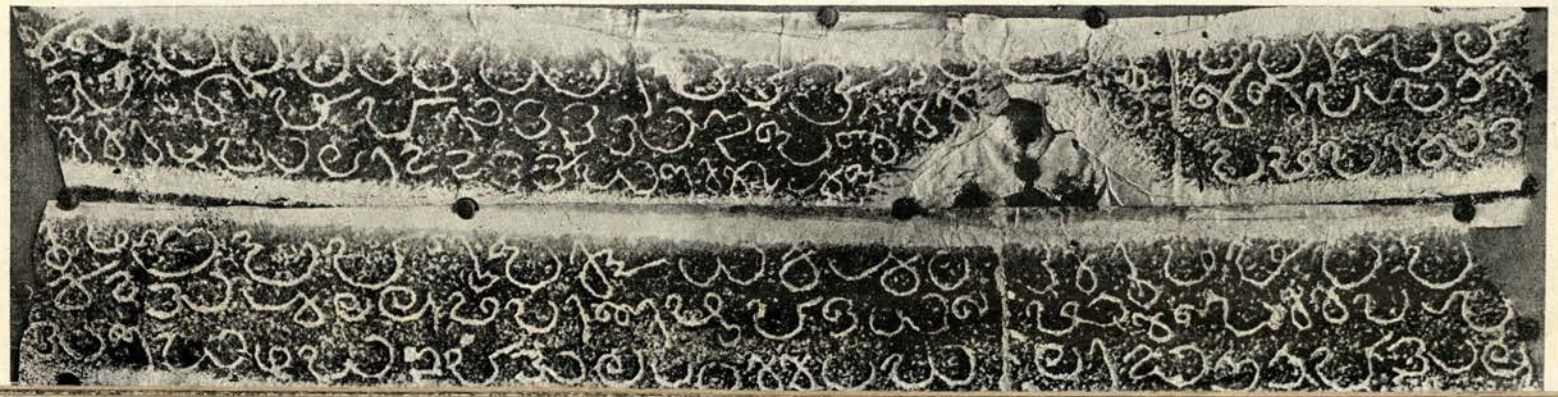
4. டக் கடவியர் [॥*] மூன்றுநாள் முட்டிகில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக் கடவியர் [।*] மிக முட்டிக்கில் சென்ற செலவினேடுபாட்டம் விடக்கடவியர் [॥*] திருவிளக்குந்திருவமிர்து(1) அக்கிரத்தினு மாபாரிதத்தினுமிவைஇத்திலு-முள்ளது மற்றொன்றினு கொள்ளவுங் கொடுக்கவும் பெறூர் [॥*] அமைஞ்ஞ செலவு செலுத்-

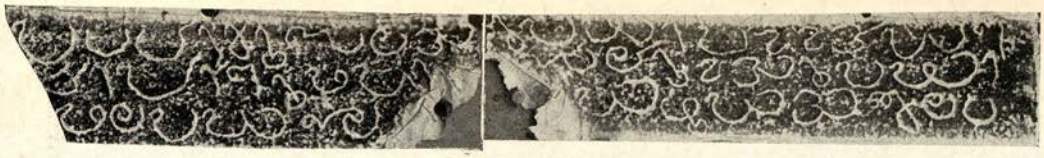
5. தவே கடவிது [॥*] சாந்தி செய்யுமவரையு அதினுல் கீழொள்ள [தயி ?]ஞ்ஞ விருத்திப[ண்?]ணுு[மவ]ரையுந் தானமும் பரடையுங் கொள்ளப்பெறூர் [॥*] பரடை பாட்டமாளப்பெறூர் [॥*] பரடையுடையவரே பாட்டங் கொடுக்கப்-பெறூவராக் கடவபொன் புறத்தேல்க்கப்பெறூர் [॥*] இக்கச்சத்தில்ப் பட்-டதினுக்கு விரோத[ம்*] பண்ணுவிதும் பறைவிதுஞ் செய்து மூ-

6. ட்டிக்குமவர் பங்கிருகழைஞ்ஞே அஞ்சு காணம் பொன்றண்டப்படக் கடவி-யர் பட்டாரகர்க்கு [॥*] அன்றுடி கோயில்க்கும் பங்கிருகழைஞ்சே அஞ்சு

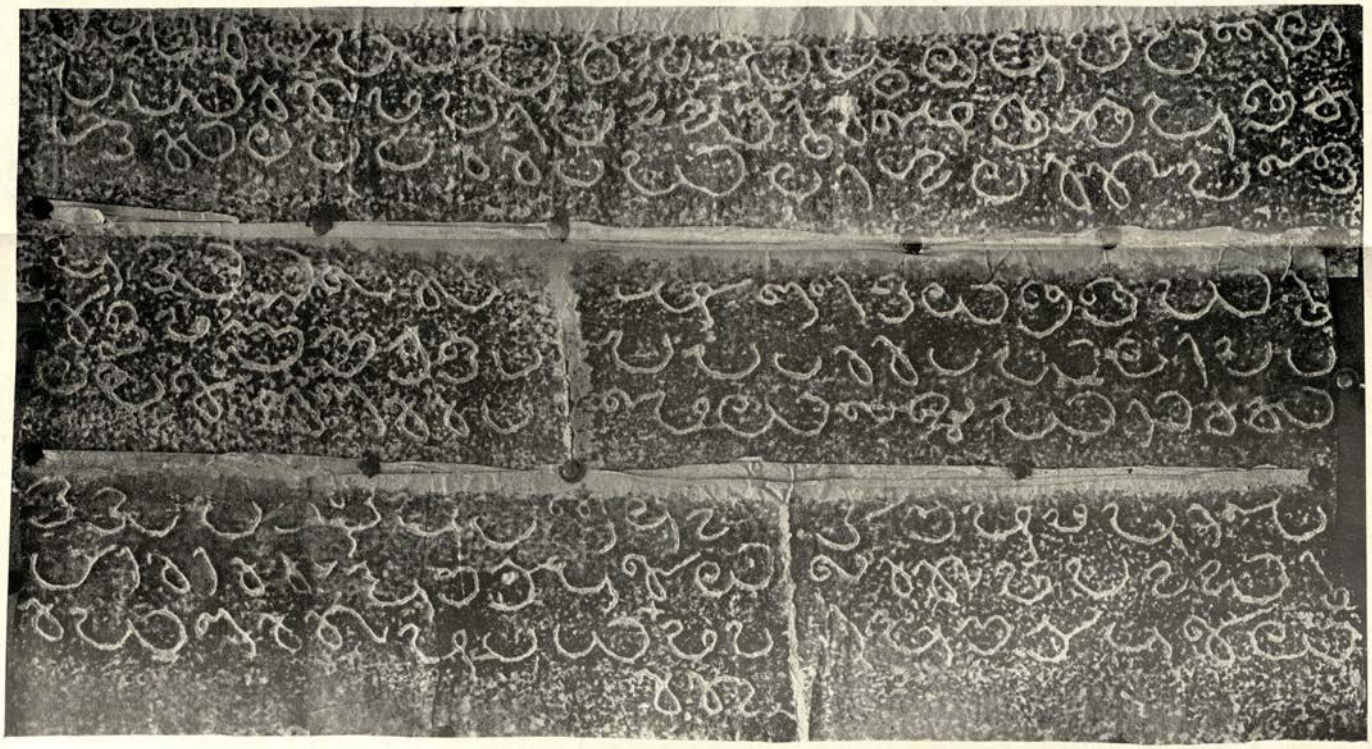
(1) The portion of the inscription bearing on it the words *த்திருவமிர்து அக்கிரத்தினு மாபரிதத்* is left off in the facsimile by the inadvertence of the half-tone block maker.


1a
3a
1b
3b
1c
3c
1d
3d
2a
2b
2c
2d

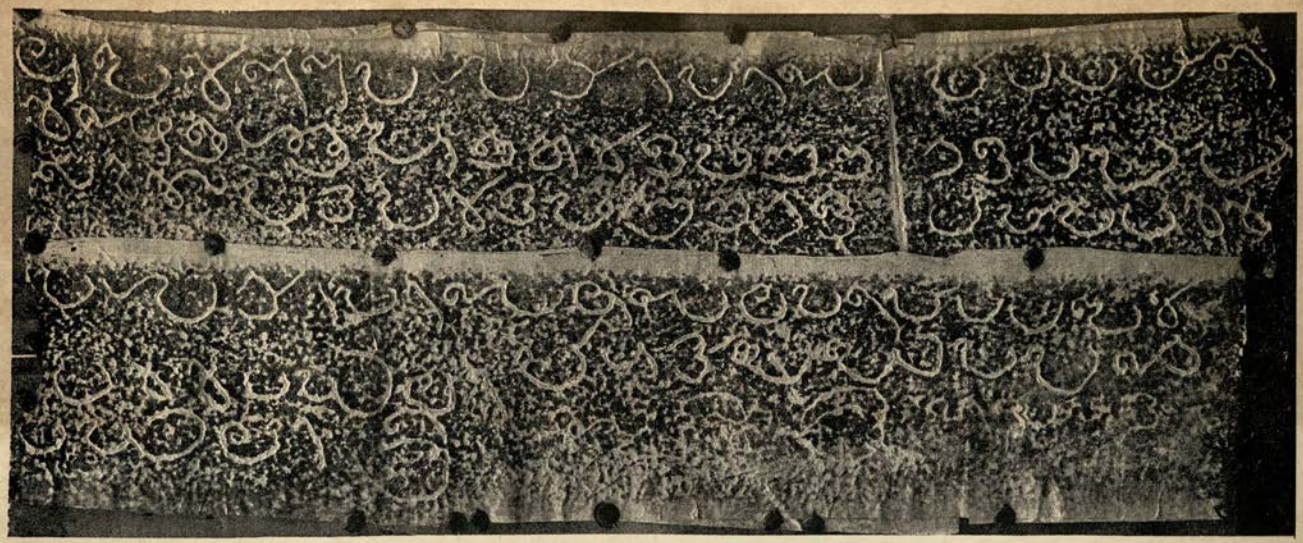

1e
3e
1f
3f
2e
2f


1g
2g
3g

4a
4b
4c
4d
4e


5a
6a
7a
5b
6b
7b
5c
6c
7c

TIRUKKADITTANAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN C. (*Continued*).



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SCALE 0. 25. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

காணம் பொன்றண்டப்படக்கடவியர் [॥*] பாடுதாங்நிமவரையுமவருமி
தண்டமே படக்கடவியர் [॥*] பூமியோடமைஞ்ஞ விரிச்சிகவிளக்கு செலுத்து
மவர் சங்கிராந்தி நாளே நெய்-

7. தெகியட்டக் கடவியர் [॥*] நெய்க்கு பணையங்கொள்ளக் கடமையில்லை [॥*]
விரிச்சிகவிளக்கு முட்டிமவர் அன்றூடு கோயில்க்கு பத்துகாணம் பொன்
றண்டம் படக்கடவியர் [॥*] ஸ்ரீ.

Translation.

Line 1. Be it well! Prosperity! In the meeting of the townsmen, the *paraḍaiyār* and the *poduvāḷs* held with harmony in the temple of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, in the seventh year opposite the sixth of (the reign of) Bhāskara Ravivarman, when Jupiter was in Rishabha and (the solar) month Tulā, the following was the business transacted.

Line 2. No one shall stop the expenditure (of money) on the food-offering to be made to the Bhaṭṭāraka (god), the perpetual lamp, the feeding of *brāhmaṇas*, and (the reading) of the *Mahābhārata*, for which land has been granted; nor shall the money (due from the lands) be diverted (for other purposes); nor it be embezzled, (or collected), nor the charity be obstructed. The *ūrāḷars* and the *paraḍai* shall (collect and) remit the income (to the temple), but shall not take bribes for (the appointment of) the *Śānti* (-kkārs) and (the reader and expounder of) the *Mahābhārata*. They shall not allow more than three years' tenure of office for the *Śāntikkārs*.

Line 3. The *ūrāḷars* shall (collect from) those who till the land (set apart for the purpose) and measure out before the temple seed-paddy for the rice-offering (to the deity) and the dried paddy for the feeding of the *brāhmaṇas*, before the Śravaṇa nakshatra day in the month of Rishabha. Those (that hold the tenancy of the land meant) for the perpetual lamp shall pay one half (of their dues) on the day of the Chittirai Vishu and the remaining half on the day of the Aippiśi Vishu.

Line 4. If these payments fall in arrears for three days, those (who are bound to make the payment in due time) shall be subject to pay double the dues. If the time during which the payment of this duty is neglected is too long, they shall pay all their dues and shall also abandon their tenancy of the land. The moneys meant for the (different) items of the lamp, namely, the food-offering, the feeding of *brāhmaṇas* and for the (reading and expounding of the) *Mahābhārata*, shall not be taken and diverted for any other purpose. They should be spent for the very purpose for which they were ear-marked.

Lines 5-6. The places of the *Śāntikkār* and the subordinate offices under him shall not be assumed by the *sthānattār* or the *paraḍaimār* (?). The *paraḍaimār* are prohibited from holding tenancy (of the temple lands) nor should they lease them out; the gold that they are to pay should not be got (illegally) from others (?). Those that do mischief (themselves directly) to this arrangement or (speak to and make others do the same) shall be liable to a fine of twelve *kaḷañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold to the *bhaṭṭāraka* (the deity). (Besides this) they shall also pay to the then ruling king a fine of twelve *kaḷañjus* and five *kāṇams* of gold. The same fines shall be incurred by those who abet the former. Those that have taken the lease of the land meant for the lamp to be burnt in the month of Vṛiśchikam shall supply the ghee (required for it) on the very day of the *saṅkrānti* (of that month, that is on the day the sun enters the Vṛiśchika rāśi).

Line 7. There is no need for taking security for the supply of the ghee required for the Vṛiśchika lamp. Those that obstruct (the burning of) the Vṛiśchika lamp shall be obliged to pay a fine of ten *kāṇams* of gold to the then reigning sovereign. Śrī.

D.—TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. I OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The following inscription is engraved on the outside east base of the *śuṟṟu maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai, one of the thirteen *divyadēśams* of the Malaināḍu. Till quite recently the superstructure of the temple was ruined and lost, the image in the central shrine broken into three pieces and a semblance of *pūjā* maintained in it. This temple is not only sacred to the Śrīvaishṇavas but also to all the Malayāḷis from the Cape Comorin to Gōkarṇam, the reputed boundaries of Kēraḷa: it is the deity of the temple of Tirukkākkarai that is invoked by the latter on their national festival the Ōṇam, and every house, however poor or rich it might be, offers *pūjā* to Him on that holy day. Such an important temple was in utter ruins till a few years ago; by the representations of the Śrīvaishṇava pilgrims, of the Svāmi of the Vānamāmalai maṭham and of the Archæological Department of Travancore, it was taken up for repairs by the Travancore Government; the repairs are almost completed and the reconsecration ceremony is to take place shortly. The small village of Tirukkākkarai is situated at a distance of about two and a half miles from Eḍappaḷḷi, the station next to Ernakulam on the Cochin State Railway; the approach to the place is rather difficult, the road leading to it being a narrow way not quite suited for wheeled-traffic; till lately there was no kind of building near the temple to accommodate pilgrims. A small rest house has recently been constructed by the Government for this purpose. Owing to the want of the facilities for transport and accommodation Tirukkākkarai was not so popular with the hundreds of Śrīvaishṇava pilgrims who visit Trivandram and are also eager to visit the other *divya-dēśams* of the Malaināḍu. If the road inconvenience is also removed, it is firmly believed that the place would become popular with this sect of *brāhmaṇas*.

This is one of the few temples on the West Coast which bears the largest number of lithic records; all of them have been copied and such of those as are of historical importance arranged for publication. The subjoined inscription is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḻ** language and is dated the **twenty-first year opposite the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**: it records certain gifts made to the temple by some private individuals; they were made on the **seventh day of the solar month of Mirichchigam (Vṛiśchika) when the Jupiter stood in the Makara-rāśi.** The equivalent of this date has been calculated by Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai who writes about it as follows: "No. 102 of 1084 (of the Travancore Collection) 23rd year: Jupiter in Makara—Vṛischika month, 8th day (*ēḻu śeṉṟanāḷ*) A. D. 1000 (Oct.—Nov.) *N. B.* Had week-day or *nakshatra* been given, year could have been verified with certainty."

The preservation of the inscription not being good, it is rather difficult to make an accurate transcript and the reading now obtained is not without faults. It seems to record the gift of lands by some private persons for the burning of lamps during the Kārttigai month and for making offerings to the deity. The rice needed for the purpose is required to be supplied in the temple precincts before the midday of the day of Dhanishṭhā *nakshatra* in the solar month of Vṛiśchika. One half of the rice is set apart to be distributed among the Śrīvaishṇavas, perhaps those who go there on pilgrimage. The custom of measuring and delivering rice and paddy in a certain specified place in the temple and with the standard measures preserved in the temple is one of the most ancient customs often found recorded in South Indian inscriptions and strangely enough still lingers in Malabar, though its significance is now altogether forgotten. In the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandram, there is a small four pillared *maṇḍapa* in the first *prākāra* in which is placed a measure which is locally known at present by the name of the *akshaya-pātra*. Rice required for the services of the temple is measured out with this standard and in the said *maṇḍapa*: and the people say that the measurement is made with the particular auspicious vessel because the temple affairs would then only be prosperous. The inscription under consideration, as also another one to be found in Mūḻikkaṭam, are of interest as showing that the Śrīvaishṇavas were

INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. D.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE G. I. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN. F.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE G. H. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

paying visit in these *pāḍal-perṟa-sthalams* in the medieval period, but have before the days of the railways given up on account of the hardship they had to suffer on account of natural conditions of the country, such as want of roads, safety from wild animals and the want of information regarding the exact situation of the *divya-dēśams* in the Malaināḍu. Now that the country has been opened up by the railways and finely metalled roads, it would not be difficult for them to resort to the places if only the few difficulties adverted to above are removed.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோபாக்கரநிரவன்ம்ம திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதி[ரிரு]பத்தோராமாண்டு மகரத்தில் வியா[ழ]ங்நின்ற [மி]-
2. ரிச்சிக ஞாயிறு ஏழுசென்றநாள்த் திருக்கால்க்கரை தேவருள்பாடனும் பெருமுதியா[னு]முடையபழ[ங்]காணி [யொ]ன்பது....கழைஞ்[ஞிநால்ப்ப]-தெ[ா].....
3. மே துப்பநாராயணனும் துப்பங்கிரிட்டனும பன்னி[ரு*]ங் க[ை]ழஞ்ஞினுங்-கரிக்காட்டுபொட்டத்தில் நெடுங்[க]ரியும் கண்ண.....ங்ஙள்க்கொள்ள கூறு பாதியும் வட-
4. வாயகமும் கொல்லர்சேரியவர்[க*]ளுடைத்தெடியபறம்பின்பள்ளி பல [ழுக்க ?]யும் மக்கள் [பல]ருளும் பாதியும் [பா]தி[யு].....இவ்ஊரும் பணையமாய் விரி-
5. ச்சிக ஞாயிற்று அவிட்டத்தினுள் தேவர் திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழியால் நூற்றுநாழிச் செய்தரி உச்சியகத்து பந்தீரடியின் முன்ன[ம்*] கொண்டு வந்து பலகைத்த-
6. லை அளக்க கடவியந் துப்பநாராயணனுந் துப்பங்கிரிட்டனும் [॥*] இவ் வரியால் பாதி திருவமிர்து சேவிது [॥*] பாதி[யும்] சிரிவயிண்ண[வ*]ர்க் கு[ம்] கு[டு*]த்து கொள்விது [॥*] இச்செலவு
7. மூட்டுகிலிரட்டி செ[லு]த்து [விது] [॥*] இச்செலவு அமைச்சேன் வல்லத் துப்போழுந் நாரண[ன்] [॥*] இப்பரியறியும் சாதுக்கள் பள்ளி..... கோக்கோதையும் [ப]டை[யொ]ழுகன் (?)
8. சி (கி or சீ?)லநாராயணங் கண்ணனுமறிவர் [॥*] வெள்ளியான்பள்ளிச் சாத்தங்குமரனுந் நெடுங்நொல்லிக் காளன் கோவிந்தனு மறிவர் [॥*] இவ [ர்*]களறியக் குறிச்சுவைச்சறிவேன் பெரு-
9. (This line is built in).

Translation.

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the year twenty-one opposite the second of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, when the Jupiter stood in the Makara-rāśi, on the seventh (expired) day of the (solar) month Vṛiśchika, the nine *kāṇis* of land held in tenure by Dēvaruḷpāḍaṉ of Tirukkāḷkkarai and Perumudiyāṉ,.....forty-.....*kaḻañjus* (of gold)..... ; for the twelve *kaḻañjus* (of gold), Tuppaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ and Tuppaṉ Kṛishṇaṉ.....the plot of land named Neḍuṅkari in the tenure of Karikkāḍu (village).....(The sense of this portion of the passage cannot be made out because it is very fragmentary)...

Lines 5-6. Tuppaṉ-Nārāyaṇaṉ and Tuppaṉ-Kṛishṇaṉ shall measure out a hundred *nāḻis* of rice on the plank (kept in some place in the temple) with the *nāli* measure preserved in the kitchen of the god (at Tirukkāḻkkarai) before the '*twelve-feet*' time of the Dhanishṭhā nakshatra day in the month of Vṛiśchika.

Lines 6-7. Out of this rice, one-half should be offered to the god; the remaining half should be given away to the Śrīvaishṇavas. If this expenditure falls in desuetude, it should be doubled (that is, he, by whose mistake the expenditure was stopped, is obliged, as a penalty, to pay double the quantity). I, Pōḻaṉ Nāraṇaṉ of Vallam, deposited (an amount as the capital for) this (item of) expenditure. The *sādhus* who know (or who are witnesses to) this (transaction) are:—Palḷi.....Kō-kKōdai; Śīla-Nārāyaṇaṉ, the leader of the army (?); Śāttaṉ Kumaran of Veḷḷiyāṉpalḷi; Kāḷaṉ Gōvindan of Neḍuṅgolli; I, Peru.....know this by having noted it (written down the record) to the knowledge of these (above mentioned persons).

E.—TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. III OF THE 26TH YEAR OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN'S REIGN.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the south wall of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam. It is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḻ** language. It mentions Gōvarddaṇa Mārttāṇḍa of Vēṇāḍu also ruling over the Naṉṟuḷāināḍu, the *paraḍai*, the *poḍuvāḷs*, the 'three hundred' of the Naṉṟuḷainādu and the temple servant Kuṉṟaṉ Gōvindaṉ. It is dated in the **twenty-fourth year opposite the second** of the reign of the king, that is, the 26th which corresponds to A.D. 1010. On the left margin is engraved the sign manual of the king which appears to contain in it the first two syllables of the word Iravi written in the Grantha characters. The name Gōvarddaṇa Mārttāṇḍaṉ has occurred already in other inscriptions. A number of records of Tirukkaḍittānam and Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr mention the 'three-hundred' of Naṉṟuḷainādu. It is not possible at present to identify this *nāḍu*.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோப[ர]ற்கரனிரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற [யாண்டி]ரண்டினெதிர் இருப[த்து]நாலாமாண்டு வேணுடையை கோவர்த்-தனம[ர்த்தாண்டன்*]....நன்றுழநாடு வாழ்.....திருக்கடித்தானத்து
2. பரிடையுங் கணத்தாரும் பொதுவாள்மாரு நன்றுழநாட்[டுழு]ந்தூற்று வரும் பணிசெய்கின்ற நெடும்புறத்து குன்ற[ன் கோவிந்]தனும்.....[இர] விராமனுங் கூடி.....மபர்க்கு இ....
3. திருக்[ண]கய் உடையாருங் காட்டி-

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the year twenty-four opposite to the second of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Ravivarman a meeting of Gōvarddaṇa Mārttāṇḍaṉ governor of Vēṇāḍu who was also administering the Naṉṟuḷainādu, the *paridai* of Tirukkaḍittāṉam, the *gaṇattār*, the *poḍuvāḷs*, the three hundred of Naṉṟuḷainādu, Kuṉṟaṉ Gōvindaṉ of Neḍumburam who does duty (in the temple ?) and Ravi Rāmaṉ.....

F.—TIRUKKADITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription is found in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam. It is written in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet. It is dated **2nd+24th** year of an unmentioned king. For the reasons given under B, this record is also taken to belong to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman. It

is stated therein that the people living in the two divisions of the village of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam belonging to the temple were ordered to measure out two.....of oil annually on the Uttarā nakshatra day of the month Paṅguṇi and that this rule was to come into force from the next ensuing Kaṇṇi month. He that deferred to give his share of the oil should be made to pay double the quantity as also a fine of six *kaḻañjus* of gold to the officer administering the district. Of the oil thus collected as a penalty one half was to be taken by the *paridaimār*.

Text.

1. ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இரண்டா மாண்டினெதிர் இருபத்துநாலாமாண்டைக் கன்னி ஞாயிறு முதல்
2. ஆண்டுவரை பங்குனிஉத்திரத்தினுள் உச்சையின் முன்னே இரண்டு ப[டை ?]
3. [அ ?] எண்ணை ஆயட்டக் கடவியர் திருக்கோயிலுடைய நாராயண மங்கலத் திர-
4. ண்டு கூற்றரும் [॥*] இது முட்டுகில் முட்டிச்சவன் முட்டிராட்டி ஆட்டு வித-
5. ஞ்செய்[வ?]து [॥*] நாடுவாழுமவர்[க*]ட்க்கு அறுகழைஞு பொன்னுந் தண்டப்படுவிது [॥*] முட்டிய எ-
6. ண்ணெயிற்பாதி பரிடைமார் கொள்விது [॥*]

Translation.

Prosperity! From the (solar) month Kaṇṇi of the twenty-fourth year opposite to the second (of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman), the inhabitants of the two divisions of the village of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam belonging to the temple shall (bring and) measure out annually two *paḍai* (?) of oil before the midday of the Uttarānakshatra day in the month of Paṅguṇi. If this is delayed, he that so delays shall be subject to the penalty of double the quantity (of oil due from him) and also the payment of a fine of six *kaḻañjus* of gold to the governor of the province. Of the oil that is delivered (with fine?) after such delays one half shall be taken by the *paridaimār*.

G. TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. II OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN. 21ST YEAR.

The following inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *śurru-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is written in **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** and in the **Tamil** language. It records the gift of gold by a private individual. The inscription is badly damaged and its purpose cannot be ascertained. It is dated the **nineteenth year opposite the second** of the reign of the king; the gift was made in the solar **month Makara when Jupiter stood in the Kumbha rāśi.**

Text.

1. ஷஹஸ்ரி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோச்சிரிப[ர*]ற்கரனிரவிவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லா நின்ற மா(ய)ண்டு இரண்டா [மா]-
2. ண்டைக்கெதிர் [ஒ]ருபத்தொன்ம[தா] மாண்டு கும்பத்துள் வியாழங்நின்ற [மக]ர[நாயற்ற]

3. கோதை நாராயணன் கையா[ல்] அறுபதின் கழஞ்ஞு செம்பொன் கொண்
டான் ம[ர]க்கண்[டர்]ப்பற்றி கண்ட நாராய[ண]....
4. இப்பொன் [அ]றுபதின் கழஞ்[ஞி]ணு[ம்] யிட...

(The rest highly damaged).

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! Kaṇḍa Nārāyaṇaṉ of Mākkaṇḍarpaḷḷi received from the hands of Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṉ sixty *kaḻañjus* of pure gold in the month of Makara, when Jupiter stood in the Kumbha (rāśi) in the nineteenth year opposite to the second (of the reign) of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi. From these sixty *kaḻañjus* of gold.....

H. TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. III OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

This inscription is engraved on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai and is as usual in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and the **Tamiḻ** language. It is dated the **2nd plus the 29th year** of the reign of the king **Bhāskara Ravivarman.** It records certain arrangements which were made regarding the collection of rents in kind due on the temple lands which were leased out to a number of private persons. This arrangement which is as follows, was settled on the **twentieth day (expired) of the solar month Vṛiśchika when Jupiter stood in the Dhanurāśi** :—

(1). Nakkaṉ-Iravi and Ādichchaṉ Iravi were bound to give as the rent on Śerumaṟṟappuḷai Kaṇṇamaṅgalam fifteen *nāḻis* of ghee, measured by the *iḍangaḻi;* it is not clear if this name of the land implies two villages or plots of land, Śerumaṟṟappuḷai and Kaṇṇamaṅgalam, or, Kaṇṇamaṅgalam situated in Śerumaṟṟappuḷai.

(2). Nārāyaṇaṉ Dēvaṉ of the Puttillam (the name of his house) for the fourth of the *kaḻagam* he held, was obliged to supply ghee for one lamp.

(3). The ghee should be delivered in the temple in the three months of Mithunam Karkaṭakam and Śiṅgam.

(4). If any one fails to supply it in due time he should be subjected to a fine of paying double the quantity of ghee.

(5). The inscription is damaged after this portion. It apparently records exemption of certain duties connected with the tenure of the village of Kaṇṇamaṅgalam.

(6). The ghee due from the above mentioned persons should be received by Pōḷaṉ Kumāraṉ of Paṉṟiṭṭurutti and Ūrepāḍaṉ the officer in charge of the Neḍumpuraiyināḍu and the Kālkkaraināḍu and Pēru-mūttavaṉ.

(7). As witnesses to this arrangement the names of the following *sādhus* are affixed.

(*a*). Śuvaraṉ Tuppaṉ of the Maṉṟam (illam).
(*b*). Śaṅkaraṉ Dāmōdaraṉ of the Perumaṇaikōṭṭam (illam).
(*c*). Nārāyaṇaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ of the Maṅṅāḍu (illam).
(*d*). Puraiyaṉ Śēṉṉaṉ of the Nāgava (?) rēri (illam).
(*e*). Iravi Rāmaṉ, a native of Vēṇāḍu, being ordered by Iravikōdai of Kuḻikkāl, Kōdai Ayyaṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟa-ppuḷai, Kōdai Nāraṇaṉ and Kōdai Kēraḷaṉ, drew up this document and thereby knew this transaction. The epigraph gives the names of *four* persons as having ordered the writer to prepare the document but says 'being ordered by these *three*'.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] [தி]காச்சிரிபார்க்க[ர*]ன் இரவிவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்ட[ா]மாண்டைக் கெதிர் இருபத்தொன்பதா மாண்டு தனுவில் வியாழங் நின்ற விரிச்சிகஞாயிறு இருபது சென்ற நாள் செ[ய்*]த கரு-
2. மமாவது [॥*] செறுமற்றப்புழைக்கண்ணமங்ஙலத்தின்மேல் நக்கனிரவியும் ஆதிச்சனிரவியுங் கொடுக்குந்நெயி இடங்கழியால் பதினஞ்ஞாழி நெய்யு[ம்*] திருக்கால்கரைபழார[ர்*]க்கு புத்தில்-
3. லத்து நாராயணந்தேவன் கூறு கழகநாலொன்றின்மேலு திருவிளக்கினு நெய் கொடுப்பானமைஞ்ஞான் நாராயணந்தேவன் [॥*] இந்நெல் மிதுனமுங் கர்க்கடகமுஞ் சிங்கமு[ம்*] இம்மூன்று திங்களுஞ் செலுத்தக்கடவன் [॥*] மூட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுக்க க[ட*]வன் [॥*] கண்ணமங்ஙலத்தின்மேல் பழாரர்க்கு ஏற....வக்குமி[லை] [॥*] நாராயணந்தேவன் தன்கூறு சந்திரா திச்ச [கரு?]வ[ல்]ச்[1] சேரபண்ண கடவன் [॥*] பன்றித்துருத்திப்போழங் குமரன் நெடும்புறையினுடங் கால்கனா நா-
4. டு வாணநா[ரே ?] உ[டை]ரபாடனும் பெரு மூத்தவனுங் கூடியிருந்து இந் நெ[ய்*] வாங்கி து [2] [॥*] இப்பரியதியுஞ் சாதுக்கள் மன்றத்து சுவரந்துப் பனுமதியும் [॥*] பெருமனைக்கோட்டத்து சங்ஙரந்தாமோதரனுமதியு மாங்ஙாட்டு நாராயணங்கண்ணனுமதியும் [॥*]. [நகவ ?]சேரி புறை[ய] ஞ்சேந்நனுமதியும் [॥*] குழிக்காலாயிரவி கோதையும் செறுமற்றப்புழைக் கோதை அய்யனுங் கோதைநாரணனு[ம்*] கோதை கேரளனு[ம்*] யிம்மூவரு முன்னிருந்து இக்கருமம் பணித்தவகையெழுதி அறிவேன் வேணுட்டு இரவி [கு]ம[ர]னேன் [॥*].

Translation.

Line 1. Hail! Prosperity! In the year twenty-nine opposite to the second of the reign of the king Bhāskaraṇ Iravivarma Tiruvaḍi, when Jupiter was in the Dhanu rāśi, on the twentieth (expired) day in the (solar) month Vṛiśchika, the following business was transacted:—

Lines 2-3. Nārāyaṇaṇ Dēvaṇ of Puttillam (house) agreed to supply the ghee necessary for (burning) lamps (in the temple at Tirukkākkarai) for the one-fourth share of the *kaḻagam* (he held in the temple,—(*kaḻagam* being a sort of service), as also (bound himself to collect from and supply) the ghee due from Nakkaṇ Iravi and Ādichchaṇ Iravi (in return) for the land they held in Kaṇṇa-maṅgalam in Śerumaṟṟappuḷai. He should supply the paddy (equivalent to the ghee) in the months of Mithuṇam, Karkkaṭakam and Śiṅgam. If he fails to do so, he shall pay double the amount. (Here the inscription is somewhat damaged and therefore the sense of this portion cannot be made out). Nārāyaṇaṇ Dēvaṇ shall arrange for the performance of the duties attached to his share as long as the moon and the sun last.

Lines 3-4. Pōḷaṇ Kumāraṇ of Paṉṟiṭṭurutti who was governing the Neḍumburaiyināḍu and the Kālkkaraināḍu, Ūrepāḍaṇ and Perumūttavaṇ shall receive this ghee jointly. The following

(1) Read சந்திராதிச்சவல்.

(2) Read வாங்குவது.

are the *sādhus* who know this (or are witnesses to this transaction) :—Śuvaraṉ Tuppan of Maṉṟam knows; Śaṅkaraṉ Dāmōdaraṉ of Perumaṉaikkōṭṭam knows; Nārāyaṇaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ of Māṅgāḍu knows; Puṟaiyaṉ Śēndaṉ of [Nagavarēri] knows; I, Iravi Kumaraṉ of Vēṇāḍu, know this by writing (the document) when Iravi Kōdai of Kuḻikkālāy, Kōdai Ayyaṉ, Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṉ and Kōdai Kēraḷaṉ—these three (1)—were present and ordered me to do so.

I. PERUNEYIL INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the central shrine of the temple at Peruneyil, a suburb of Chaṅganāśēri. It is very well preserved; the writing is in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** character and the language of the record is **Tamiḻ**. It is dated the **thirty-sixth year opposite the second of** the reign of the king who is here called Kōnōyiṉmai-koṇḍāṉ, a variant of the more common form Kō-nēr-iṉmai-koṇḍāṉ; the former means the king who took to being without (or free from) disease and the latter, the king who did not permit of the existence of any equals to him. It is recorded that some arrangements were made at the end of the solar month Ṛishabha, when Jupiter also stood in the Ṛishabharāśi, of the thirty-eighth of the reign of the king: the time corresponds to April—May of the year A.D. 1016. The document was got engraved on stone under the supervision of the king's officers Iravikaṇṇi of Śōraveḷḷūr and Kumāra Nārāyaṇaṉ of (the) Kuḷamaṅgalam (*illam*). The immediate purpose for which the order was issued by the king is that the tenants need not pay to the king's officers any other sums of money beyond what is due under their tenancy conditions and this order was passed upon the resolution arrived at the meeting of the townsmen, the *paraḍaiyārs* and the *poduvāḷs* of the village of Peruneydal and communicated to the king for information and necessary action.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோனோயின்மைகொண்டான் கோச்சிரிபாக்கரனி ரவிவர்ம திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர் முப்-
2. பத்தோராம[ா*]ண்டு பெருநெய்தல் ஊரும் பரடையாரும் பொதுவாளுங் கூடி இடபத்தில் வியாழந்நி[ன்]றவாண்டு இடபங்கழிவில் எண்ப-
3. தின் கலந்நெல் நன்றுழெ நாட்டினு ஆட்டைக்கோளாக கொடுப்பானமைஞ் ஞ[ா]ரமைச்சுள்ளு[ங்?] த. ர் கோயிலதிகாரிகள்க்கு இ(?)து கொடுத்து ம[ற்]றெப்பொன்-(2)
4. பட்டதுங் கொடுக்க[க்க*]டமையில்லை [॥*] இது திருமுகங்காட்டிக் கொள் ளக்கடவிய[ரென்று] அருளிச் செய்கையால்க் கோயிலதிகாரிகளாய் வந்நிரு ந்து கல்லின்-
5. மேல்க்காட்டிச் சோரவெள்ளூரிரவிகண்ணியுங் கூளமங்ஙலத்து ஸ்ரீகுமார- நாராயணநும் ॥—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year thirty-two opposite the second of the reign of the king who was (so constituted as) not to get any disease, Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, which was a year in

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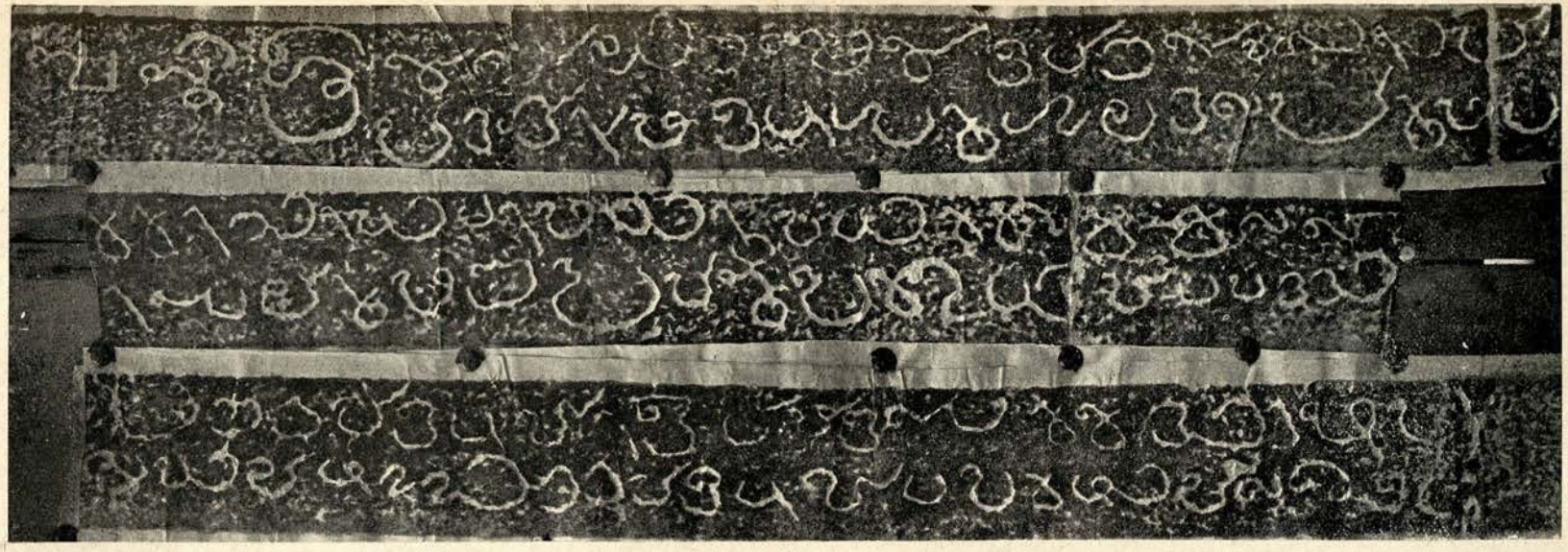
(1) Here the names of four persons are mentioned, but the inscription refers to them as *three* instead of *four*.

(2) Read °றெப்பேர்பட்டது.



1a 1b 1c 2a 2b 2c

3a 3b 3c 4a 4b 4c

1a
1b
1c
1d
1e
1f
1g
1h

T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE O 26 Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

TIRUMULIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. K.

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

SCALE O 23

Half Tone By Photo Engraving Co., Madras.

which Jupiter stood in the Ṛishabha rāśi, the townsmen of Peruneydal, the *paraḍaiyār* and the *poduvāḷs* met. (On this occasion) the . . . agreed to give to the *kōyiladhikāri* eighty *kalams* of paddy as the annual impost on the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu. If they pay this (impost) they need not pay any other (tax) whatsoever. The king was pleased to say that they might show (in future) this letter (of his while carrying out this order). Having heard the king order thus, the *kōyiladhikāri* came here personally and got this engraved on stone by Iravi Kaṇṇi of Śōravellūr and Śrī Kumara Nārāyaṇaṉ.

J. TIRUKKAḌITTĀNAM INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF THE REIGN OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMA TIRUVAḌI.

This is a badly damaged inscription written, as usual, in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and in the **Tamiḻ** language. It belongs to the **forty**.....year **opposite the second** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman.** It records the donation made by a private individual to the temple at Tirukkaḍittānam wherewith a perpetual lamp was required to be burnt in the temple. It is engraved upon the west base of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittānam.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[ஃ॥*] ஸ்ரீ[ஃ॥*] கோப்பாற்கர இரவிவன்மர் திரு[வ]டிக்[கு]ச் [செல்].....மாண்[டை]க் கெதிராமாண்டு நால்ப்பத்[தேழு ?]ம் சென்ற துலாத் தில் வியாழங்நின்ற.....திருக்கடித்தானத்து படார[ர்*]க்கு முர[ர]க் காட்டு இயக்கங்.....அமைச்ச செலவாவிது ஒரு நொந்தா விளக்கு பந்தி....

(Damaged).

Translation.

Be it well! Prosperity! In the forty-seventh year (expired) opposite to the.....year of (the reign of) the king Bhāskara Iravivarma Tiruvaḍi, when Jupiter stood in Tulārāśi..... the following is the item of expenditure for which Iyakkaṉ....of Murakkāḍu made arrangement for (the required capital) a perpetual lamp.....

K. TIRUMŪḺIKKAḶAM INSCRIPTION OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The following inscription is found on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirumūḻikkaḷam and is in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters and in the **Tamiḻ** language. It is dated the **year opposite to the forty-eighth** of the reign of **Bhāskara Ravivarman**; the portion of the inscription containing the name of the reigning sovereign, the date of the document, the name of the donor and the purpose and the shape of the donation is in good preservation, but the rest of it is almost obliterated and is consequently impossible to be made out. It records the gift of land by the king **Manukulādityaṉ** for the maintenance of an *agram* (feeding of Brāhmaṇas). It is curious to note that the inscriptions K, L and M are dated in quite a different manner from all other inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*viz*, A to J, the two Tirunelli grants, the Cochin plates &c.); that is, the year two which used to be quoted first, to which some other year was usually set opposite, is itself set opposite to some other year in L; in other words the order is reversed. In K, the year one is set opposite to the 48th; whereas, in M the year two is omitted altogether. On astronomical grounds Mr. Swamikkannu Pillai is inclined to believe that some of the documents should perhaps be attributed to a second Bhāskara Ravivarman. He writes:—"Bhāskara Ravivarman II. In the 38th year of the last reign, (that is of the Bhāskara Ravivarman

whose inscriptions are dated the 2nd year plus another year), Jupiter was in Ṛishabha, whereas in the 48th year of this reign (Makara month), he is in Simha (Tirunelli plate, Indian Antiquary XX, p. 285) and in the 49th year (Tulā month) he is in Tulā (No. 95 of 1086 of the Travancore collection). If all these three dates belonged to the same reign, Jupiter having been in Ṛishabha rāśi in the 38th year, would be in or near Ṛishabha again (not in Tulā 5 houses off) in the 49th year, Tulā month. Whether No. II Bhāskara Ravivarman reigned before or after No. I Bhāskara Ravivarman it is not possible to say. His reign may have begun as early as A.D. 929 or as late as 1021. Palæography should be able to throw some light on this point". Palæography unfortunately does not throw any light whatsoever, all the documents noticed hitherto being written in the same kind of Vaṭṭeluttu, practically of the same period. At present the question of the possibility of the existence of two Bhāskara Ravivarmans cannot be considered for want of sufficient materials and must remain open until fresh evidences are obtained.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோபார்க்கர இரவிவர்ம்மர் திருவடிக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு நால்ப்பத்தெண்ணுமாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு திருமூழிக்களத்து ஊரும் பொதுவாளுங்கூடி முக்கால் வட்டத்[து இ]ருந்து அவிரோதத் தால்ப் பண்ணின கச்சமாவது [।*] மனுகுலாதிச்சன் திருவக்கிரத்தினு கொடுத்தருளின [சே]ரிக்காலா[வது]....யி [பூய]த்து பறம்பு பெரும்பறம்பு கோ-
2. தையூர் வாயில்க்காடு மேலாஞ்ஞி[னி]ப் புழைநெடுங்ங[ன்] பார்(?) பணைங் ஙாடு த....[பு]லை வெருபட்டி செல்லமங்ஙலந் தோட்டி [பூ].....சை மக ளில்ப் பாதியும் [இ]ச்சேரிக்க[ர].....ருப்பு....கார[ண்]மை ...மவனும் கோ[விந்ர]....ச்செ கோம....ளும்.....ழி....ள....[க]ச்ச.....
3. யும் [வே]ளனும் அகு.....டைய ஒக்கும் இரண்டு குடிக்கமைஞ்சிதரும் மனு குலாதிச்சன் திருவக்திரத்தினுள்ள சேரிக்காலில் சென்று ஒரு அன்ஞாயம் பண்ண.....யார் இருங்ஙாடி கண்[டவு]ம் [அ]யிராணிக்களத்தும் ஊரவா ரியரும். ண[பொ]ற்ருதன் கோதை....னராயிதனுங்கு....

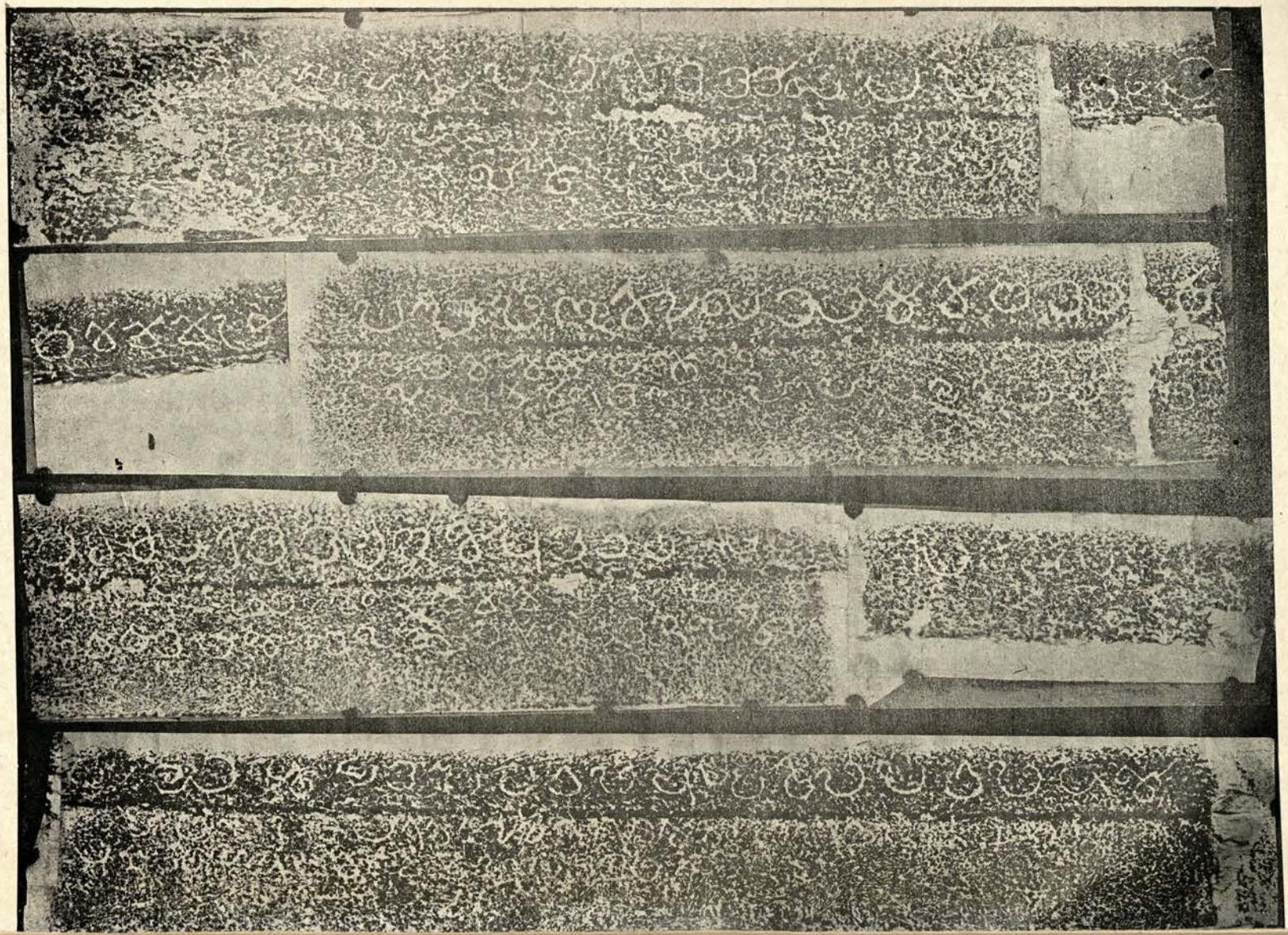
Abstract of Contents.

Hail! Prosperity! The following arrangement was made unanimously by the townsmen and the *poduvāḷs* who met in the temple at Tirumūḷikkaḷam, in the year opposite to the forty-eighth of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi:—The *chērikkals* (lands on the slopes of hills) which Manukulādichchan was pleased to set apart for the feeding of brāhmaṇas (*agram*) in his name are: Pūyattu-paṟambu, Perumbaṟambu, Kōdaiyār-vāyil-kkāḍu, Mēlāññinippuḷai, Neḍunganpār (?), Paṉaiññāḍu,.....Pulaiverupaṭṭi, Chellamangalam and one half of Tōṭṭipu...sai.....(the rest of the inscription is damaged and fragmentary. In one portion it is said that no one shall do injustice to the *agram*).

L. TIRUKKĀKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. IV OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The subjoined inscription is also engraved on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai and is also in the **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** alphabet and the **Tamiḻ** language. It is dated **the second year opposite to the year forty and odd**; the portion containing the odd year is damaged and therefore cannot be read with certainty; in this year **Jupiter was in the Mina rāśi.**

TIRUMULIKKALAM INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA-RAVIVARMAN. K. (*Continued.*)



The inscription records that Gōvindaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ of Kuvalāyini gave to the temple at Tirukkākkarai forty *kaḻañjus* of gold, which was received by Puṟaiyaṉ Kālkkarai of Neḍiya-taḷi, on the following conditions :—

(1) The latter had purchased for the sum paid by the former the lands known as..... .....(here the inscription is damaged), Mānāḍu, [Ā] lakkāḍu, the hills, &c., that are included in it ; from the income of these lands, he was to supply a hundred *nāḻis* of rice as measured by the *muṉṉānāḻi* and by the same measure two *nāḻis* of ghee, beginning from the Pūrāḍam (Purvāshāḍha) nakshatra, up to the Ōṉam (Śravaṇa) nakshatra.

(2) The specified quantity of rice and ghee should be brought to the temple before the *pannirāḍi* time of the day (*agattu pannīraḍi*) and the rice offering made to the deity at the *pūjā* performed at the *pannīraḍi* time.

(3) The rice offered to the god should be divided into two equal parts, of which one half should be spent in feeding the Brāhmaṇa Śrīvaishṇavas. Of the other half twentyfour *nāḻis* (measured by *muṉṉānāḻi*) should be given to the *pūjāris*) *emberumakkaḷ*), six *nāḻis* to him who supplies to the temple flower garlands, six *nāḻis* to the person who cleans the temple ground with cowdung and (perhaps the remaining fourteen *nāḻis* were to be utilised) for the purchase of twenty-four cocoanuts, one *iḍaṅgaḻi*, four *nāḻis* and one *uri* of salt, six *palams* of tamarind..... and for leaves, (curds &c) ; the portion of the inscription after this is ill-preserved and difficult to read.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோப்பாக்கரநி[ரவிவன்ம திருவடிக்குச் செல்]லாநி[ன்]ற யாண்டு நால்ப்பத்.....ண்டைக்கெதிர் இரண்டாமாண்டு மீனத்தில் வியாழந்நிற்கச் செய்த கருமமாவது [।*] குவலாயினிக் கோவிந்நங்குன்றப்-போழனுடை(1) நால்ப்பதின் கழைஞ்சு பொன் கொ[ண்]டு நெடியதளிப் புறை-யங்கால்க்கரை இப்பொன்னினு

2. [த]ான் நேடிக்கொண்டக.....க்க.....னசாலை [யா ?]ர்க.....மாநாடு [ஆ]லக்காடுமவற்றினுபடும் ம[லையு]ங் கரையும் கொண்டு திருக்கால்[க*]ரை பட்டார[கர்]க்குப் பணி பூராடந்துடங்கி ஓணத்தளவும் முன்நாநாழியால் நூற்றுநாழிச் செய்தரியும் முந்நா[நா]ழியால் இருநாழிச்செய்து நெய்யுங்-கொண்டு அகத்து பந்நீரடியில் மு[ன்] வந்னு திருவமிர்து செய்விச்சு பாதி-யுங்கொண்டு பி-

3. ராம்மணருஞ் சிரிவைண்ணவரையு[ம்*] அமிர்து செய்விச்சு மற்று அரிம்-முந்நாநாழியால் எம்பெருமக்கள்க்கு இருபத்து நாநாழியும் பள்ளித்தாமத்-தினு அறுநா[ழி]யுந் திருவலகினு அறு நாழியும் பிராமணர் அமிர்தினு தேங்-ஙாயிருபத்துநாலு உப்பு இடங்கழி நால்நாழி[வு]ரி புளி அறுபலம்....பலிக்கு ....ழி இதின்னுவேண்டு மிலையும் விறகு-

4. [ம்]....த[யிறி]ன்னாளா இரண்டு [வுரி]

(Incomplete).

(1) Read போழனிடை.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The business which was done when the year two opposite to the forty.....of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, when Jupiter was in the Mīna rāśi, was (as follows): Puṟaiyaṉ Kālkkarai of Neḍiyataḷi, having received from Kuṉṟappōḷaṉ of Kuvalāyini forty *kaḷañjus* of gold, purchased (?) .....Mānāḍu, Ālakkāḍu, including the hills and lands that are, within them, and agreed to supply from the day of the Pūrāḍa nakshatra to that of Ōṇam (each month), within the 'twelve-feet' time (of the day) one hundred *nāḻis* of rice, as measured by the *munnānāḻi* and two *nāḻis* of ghee measured by the *munnānāḻi*; he further agreed to see that the offering was made in proper time. Of the rice that is offered, one half is to be utilised for feeding brāhmaṇas and Śrīvaishṇavas; out of the remaining half, the *pujāris* (*emberumakkaḷ*) should be given twenty four *nāḻis* measured by *munnānāḻi*; for flower garlands, six *nāḻis*; for cleaning the temple premises (*tirualagiḍudal*) six *nāḻis*; twenty four cocoanuts, one *iḍaṇgaḻi* and four *nāḻis* and *uri* of salt, six *palams* of tamarind, leaves, fuel and curds are also to be supplied for the feeding of the brāhmanas.

M.—TIRUKKĀKKARAI INSCRIPTION NO. V OF BHĀSKARA RAVIVARMAN.

The very ill-preserved record edited below is also to be found on the base of the front *maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is dated the **fifty-eighth year** of the king **Bhāskara Ravivarman; in this year Jupiter stood in the Simha rāśi.** It informs us that one Kēraḷam Pōḷaṉ took up the *kārāṇmai* of certain lands for which he bound himself to burn a perpetual lamp in the temple and to pay a certain quantity of paddy. Dēvaṉpādāṉ, Perumudiyaṉ and the Poduvāḷs of Tirukkākkarai were appointed receivers of the above mentioned paddy. The Kēraḷaṉ (the holder of the *kārāṇmai*), the men of the *padavāram* and the two families of Poduvāḷs should supervise the harvesting (*kaṇkāṇichchu*) and pay the salary of the *mēlśānti emberumāṉ*. The rest of the inscription is fragmentary; at the end of the document are the signatures of a number of Brāhmaṇa sādhus.

The words *padavāram* and *śānti śeyyum emberumāṉ* or *emberumakkaḷ* occur in this and in other inscriptions. For instance, the word *padavāram* occurs in the plate of Rajaśēkhāra; and *kōppadavāram* and *padippadavāram* occur in the Syrian Christian plates of Kōṭṭayam. It appears from these terms that certain taxes were levied upon the gross income of lands belonging to big landlords which are taken out on lease by tenants, which was perhaps a tenth part; and these went to the landlords by virtue of their being the lords of the land; *kōppadavaram* means the *vāram* (portion) which is allotted to the holder of the position of a king and similarly *padippadavāram*, the *varam* allotted to the holder of the position of a *pati* (a smaller position than that of a king); that this is the probable meaning becomes patent from the Kōṭṭayam plates wherein there actually figure a *kō* (the king Sthāṇu Ravi) and two *patis* (the Puṉṉaittalaippadi and the Āṉaikkuḍippadi).

The words *emberumāṉ* and *emberumakkaḷ* literally mean 'our lord' and 'the class of men who are our lords' respectively and are usually employed by the lower classes towards their higher class people: for instance, a Śūdra addresses a Nambudiri as *embrāṉ*, which is contracted into *mbrāṉ*; a *Tachchaṉ*, an *Īḻavaṉ* or a *Vālaṉ* calls a *Śudra* by the same *mbrāṉ*. It is the word *emberumāṉ* that has given rise to the modern word *embrāndiri* as applied first to the *śāntikkārs* in temples and secondly, from the fact that the majority of these are Tuḷu-Brāhmaṇas of the South Kanara District, to the members of this sect of brāhmanas. The words *embrāndiri*, Nambudiri, Sōmatiri, akkidiri &c.,—ending in *tiri*—are in my opinion, composed of, two words, the first of which are emberumāṉ, Nambu, etc., and the second *tiru* the honorific suffix; in common language they change into *embrāndri*, *Nambudiri*, etc.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கோபாக்கரனிரவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு ஐம்-பத்தெட்டாமாண்டு சிங்கத்தில் வியாழங்நின்றவாண்டு சாலவேலி கேரளம்-போழன் கொண்டகாராண்மை [க]ற்று[ஞ்]தத(?)....வ[ர]ரும் பூமிங்நம்(?) செல்லும் செலவு [ஒ]ரு நந்தாவிளக்கு காராளன் செலுத்த கடவன் [।*] செலுத்திச்சு கொள்வானமைஞ்ஞார் திருக்கால்க்கரை ; தேவ[ந்]ன்பாடன் பெருமுதியன் பொதுவாரு[ம்*] [॥*] ஒன்பதினால் ஒன்ப[தி]ன் நூற் [று]ல் ந[ர]லு....மிதுகாராளனு பதவாரம்மாக்க[ஞ்][ம்*] இரண்டுகுடி பொதுவாள்ம[ர]-

2. ரும் கூடி கண்காணிச்சு மேல்சாந்தி எம்பெருமான் சீவிதமு[ம்*] ஆ..... [மைஞ்சி] த்து செலுத்தக்[க]டவர் [॥*]. இது காராளனுயு இரவிகோ வின்நநும்...செ.....ஒரோ [தூணி] நெல்லு.....யால்ச.....வா.....தி..... லக்குவிப்போம்.....ள்ளிகைவ்வட்டகையு[ம்*] வச்சு அ[க]த்தெழுந் நள்[ளி]...டது [॥*] இதறியுஞ் சாதுக்க[ள்]நெய்தல் மங்நலத்து கேசவ ங்கே...

3. .....மேருமனைக்காட்[டு] கேயவனு]ம் [வண்ட] பாடி காராயண.....காட்ட கடவ.....கோவிந்நன் [சா]த்த[னும்] கண்ணஞ் சேந்நனு.....

(The rest of the inscription is badly damaged and is therefore illegible).

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! While the fifty-eighth year of the reign of the king Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi was current, the year being one in which Jupiter stood in the Siṁha rāśi, the *kārāṇmai* taken by Kēraḷaṉ Pōḷaṉ of Śālavēli.....The holder of the *kārāṇmai* (*kārāḷaṉ*) shall bear the cost of (burning) one perpetual lamp. Dēvarpāḍaṉ, Perumudiyaṉ and the *poduvāḷ*, of Tirukkālkkarai constituted themselves as agents to receive this (perhaps the amount due for the lamp).....The *kārāḷaṉ*, the people of the *padavāram* (that is, either those paying the *padavāram* or receiving it) and the two families of *poduvāḷs* shall supervise this and arrange to pay the salary of the *mēl-śāntikkāraṉ* (the chief *pūjāri*)..... (The rest of the document is damaged and no sense could be made out of the fragment).

POSTSCRIPT.

The Hon. Mr. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai was good enough to furnish me with the following note on the dates of the various inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman :—

"I have been working for the better part of two days at these Bhāskara Ravivarman dates. There are two which deserve the calculator's special attention ; *viz.*,

(1) 14th year; Jupiter in Makara, Mīna month past 20, Sunday and Punarvasu nakshatra.

(2) 43rd year ; Jupiter in Tulā, Mīna month past 8, Wednesday, Uttara nakshatra, *i.e.*, Uttara-Phalguni.

The first equivalents to these dates which deserve consideration are :—

(1) A.D. 1060, Sunday, March 12 (Mīna 20), on which day Punarvasu nakshatra began at 12½ *ghaṭikās* after sunrise, ending next day at 13 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. On 12th March

A. D. 1060, Jupiter's mean longitude was 290.55 degrees and he was in Makara. His actual geocentric longitude was about the same.

(2) A.D. 1021, Wednesday, March 1 (Mīna 9); on which day Uttara Phalguni nakshatra commenced at 3 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise ending next day at sunrise. On 1st March 1021 A.D., Jupiter's mean longitude was 186.08 degrees which was in Tulā rāśi.

It will be noticed that the interval between these dates is 39 years and that the 14th regnal year (A.D. 1060) is later than the 41st or 43rd (A.D. 1021). If these be the dates, the regnal years must belong to two different kings.

Two other years rank next as equivalents to these. They are given by the 95 years cycle, which means that after 95 years Jupiter's rāśi, the solar month and day, weekday and nakshatra may all be repeated. Thus we find that in A.D. 1060+95=A.D. 1155, on Sunday, March 13 (20th Mīna) the longitude of Jupiter was 293 degrees, *i.e.*, he was in Makara rāsi; Punarvasu nakshatra began on this day and ended next day at 14½ *ghaṭikās* after sunrise and the day was the 20th of Mīna month. Similarly, in A.D. 1021+95=A.D. 1116, on Wednesday, March 1st (9th Mina), Uttara was perhaps regarded as the nakshatra current at sunrise, though strict computation by the equal space system shows that Uttara nakshatra had come to end 12 *palas* or 8 minutes *before* sunrise. On Wednesday (local time does not help in the matter for any longitude west of Salem), Jupiter's longitude on this day was 189°09 degrees which was in Tulā. Even if the '8th Mīna date' was supposed to be this, and the '20th Mīna' date taken as A. D. 1060, the interval between the earlier and the later date (A. D. 1060 and 1116) would be 56 years and not anything like the interval between 14th regnal year and 43rd regnal year.

Making allowance for the fact that the longitude of Jupiter according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* about A. D. 1001 was 10½ degrees less than the actual mean longitude of Jupiter according to modern astronomy, we may suppose that A. D. 1105, Wednesday, March 1 (=Mīna 8th), when Uttara nakshatra began at 38½ *ghaṭikās*, ending next day at 42½ *ghaṭikās;* and on which Jupiter's mean longitude, according to *Sūrya-siddhānta*, was 205 degrees (modren astronomy 215 degrees), was the day intended in the 43rd regnal year.

In this case the '20th Mīna' date (14th regnal year) would have preceded the '8th Mīna' date by 45 years (not by 29 years as required). An interval of less than 45 years between the earlier and later regnal years (supposing they belonged to the same reign) is not possible. The interval may have been 56 years (A.D. 1060 and A.D. 1116) or '20th Mīna' date (A.D. 1060 or A.D. 1155) may have belonged to the 14th regnal year of a reign later than the one to which the 43rd regnal year with '8th Mīna' date belonged (A. D. 1021 or A. D. 1116).

There are therefore three suppositions possible :—

(*a*) The interval between the '20th Mīna' date (1060 A. D.) and the '8th Mīna' date (A. D. 1105) may have been 45 years ; and if the first date was the 14th regnal year of one reign, the second may have been the 43rd regnal year of a later reign ;

(*b*) the interval between the two may have been 56 years (A. D. 1060=14th regnal year of one reign ; and A. D. 1116=43rd regnal year of a later reign) ;

(*c*) the '8th Mīna' date (A.D. 1021 or A.D. 1116) may have been the 43rd year of an earlier reign which came to an end not less than 15 years later (because we have a date in the 58th year) and then another reign commenced, of which the 14th may have been the '20th Mīna' date (A.D. 1060 or A.D. 1155). On this supposition the first reign may have gone on till the 68th year (A.D. 1046 or A.D. 1141).

I next proceed to reconcile as far as possible the remaining dates (not completely verifiable) given by you, supposing they all belong to the reign to which the '8th Mīna' date (43rd regnal year) belongs. And here I must remark that the 43rd regnal year has to be regarded as the 41st for the purpose of two other dates (the 13th and the 31st regnal year) whereas for the purpose of one other date, the 38th regnal year the same regnal year should be treated as the 43rd.

On the whole the reconciliation is not at all satisfactory and I hope you will be able to discover one or two more weekday dates which may clear up the mystery of the regnal years."

[Table.

Reconciliation Table.

The other dates (not completely verifiable) as given by Mr. Gopinatha Rao were :—

Reg. Year.	Solar month.	Jupiter's Rāśi.	Equivalent in the Christian era.	The first regnal year.
6+7 ...	Tula month ...	J. Rishabha ...	May be with reference to A.D. 1021, 1 Mar. Wed. as a fixed point for 41st regnal year.	1st regnal year 980 A.D., Oct. 10.
2+[2]9 ...	Makara month ...	J. Kumbha ...	A.D. 992—Oct. when Jupiter's mean longitude was 44°55'.	982, Jan. 7.
2+29 ...	Vrischika 20 ...	J. Dhanus ...	A.D. 1002, Jan. J.'s long. 325° Reg. year 2+[1] 9=21.	981, Nov. 14.
2+[2]1 ...	Vrischika 8 ...	J. Makara ...	A.D. 1011. Nov. 14 R. Year 2+29=31 J.'s long 264°04'=Dhanus J.	A.D. 980, Nov. 2.
2+36 ...	Vrishabha month ending (ഏപ്രിൽ)...	J. Vrishabha ...	A.D. 1012, Nov. 2, Reg. year 2+[3]1=33. J.'s long 293°39'=J. Makara.	981, May 22.
			A.D. 1016, May 22. Reg. year 36, not 38 J.'s long 41°24=J. Rishabha.	980, Oct. or 981 Oct.
2+4[—] ...	Jupiter in Mīna...		May be A.D. 1026 Oct. J's long 355° 46th or 47th Reg. year.	
58th Reg. year...	Jupiter in Simha...		May be A.D. 1031 July J.'s long 142° 51st or 52 Reg. year=J. Simha.	

If, as is probable, the 13th regnal year and the 31st regnal year (Vrischika 20) leave no room for doubt then the other regnal years must be disposed off conjecturally as indicated above.

No. 8.—AN INSCRIPTION OF RAVIVARMAN SAṄGRĀMADHĪRA.

Three inscriptions published by Drs. Kielhorn and Hultzsch in the *Epigraphia Indica* have brought out much valuable information regarding the king Ravivarman *alias* Kulaśē-kharadēva. Of the two inscriptions published by Dr. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IV, one is found in the Aruḷālapperumāḷ temple at Conjeevaram and the other in the temple of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam; that published by Dr. Hultzsch is engraved on the central shrine of Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Tiruvadi. From these three documents we learn that Ravivarman bore the title Mahārāja and the *biruda* Saṅgrāmadhīra. He was the son of the king Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷa and belonged to the Yādava family and was consequently of the lunar race. The name of the mother of Ravivarman was Umādēvī; he was born in the Śaka year 1188 = A.D. 1266-67. "After defeating his adversaries, he married a Pāṇḍya princess and when 33 years of age (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1299-1300) took possession of Kēraḷa (which he ruled as he did his town of Kōḷamba). He defeated a certein Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas subjects to the Kēraḷas, and, at the age of 46 (*i.e.*, about 1312-13) was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī. He then apparently waged war against Vīra Pāṇḍya, defeated him and drove him into the Koṅkaṇa and from there into the forests, and conquered the northern country. It was in the fourth year of his reign (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1315-16) that he was at Kāñchi.

"The verses which contain this information are followed by a long string of *birudas* of Ravivarman, three of which describe him as 'the regent of the excellent city of Kōḷamba,' 'the Kūpaka universal monarch,' and 'the result of the religious merit of the Kēraḷa country.'" He was a devout worshipper of the feet of Padmanābha (of Trivandram), was very munificient like Karṇa, upholder of religion, master of the sixty-four *kalās* (arts) and the Bhōja of the south."

In his Śrīraṅgam inscription, which is identical with the Aruḷālapperumāḷ inscription, Kulaśēkhara calls Raṅga, the god of Śrīraṅgam, also his tutelary deity.

In the same fourth year (*i.e.*, Saturday, the 29th December A. D. 1313) he was also at Tiruvadi and repaired and bathed the central shrine of the famous Śiva temple at that place.

Since the publication of these inscriptions, more sources of information regarding this king have been discovered; these are purely literary compositions which were brought to light by the labours of Paṇḍit Gaṇapati Śāstri, Curator of the Oriental Manuscripts Library in Travancore. One of them, a drama named the *Pradyumnābhyudayam* is a composition of Ravivarman *alias* Saṅgrāmadhīra. In the prelude to this work, the *sūtradhāra* speaks of the author as follows:—

आर्य ! समादिष्टोऽस्मि सकलकलाकुशलस्य चन्द्रकुलमङ्गलप्रदीपस्य समस्तसामन्तशेखरीक्रियमाणशासनस्य विविधशाखावलम्बनधर्मतरुमूलकन्दस्य प्रणयिजनचिन्तामणेः कोलम्बपुरपरिष्कारस्य देवस्य रविवर्मणः..... केरळदेशकृतपरिणतेः यादवनृपकुलदैवस्य भगवतः श्रीपद्मनाभस्य यात्रोत्सवे किमपि रूपकमभिनयता वयं (राजपरिषदा) विनोदनीयाः.

Further on he says of the author king:—

अस्ति किल सङ्गीतशास्त्रपारदृश्वना निखिलगुणरत्नरोहणगिरिणा कविजनमयूरकालमेघेन साहित्यविद्याविचक्षणेन दक्षिणभोजराजेन महाराजपरमेश्वरेण संग्रामधीरापरनामधेयेन श्रीरविवर्मदेवेन विरचितं प्रद्युम्नाभ्युदयनाटकम् ।.

From the above passage it will be clear that Saṅgrāmadhīra was another name of Ravivarman, a fact which enables us to identify this particular Ravivarman, from among a lot of others who bore the same name which is common to the princes of the Malaināḍu. The name Saṅgrāmadhīra associated with Ravivarman occurs in another work, a commentary by Samudrabandha on the *Alankārasūtras* and the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*. Samudrabandha in stating that he was one of the Paṇḍits of the Court of Ravivarman refers to him thus :—

केरळेष्वस्ति नगरी कोलम्ब इति विश्रुता ।
विभूषयन् पुरीमेनां यदुवंशविभूषिणम् ।
रविवर्मेति विख्यातो राजा शास्ति वसुन्धराम् ॥
यद्याकाङ्क्षसि वीक्षितुं गुणरुचे ! चेतः समस्तान् गुणान्
कोलम्बाख्यमुपेहि दक्षिणदिशां सीमन्तरत्नं पुरम् ।

Elsewhere in his work he alludes to his patron as Yadunandana, Yadubhūpati, Kūpakabhūpati.

आस्ते यत्र भुजेन कीर्त्तिशशिनः पूर्वाचलेनोद्वह-
न्नुर्वीमर्णवमेखलां यदुपतिः कल्पद्रुमो जङ्गमः ॥
सङ्ग्रामधीरनृपतिर्भीरुरधर्मादभीरुराहवतः ।
शुश्रूषुर्निगमविदस्तद्वह्यविदो भवत्यशुश्रूषुः ॥

The name Saṅgrāmadhīra occurs in several places in this commentary, which makes it certain that it was written in the court of Ravivarman—Saṅgrāmadhīra of our inscription.

The title Dakshiṇa-Bhōja is not a vain boast; he is the author, as far as we know at present, of at least one good drama, the *Pradyamnābhyudaya*, and his learning in Saṅskṛit is spoken of very highly by the Paṇḍits of his court and elsewhere, for instance, by Kavibhūshaṇa, the author of the verses comprising the inscriptions at Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvadi and Conjeevaram. So much about the king Ravivarman as gathered from the inscriptions and literature. The historical events mentioned therein are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The country round Kollam (*vulgo.* Quilon) is called the Jayaśiṅganāḍu and one of the families of the kings of the west coast was known in later times as of the Jayaśiṅga-nāṭṭu mūtta tiruvaḍis; Āttiṅgal was perhaps the chief place of these later princes. In one of the inscriptions found in Āttiṅgal a lady who calls herself a Kūpaka princess is said to have built a temple for Śiva. This fact also enables us to identify the Āttiṅgal family with the Jayaśiṅganāṭṭu-tiruvaḍis, or the Kūpakas. There is an inscription at Quilon belonging to the reign of another Jayasiṁha Vīrakēraḷa, dated in Ko. 671=A.D. 1496, that is, 180 years after Ravivarman (See *Travancore Archæological Series*, Volume II, pp. 26—27, for this inscription). This prince must evidently be a successor in the line of Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra. Finally, by adoption and other relationships and by conquest, the Jayaśiṅganāḍu family merged in course of time but very recently, in the present line of the Travancore Mahārājas.

The Malaināḍu was perhaps under one or two sovereign powers in the earlier period of its history, of which nothing is known at present beyond the mere mention of the name of the Chēras. In the medieval and the later periods the country was split up into a large number of principalities; the chief ones among them seem to have been the Mūshaka country belonging to the Kōlattiri, the Kūpakas of Kollam and the Vēṇāḍu kings of South Travancore. That part of the Malaināḍu north

of Kollam and adjoining the Coimbatore and the Nilgiri Districts and the Mysore Province appears to have been known as the Kēraḷa. Therefore, it is very likely that Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra subjugated this country and extended his dominions. One of the adversaries mentioned in his inscription as conquered by him should be his neighbour, the Pāṇḍya. The conquest over the Pāṇḍya and the marriage of Ravivarman with the daughter of the Pāṇḍya king took place before the 33rd year of his age, that is, before A.D. 1299-1300. The Pāṇḍya kings who reigned for ten years before A.D. 1300 are Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva (II) whose latest known inscription is dated the 15th year of his reign, which corresponds to A. D. 1290, and Māravarman Kulaśēkharadēva (I) whose 40th year corresponds to A. D. 1308. Either of these kings should have suffered defeat at the hands of Ravivarman and given his daughter in marriage to him (1). Sometime before the beginning of the military achievement of Ravivarman in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam the power of the Pāṇḍyas had so far grown that one of them, Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, invaded the Chōḷa country, drove away Rājarāja III and got the ceremony of the anointment of heroes performed in the Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷapuram ; sometime after, feeling pity for the Chōḷa king, he summoned him from his place of hiding and after making him beg for his kingdom conferred it upon him. These events occurred before A.D. 1223, soon after, that is, a few months before A. D. 1231, another misfortune occurred to Rājarāja III; one of his vassals, Kōpperuñjiṅga deposed and imprisoned him in the fort at Śēṇḍamaṅgalam (in South Arcot) and began to rule the Chōḷa country ; but Kōpperuñjiṅga was summarily driven out by the generals of the Hoysaḷa Vīra Nārasiṁhadēva (II), the father-in-law of Rājarāja III, who reinstated the latter on his throne. But the last vestiges of the regular line of the Chōḷas were swept out by the invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. He defeated Rājēndrachōḷa III, son of Rājarāja III, drove out the Hoysaḷa Vīra Sōmanātha (Sōmēśvara) from Kaṇṇaṇūr (Samayavaram), expelled Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva from Kāñchi, defeated the Kākatiya Gaṇapati and extended his conquests as far north as Cuttack and had the ceremony of the anointment of heroes performed at Nellūr (Nellore). In one of the inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya it is distinctly stated that he killed Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpaladēva and at the entreaty of his younger brothers, he conferred the kingdom conquered from him on one of them. (See also *Śendamīḻ*, Vol. IV, p. 493). These events should have taken place before A.D. 1259. Then again, Vikrama Pāṇḍya *alias* Bhuvanēkavīra states, in his inscriptions, that he took Kāñchi but did not proceed further north, because, it is stated in the inscription, that his anger was appeased at the sight of the two eyes on the face of Pratāparudra which resembled the two carp fishes, which are the emblems of the Pāṇḍya kings ; and that he returned from his northern campaigns, because he did not consider it gallant to attack a princess, that is, the Kākatiya Rudrāmbā (Pratāparudra). Thus the regular line of Chōḷas of the Tamiḻ country had vanished from the political horizon ; the Telugu Chōḍas who, assisted by the Kākatiya kings had become masters of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, were suffering from internal dissensions. In the year A. D. 1316, Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the general of the Kākatiya king, Pratāparudra of Ēkaśilānagara (Orangal) entered Kāñchi and installed there a certain Mānavīra, who is identified by Dr. Hultzsch with the Telugu Chōḍa, Manma-Gaṇḍagōpāladēva whose latest known date (2) is, according to Dr. Hultzsch, Ś. 1221 (A. D. 1299) that is, 17 years before the installation of Mānavīra at Kāñchi. Before the coronation of Mānavīra and the latest known date of Manma-Gaṇḍagōpāladēva, Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra invaded and occupied Kāñchi and was actually crowned in this city in A. D. 1312-13. Dr. Hultzsch concludes from the statement that Muppiḍi ' put to flight the princess of the south ' which occurs in verse 3 of the

(1) Or it might be some earlier king like Vikrama Pāṇḍya the opponent of Vīra Pāṇḍya in the wars of succession to the Pāṇḍya throne.

(2) The latest one before his dethronement by his own collaterals Akkana and Bayyana. Perhaps afterwards he was restored to the throne by Muppiḍi and reigned for some time.

inscription (of Mupppiḍi) that Saṅgrāmadhīra must have been driven out by the Kākatiya general. Turning to the conquests of Ravivarman, we see that he defeated his neighbour in the east, the Pāṇḍya, and overran the Chōḷamaṇḍalam and the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, which were practically in a state of anarchy or had no fixed or permanent kings, and occupied Kāñchi where he got his coronation celebrated; since he overran the countries of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas he states that he brought these kings under his subjection.

Some light is thrown on this obscure period of the history of the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam from the Telugu literature also.

Tammusiddhi, Manmasiddhi and other Telugu Chōḍas who were the vassals of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III were ruling the country comprising the Nellore, Guntur and other Districts with the town of Nellore as the principal seat of their government. When Manmasiddhi was ruling in Nellore, he was deposed by two brothers, the cousins (*dāyādis*) of Manmasiddhi. His illustrious protege, Tikkana Sōmayāji, the great Telugu poet interceded on his patron's behalf, induced the Kākatiya Pratāparudra Gaṇapati to interest himself in reinstating Manmasiddhi on his throne at Nellore. Pratāparudra Gaṇapati was pleased with Tikkana's pleading and actually replaced Manma on his throne, but placed under his charge a small tract of the country consisting of only 200 villages. The following verses containing the information given above are found in the *Siddhēśvara Charitam* :—

तगुमाट विनु मोक्षधर्मकार्यंबु
सूर्यवंशंबुन साबगोंदुनट्टि-
यार्यपूजितवर्युडामन्मसिद्धि-
राजुदानेल्लूरु रमणतो नेल
.....
अक्कनबय्यन लधिकबलिष्ठु-
लक्कट सिद्धिरायनि बारद्रोलि
दक्किनराज्यंबु तामे येलुचुनु-
नोक्ककासैन जक्कग नीरु
वारल दंडिंचि वारि नेल्लूरु
वारिकिप्पुंपु मवारणंत्रीति-
ननिन गणपतिराजट्लका कनुचु
.....
वेडलि गणपतियु विजयंबुनकुनु
गुडियाडमल सेन कोलिचि येतेर
वेलनाडु चेरियु वीडेल्लगालूचि
वेलनाटिराजुनु वेसगेल्चि वानि-
यप्पनंबुलुगोनि यटचनि राजु
गुप्पुन नेल्लूरु कूडनेतेंचि-
यक्कनबय्यन नचट साधिंचि

नेल्लूरप्रजलकुनेर्पुवाटिल्ल-
जेल्लिंचे मन्मनसिद्धिराजुनकु
नेल्लूरिपट्टंबु नेर्पुतोगट्टि
सल्लुलितादति समदुर्गमुलनु-
नरुवदेनिमिदियु नगुपट्टणमुल-
नरुदोन्दसार्धिंचि यामन्मसिद्धि-
राजुकिच्चियु दनतेजंबु दिशल-
बूजकेक्कग घनराजितयशुडु
घनतटाकंबुदाकट्टिंचे नचट-
गोनकोनि नेल्लूरगोनेललुंडि
मनुमसिद्धिकि राज्यमहिमल्देल्पे

The passage quoted above in which Tikkana is supposed to be addressing Gaṇapati is to this effect:—'Please listen to me and do one good act and that is to make the Sūryavaṁśa once again bright by placing the good Manmasiddhi on his throne at Nellore.... The very powerful Akkana and Bayyana having deposed (Manma) Siddhirāja are themselves ruling the kingdom. May you be pleased to punish them and restore Manma to his kingdom of Nellore.....Gaṇapati started out with a large army, reached Velanāḍu, defeated its king and took possession of the country, fell suddenly upon Nellore and took it from Akkana and Bayyana. To the joy of the people of Nellore, Manmasiddhi was anointed on his throne at Nellore.....'. This event is believed to have taken place somewhere in the reign of the last of the Chōḷa kings, Rājēndrachōḷa III: one of Manmasiddhi's inscriptions found at Nandalūr is dated S'.1179, corresponding to the cyclic year Piṅgala and the 13th year of the reign of Vīra Rājēndrachōḷa (III), whose accession, according to Dr. Kielhorn took place in A.D. 1245-46. The Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya conquered the Chōḷa kingdom, overthrew the Hoysaḷa Vīra Sōmēśvara and overran the country as far as Cuttack, defeating and driving away Manmasiddhi and the Kākatiya Gaṇapati. This common catastrophe cemented the friendship between the two kings Manma and Kākatiya Gaṇapati. Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya chose Nellore for commemorating his victory by undergoing the ceremony of the anointment of heroes and victors, because it was the capital of Manmasiddha who suffered defeat under him (about A.D.1259). After the invasion of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the Kākatiya king and his ally seem to have regained their territories: Vikrama Pāṇḍya tried to get back the possession of the lost territories and does not seem to have succeeded in his attempt; even the failure is made good for panegyric by the poet who says his (Vikrama's) anger was quenched, because he saw in the two eyes of Rudrāmbā (queen of Gaṇapati who had then evidently taken up the regency after her husband's death), the two carp fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas; besides he did not want to fight with a lady.

It was in this confused state of affairs which continued apparently up to A.D. 1300 and odd, that Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra found an opportunity for his aggrandisement in A.D. 1313. Though he was able to overpower the Chōḍa and the Kākatiya queen temporarily, he appears to have been eventually driven out of Kāñchipura and its surrounding region in A.D. 1316, when Mānavīra was reinstated in his territory by the Kākatiya sovereign through her general Muppiḍi Nāyaka. The conquest and occupation of Kāñchipura by Ravivarman was a mere raid upon the country and nothing more.

The inscription edited below is engraved upon the two faces of a stone lying in the yard of the Śiva temple at Chālaigrāmam, one of the brāhmaṇa quarters of Trivandram and is in an excellent state of preservation. It stops with the enumeration of the *birudas* of Ravivarman Saṅgrāmadhīra. It is written in the Grantha characters; all the *birudas* are in the Sanskrit language, while the last six lines are Tamil. Saṅgrāmadhīra bears in this inscription the characteristic Pāṇḍya surname Māṟavarman; how he was entitled to it, it is not known. The inscription stops abruptly with the word *yaṇḍu* and the regnal year is not given.

Text.[1]

First face.

1. स्वस्ति श्री [:।*] चन्त्रकुलमं-[2]
2. गलप्रदीप [।*] यादवना-
3. रायण [।*] केरळदे[श]-
4. पुण्यपरिणाम [।*] ना-
5. मान्तरकर्ण्ण [।*] कूपकसा-
6. र्वभौम [।*] कुलशिखरि
7. प्रतिष्ठापितगरुडद्ध-[3]
8. ज [।*] कोळम्बपुरवरा-
9. धीश्वर [।*] श्रीपत्म(म)ना-[4]
10. भपदकमलपरम[।]
11. राधख[5] [।*] प्रणतरा-
12. जप्रतिष्ठाचार्य्य [।*][6]
13. विमतराजबन्धीका-
14. र[।*] धर्म्मतरुम्ल[क]-
15. न्द [।*] स[द्]गुणालं-
16. कार [।*] चतु[ष्ष]ष्टिकला-

Second face.

17. वल्लभ [।*] दाक्षिणभो-
18. जराज [।*] संग्रा-
19. मधीर [।*] महारा-

(1) From the paper impressions prepared under my supervision.
(2) Read चन्द्रकुल.
(3) Read ध्वज.
(4) Read पद्मनाभ.
(5) Read ०राधक.
(6) Read प्रतिष्ठाचार्य

20. जाधिराजपरमे-
21. श्वरजयसिं[ह]-
22. देवनन्दनश्री[मद्ध]-
23. र्म्ममहार[ाजर]
24. கோமா[ற]பன்மர-
25. ான त्रिभुवनचक्र-
26. वर्त्तिகள் ஸ்ரீகுல-
27. சேகர தே வர்க்-
28. கு யாண்டு

Translation.

Hail! Fortune! The auspicious light of the Moon's race, the Nārāyaṇa among the Yādavas, the result of the religious merit of the Kēraḷa country the Karṇa under another name, the Kūpaka universal monarch, the establisher of his Garuḍa-banner on the (seven) principal mountains, the regent of the excellent city of Kōḷamba, the devout worshipper of the lotus-feet of the holy Padmanābha, the establisher (in their kingdom) of the kings who bow down before him, the imprisoner of kings adverse to him, the root of the tree of religion, the ornament of the virtuous, the master of the sixty-four arts, the king Bhōja of the south, Saṅgrāmadhīra (the firm one in battles), the son of the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Jayasiṁhadēva, the prosperous and munificent Mahārāja, the king Māṟavarman Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva—his (regnal) year.....

No.—9. THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF STHĀṆU RAVI.

Below are edited three copper-plate records written in **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters. Of these two documents belong to the Syrian Christians at Kōṭṭayam and are well-known to the scholars through their editions by Drs. Gundert and Burnell and their reproduction by Mr. Logan in the 2nd Part of his *Malabar District Manual;* one of these is dated in the reign of the king **Sthāṇu Ravi**; the other contains matter which is more or less a continuation of the first, but is fragmentary and wanting in the first part. The alphabet and contents of these two will be discussed in their proper places. The third belongs to the Mūviḍattumēṛchēri Illam at Tiruvallā and is also of the reign of **Sthāṇu Ravi**. The rapid progress epigraphy has made in the last decade has brought to light several inaccuracies in the edition of Dr. Gundert and others and necessitates the re-editing of the Syrian Christian documents; consequently an attempt is now made to present a fresh edition of these well-known records.

Before proceeding with the regular treatment of the record itself, it will be found interesting to know the strange vicissitudes which these copper-plates have gone through in the past. Captain Charles Swanston has recorded the following about these copper-plates in Vol. 1 (Old Series) of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in January 1833: "About three hundred years ago, the tablets on which are engraved the rights of nobility, and other privileges, granted by the princes of a former age to the Syrian Christians, were deposited by the Bishop of Angamale in the hands of the Portuguese at Cochin, and were lost, to the extreme regret of the whole nation. After the loss of these tablets, the Christians could produce nothing in support of their claims to nobility, except what was handed down by tradition; and it was even doubted whether such grants had ever existed, till the arrival of Colonel Macaulay (now Lieutenant-General Colonel Macaulay) as British Resident in Travancore, who directed an immediate search to be made for the lost tablets, and was fortunate enough to discover them, in the year 1806, to the great joy of the Syrian Church ..... These plates are now in the possession of the College at Cottayam." Captain Swanston does not, however, inform us how and wherefrom the copper-plates were recovered. We know that the Portuguese on their surrender of the fort of Cochin after a valiant defence, were permitted by their besiegers, the Dutch, to quit the fort honourably with their guns and what valuables they chose to carry with them, except those belonging to the church. So, then, they must have left behind the copper-plates entrusted to their care by the Syrian Christians. Similarly, when the Dutch were compelled by the British to enter into terms of capitulation of the fort of Cochin the following was made one of the conditions:—

PROPOSITION OF THE DUTCH IN THE DUTCH LANGUAGE.	ANSWER OF THE ENGLISH IN THE FRENCH LANGUAGE.
"All documents, charters, Resolutions, and other papers, belonging to this Government, will without any search being made of them be delivered over to the Governor, Mr. Van Spall, in order to be carried with him, wherever he may be removed to."	"All Public documents and papers, must be delivered over to persons, appointed to receive them, but Mr. Van Spall will have authenticated vouchers, of those which may in any way concern himself, during his management of Cochin."

Thus also all the records preserved in the fort of Cochin must certainly have come intact into the hands of the English; therefore, was it possible for Lieutenant-General Macaulay to institute search for the copper-plates said to have been lost and to recover them.

It is stated by Captain Swanston that "these plates are now in the possession of the College at Cottayam." By the College here is meant the Syrian Seminary maintained by the Bishop of the Jacobite Syrians. Once obtained possession of by the Syrians after a lapse of three centuries, the ill-fated set of copper-plates got again split up and a portion of it was lost sight of. Concerning this second loss let me quote from the *Church History of Travancore* of Mr. C. M. Agur, B.A. :—

"These copper-plate grants consisting of six plates fell into the hands of the Portuguese in the 17th century (*sic.*) and were considered lost. But through the endeavours of the British Resident Colonel Macaulay they were recovered in the beginning of this century. After allowing Dr. Buchanan to take facsimiles, Colonel Macaulay handed them over to the Syrian Metropolitan and they remained in his possession till the time of Mar Matthew Athanasius. But during the disputes and civil suits between Mar Thomas Athanasius and Dionysius, the former produced in the Court only 4 of the plates and said that they were all that he had with him. It may be that the other two plates were lost beyond recovery or that they are withheld by interested parties. Unfortunately the missing plates are the first and last plates of the second grant. They are very important because the first plate contains the name of the Sovereign who granted it and the time of granting, and the last plate bears the signatures of witnesses in Pahlavi, Kuffic and Hebrew characters which taxed the energies of great scholars like Burnell, Haug, West and Gundert to decipher.

"The Government Epigraphist of Madras, Dr. Hultzsch, now endeavours to recover the missing plates for being photographed for his *Epigraphica Indica*, and we hope his exertions will be crowned with success."

The set of plates remained split up, as it still is, from the middle of the 19th century till before three months and the first and last plates were missing. The remaining six plates are as usual preserved in the old Seminary at Kōṭṭayam and their existence was known to all. But without the first plate which contained the name of the king, his time and other matters, the remaining plates belonging to the Seminary were useless. By diligent search the first and the last plates were traced out by me in the Palace of His Grace the Most Reverend Mar Titus. II, Mar Thoma, the Bishop of the Reformed or St. Thoma Syrians of Malabar, Tiruvallā, and by the kind courtesy of His Grace, impressions of these were taken. Then His Grace the most Reverend Mar Dionisius was approached for the other plates and His Grace was courteous enough to allow me to take their impressions in his own Press and it is with the impressions thus obtained I give below a fresh edition of the document. I feel bound here to offer my sincere thanks to the two good Bishops for the readiness with which they helped me with the temporary loan of the copper-plates in their respective possessions for the purpose of taking mechanical copies from them.

The document, or more correctly the two documents, under discussion are very remarkable, firstly, because of the history of their wanderings during the past four centuries; secondly, because they are genuine Christian documents of the pre-Portuguese period, of which not a single one has hitherto been available to me either on copper or on stone, in spite of my perseverance in search of them, thirdly, for the historical facts contained in them and fourthly and lastly for the very different and curious interpretations given to several passages by the various editors in the past.

The Kōṭṭayam Syrian Christian plates were first edited by the Rev. Dr. H. Gundert in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. XIII, part I., pp. 115-142, under the title "Translation and analysis of the ancient documents engraved on copper in the possession of the Syrians and the Jews of Malabar." In the same journal appeared also the contribution of Mr. Kukkil Kelu Nayar on the same copper-plate grants. The contributions of Dr. Gundert on these plates were collected by Mr. Logan in his *Malabar Manual*.

In dealing with the smaller five plates of Kōṭṭayam, Dr. Gundert has supposed them to belong to one and the same set; in doing so, he has overlooked certain glaring evidences which go to show clearly that they constitute really two and not one set, both of which are fragmentary. The first is less fragmentary, however, than the second; the former is wanting in only one half of the signature of the *kōyil-adhikāri*, whereas the latter is wanting by one or two plates at the beginning. I am inclined to believe for the reasons given below that the five plates belong to two sets; the second side of the first plate begins the record in the usual manner with the words *svasti śrī* and ends in the word *vaṇṇāru*; another plate, bearing writing engraved by the same hand as in the first plate, begins with a *m* which is required to complete the incomplete word *vaṇṇāru* at the end of the first plate. The matter on the first plate also fits in with that of the second plate. The second plate, that is, the one which begins with a *m*, ends with the signatures of Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi, Vēḷkula Sundaraṇ and finally with the first half of the name Viśaiya, perhaps of the *kōyil-adhikāri* Viyarāgattōvar who is often mentioned in No. II of this paper. No. II begins abruptly with the words *iraṇḍu kuḍi* at the beginning of the first side of its (now existing) first plate and runs continuously through the other plates till we reach the end, where we meet with writing in Hebrew and Syriac alphabets. Though Nos. I and II are engraved on different sets of copper-plates they deal with the same subject-matter, that is, the grant of artisans and others to Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, as also lands, taxes and privileges.

Dr. Gundert has, on the other hand, taken the first plate of No. I as the first plate, the one beginning with the words *iraṇḍu kuḍi*, that is, plate i of No. II as plate ii, plate ii of No. II as plate iii and plate ii of No. I as plate iv and the plate bearing writing in the Hebrew and Syriac as the last plate. The differences in the writing employed in the two sets must have easily suggested the correct way of grouping the plates into two sets. Anyhow the mistake that has thus been committed does not affect the interpretation in any manner.

The name of the king has been read by Dr. Gundert as *Kō-tTāṇu Iravikkuttaṇ* which he has taken as the *tadbhava* form of Sthāṇu Ravigupta. That this reading is incorrect has already been pointed out by Mr. Venkayya in his paper on the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti. The correct form of reading this name is, as pointed by him, *Kō-tTāṇu Iravikku taṇ*...there are also a number of other mislections which will be pointed out in their proper places.

No. I.

Inscription No. I, which is older than No. II, is written in fine **Vaṭṭeḻuttu** characters of about the latter half of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A. D. The language of the record is **Tamil**. One peculiarity noticeable in this inscription is the uniform manner in which the final *m* is re-duplicated quite unnecessarily; e.g., °*diruvaḍiyumm-adigārarum*, in *ll.* 3 and 4: °*padiyumm-uḻvaittu* in *l.* 5; *Īḻavarum-Īḻakkaiyarum* and °*marumm-ivagaḷ* in *l.* 7; *kuḍiyumm-ivaṇaivar* and *kāṇamumm-ēṇikkāṇamum* in *l.* 8, *ponnumm-iravu* and *nāḻiyummivanaittum* in *ll.* 9 and 10; *Īḻavarumm-orukuḍi* in *l.* 12; *vaṇṇārumm-evvagai* in *ll.* 12 and 13; *marrumm-evvagaip-paṭṭārumm-eppiḻai śolliyumm-ivagaḻai* in *ll.* 17 and 18; and *ilakkikkummavarkku* in *ll.* 25 and 26. Then again the rules of Tamil grammar regarding *sandhi* are observed in this document in a large majority of instances; prominent among them is *Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ+Tiruvaḍi=Ayyaṇaḍigaḍiruvaḍi* occurring in *ll.* 3 and 6 and *madil+nāyaṇ=madiṇāyaṇ*, occurring in *l.* 17.

The inscription is dated the fifth year of the reign of the king Sthāṇu Ravi. No more than the bare regnal year is given in the document, which is, as every one knows, utterly insufficient for the calculation of the date of the king's reign; so, the only source for determining the age of the document is its palæography. From the formation of the characters employed herein we may fix the age of the document as the ninth or the earlier part of the tenth century A.D.

The inscription discloses the following interesting facts: namely, that one Īśō Tapīr erected a church named the Tarisāppaḷḷi at Kurakkēṇi-Kollam; the governor of Vēṇāḍu by name Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi made a gift of a number of families consisting of Īḻavars, Īḻakkaiyars and Vaṇṇāṉs, to the Church of Tarisā, remitting all taxes due from them. The taxes from which the families made over to the church were exempted are the *taḷaikkāṇam*, *ēṇikkāṇam*, tax payable for renewing the thatchings of the houses, the *mēnippon* from the *Śāṉṟans*, the *polippon*, the *iravuchchōṟu* and the *kuḍa-nāḻi*. The Īḻavars of the families made over to the church were permitted to take their carts to the markets and within the precincts of the fort (*lit.* fort-walls) and ply their trade; a similar permission was also granted to the Vaṇṇārs to go about their business in the market and in the fort: neither the *Tīyamāḷvān* nor the *Madil-nāyan* nor any others were to find any fault with these people; and all complaints against them should be tried solely by the Church people. Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ made over these *viḍupēṟus* to the Tarisāppaḷḷi as an *aṭṭippēṟu* to last as long as the earth, the sun and the moon last.

In the above abstract of the contents of the document I have used a number of words in their original untranslated forms. They are purposely left untranslated, because they cannot be easily rendered in terse, literal and appropriate manner, but their meaning could be brought out in the form of explanatory notes on each of them: these notes are given below.

The word *Īḻavar* consists of *Īḻam*+*ar*—the people of Īḻam; and Īḻam is the old Tamiḻ name of Simhaḷa or Ceylon. At the present day this class of people are known either as Īḻavar or Tīyar; and the latter name is a compound of *Tīyam*+*ar* or *timai*+*ar*. In the former way of breaking up the compound it means the people of Tīyam, a *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit *Dvīpam*, an island, hence Islanders; in the latter case, the compound means bad or inauspicious people. The second mode of viewing the compound is not consistent with the synonym Īḻavar (= Ceylonese); therefore it might be rejected as untenable; the first meaning fits in with the compound Tīyam-āḷvāṉ (about which see below). The Īḻavar were one of the early settlers in India, as the name indicates, from Īḻam and from the earliest known times have been employed as toddy-drawers. As a toddy drawing caste they are referred to in the Leiden grant of Rājarāja I: the portion of the record mentioning the Īḻavar reads thus: *ivv-ūr iṭṭa teṅgum paṇaiyum Īḻavar ēṟa perādāgavum*, meaning, the cocoanut and palmyra trees planted in this village should not be climbed by the Īḻavar.

Īḻakkaiyar: This word is really unintelligible; it has been taken by Dr. Gundert to refer to "a low caste men or slaves of Sīmhaḷa" and as such, he states in his translation that eight families of this class of men were also given. But I am inclined to take the word as the feminine of Īḻavar; for, the inscription says that Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ granted "four families of Īḻavar and eight Īḻakkaiyar included in these families, thus making up a total of these twelve persons". If Īḻakkaiyars were but the members belonging to the four families of Īḻavars it is more probable that Īḻakkaiyar refers to their women.

Vaṇṇān comes from the root *Vaṇṇam*, a *prākṛit* form *'varṇa*, colour and means a washerman. In Malayāḷam they use *maṇṇāṉ* instead, which is etymologically a more correct form: *maṇṇudal* means washing dirt and *maṇṇāṉ*, (=*maṇṇuvāṉ*) therefore, means one who washes soiled clothes.

Taḷaikkāṇam is a compound of *taḷai*+*kāṇam* of which *taḷai* in Tamiḻ means fetters as Dr. Gundert has taken; it also denotes the ring made of palmyra fibres which is applied by the Īḻavar or tree-climbers round the two ankles and with whose grip they are able to climb the trees. *Kāṇam* is a grain of gram and was used as a measure of weight, as in *aṅju-kāṇam pon daṇḍappaḍuvadu*, should be subjected to a fine of five *kāṇams*. The word *kāṇam* went on expanding

in connotation from a grain of horse-gram, to a measure equal to its weight, then to a weight of gold equal to its weight and ultimately to payment either as tenant's rent, taxes due from subjects and so on. At present *kāṇam* in Malabar is used to refer to a kind of land tenure. In the compound *taḷaikkāṇam* it implies the tax levied on *taḷai*, in other words, on the Īḷavars who used them in their vocation. It was a kind of professional tax on those engaged in the toddy trade.

Ēṇikkāṇam is also another tax imposed evidently on the Īḷavars, on the ladders used by them in climbing trees. Dr. Gundert says that the ladders are used for reaping pepper.

Manai-mēyppān kolḷum-iṟai: the first part of the phrase has been read by Dr. Gundert as *Yāṇai-mēyppāṉ* and therefore translated as "the tax for the elephant feeder." The plate has distinctly *maṇai* and not *yāṇai*; and therefore, the phrase means, the tax payable at the time of renewing the thatch of the house.

Mēṇippoṉ is made up of *mēni*+*poṉ* and means literally gold for the body. This *mēṇippoṉ* is said to be received from the Śāṉṟāṉ or Shanar caste, which is, the same as the Īḷavar or Tīyar. The Tamiḻ word literally means *the great one* and was perhaps a title assumed by the Īḷavars much in the same way as *māppiḷḷāi*, *Nāyar* and *Mēnōn*. Even at the present day it is used as a distinct title by the Īḷavar as for example, Gōvinda Chānnār of Ālamōḍu. The *mēṇippoṉ* to be collected from Śāṉṟāṟ seems to refer to some tax per *mēni*, or, in modern language, per head. This word has been misread by Dr. Gundert as *ērippoṉ*, which he finds necessary to correct into *ari-ppoṉ* and he then translates it as the 'washgold' and the whole passage *śāṉṟāṉ-māṭṭu mēṇippoṉ* is rendered by him thus: "to the wash gold which the Chāndān (great person, sun) is wont to get (*māṭṭu*, book in Tamiḻ, get by ruse in Malayāḷam). *Śāṉṟāṉ-māṭṭu* in Tamil means simply, from the *Śāṉṟāṉ* and no more: the interpretation of Dr. Gundert is clearly wrong. I have taken *kolḷum* as understood after *māṭṭu* and every student of Tamil would agree with me in the necessity and propriety of supplying this word.

Polippoṉ, I am unable to understand the exact meaning of this term. *Poli* in the language of inscriptions is the same as *paliśai*, interest. Upon what this interest-gold was levied, it is not clear. *Poli* also means a heap and the tax may be upon heaps of paddy, pepper, etc.

The literal meaning of the phrase *iravuchchōṟu* is night-meal. Certain classes of servants were fed at nights and this right of being fed seems to be referred to here by the word *iravuchchōṟu*. This custom still exists in some parts of the Tinnevelly District.

Kuḍa-nāḻi literally means a pot and a *nāḻi* measure; the dative case ending is understood after *kuḍam*; the correct interpretation will be a *nāḻi* per *kuḍam* and would evidently refer to the custom of a *nāḻi* of liquor being taken away by the authorities from each pot-ful of it. In this connection it will be interesting to compare a similar levy of a *uḻakku* salt on each *kalam* of it that came into or went out of the stores, recorded in an inscription found in Kanyā-kumāri temple (Vide *Trav. Arch. Series, Vol.* I, p. 163.)

It is not certain if the word occurring at the end of line 10, is to be read as *vārakkōl* as Gundert has done, or as *vārkkōl*, *Pārakkōl* or *Pārkkōl*. If we agree with Gundert in taking the word as *vārakkōl* and give either of the probable meanings of the word *vāram*, namely *urimai* (=propriety) or *paṅgu*, the compound would mean, either the staff of honour or "the share-staff" according to Gundert. I would prefer the former meaning, for, the record enumerates the honours and privileges conferred on Sapīr Īśō and a staff of honour, as the silver-staff carried by heralds in Hindu royal courts, is certainly more appropriate to the position of the donee. If, however, we take the reading as *pārkkōl*, the staff (signifying the control) over the earth would be its meaning and is practically the same as the staff of honour or the royal sceptre.

The words *kappān* and *pañcha* or *paiñcha-kkaṇḍi* are unknown to either literature or inscriptions. They are met with for the first time only in this record and are unintelligible. Dr. Gundert takes the last word to mean five *kaṇḍies* (pieces of ground or shares). It is more likely meant for a necklace with five strands.

Viḍu-pēṟu and *Aṭṭippēṟu :* the word *pēṟu*, in these compounds is the substantive form of the verb *peṟu*, to obtain; and therefore means 'what has been obtained or got possession of'. There are different means by which one may come in possession of a thing, as by free gift, by assignment, mortgage, sale or even by theft. The adjectives *aṭṭi*, *viḍu* etc., prefixed to *pēṟu* indicate the mode in which the object came to be in the possession of the owner. In the document under consideration, for example, a number of families of various castes were assigned and made over to the Christian settlers to render them service and help. The latter came to have among them or possess these families of men of various castes of Hindu population by assignment or more properly, by the grantor leaving his control over these families in favour of the grantees; the possession by the leaving of one in favour of another is called *viḍu-pēṟu*. *Aṭṭi* in *aṭṭippēṟu* is contracted form of *niraṭṭiēppēṟu ; nīraṭṭi* means literally having poured water; in absolute gifts the ceremony to be observed is to place in the hands of the donee a fee (*dakshiṇā*, preferably a gold piece) and pour water saying *sampradatte idam na mama na mama*, 'thus given, this is (hereafter) not mine, not mine'. The donee thenceforward is the absolute owner of the object given and he has rights of gift, sale, mortgage, etc. The possession he begins to have over the object after the water-pouring ceremony is known as the *aṭṭippēṟu*. Hence, it has been defined by the later Malayāḷam jurists as the absolute conveyance. Compare *aṭṭi kkuḍuttēṉ* occurring in lines 12 and 14 above.

Paḷḷi, is the name applied in earlier times to the *avaidika* places of worship such as those of Buddhists and the Jainas and occurs extensively in the names of places such as Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi, Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi, etc. By extension of its connotation it has come to apply to the later *avaidika* places of worship, namely, those of the Muhammadan and the Christians. In the Tamil countries the Muhammadan mosque is known as the *paḷḷivaśal* (the gate of the *paḷḷi* or mosque) and the Christian churches, the *Mādakōyil* (the Mother's temple). But in the conservative west coast the Muhammadan, the Jewish and the Christian places of worship are called uniformly *paḷḷis* as in olden times. The land grant made to a *paḷḷi* is called the *paḷḷichchandam* in all Bauddha and Jaina records of the Tamil country. The termination *paḷḷi* in the name of any place is a sure sign that it will not be profitless to look in it for places or objects of Jaina or Bauddha antiquity. In Trichinopoly (Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi) for instance, where there are apparently no traces of Jaina or Bauddha vestiges, I was able to find a pair of foot-prints with an inscription, on the top of the rock situated in the centre of the city, not far from the roof of the Mātṛibhūtēśvarasvāmi's temple.

Tīyam-āḷvāṉ : The exact meaning of this word is not clear; it is a compound of *tīyam* and *āḷvaṉ*. The word Tīyam-āḷvāṉ should therefore mean the ruler or headman of the Tīyars in the locality. It is similar to *Nāḍu-aḷvāṉ* the chief officer of a *nāḍu* or district. The headmen of each community are known on the east coast as the *nāṭṭār* or *mahā-nāṭṭār ;* the institution of the headmen of each community, recognised as the leaders of public opinion regarding social rights and duties, existed so late as the time of Ānandaraṅga Piḷḷai, the Dubāsh of Dupleix.

Maḍiṇāyaṉ. This word is a compound of *maḍil*+*nāyaṉ* in compounding the words, the final *l* of the first word and the initial *ṉ* of the second coalesce, in conformity of the rules of Tamil grammar, into *ṉ*. The latter word *nāyaṉ* is evidently the corruption of the Sanskrit word *nayaka*, the master. *Maḍiṇāyaṉ* therefore means the master of the fort (*lit.* the fort-walls) and corresponds exactly to the *killēdār* of the Muhammadan period. In this connection, it is interesting to note

the origin of the class name *Nāyar* of the present day. It is derived by a class of scholars from *Nāgas*, from some fancied relationship between the *nāga* worship etc., common to Malabar. From the compound word noticed above it is evident that *nāyan* (of which Nāyar is an honorific plural form; of, *Ayyaṉ, Ayyar; Rāyaṉ, Rāyar; Mārāṉ. Mārār; Paṇikkaṉ, Paṇikkar*, &c.) is simply a corrupt form of *nāyakan;* the word is cognate with *nāyani, nāyu* and *nāyuḍu* of Telugu and *Nāyak* of Mahrāṭṭi. It is a military distinction maintained even at the present time in the British Military organisation of Indian troops.

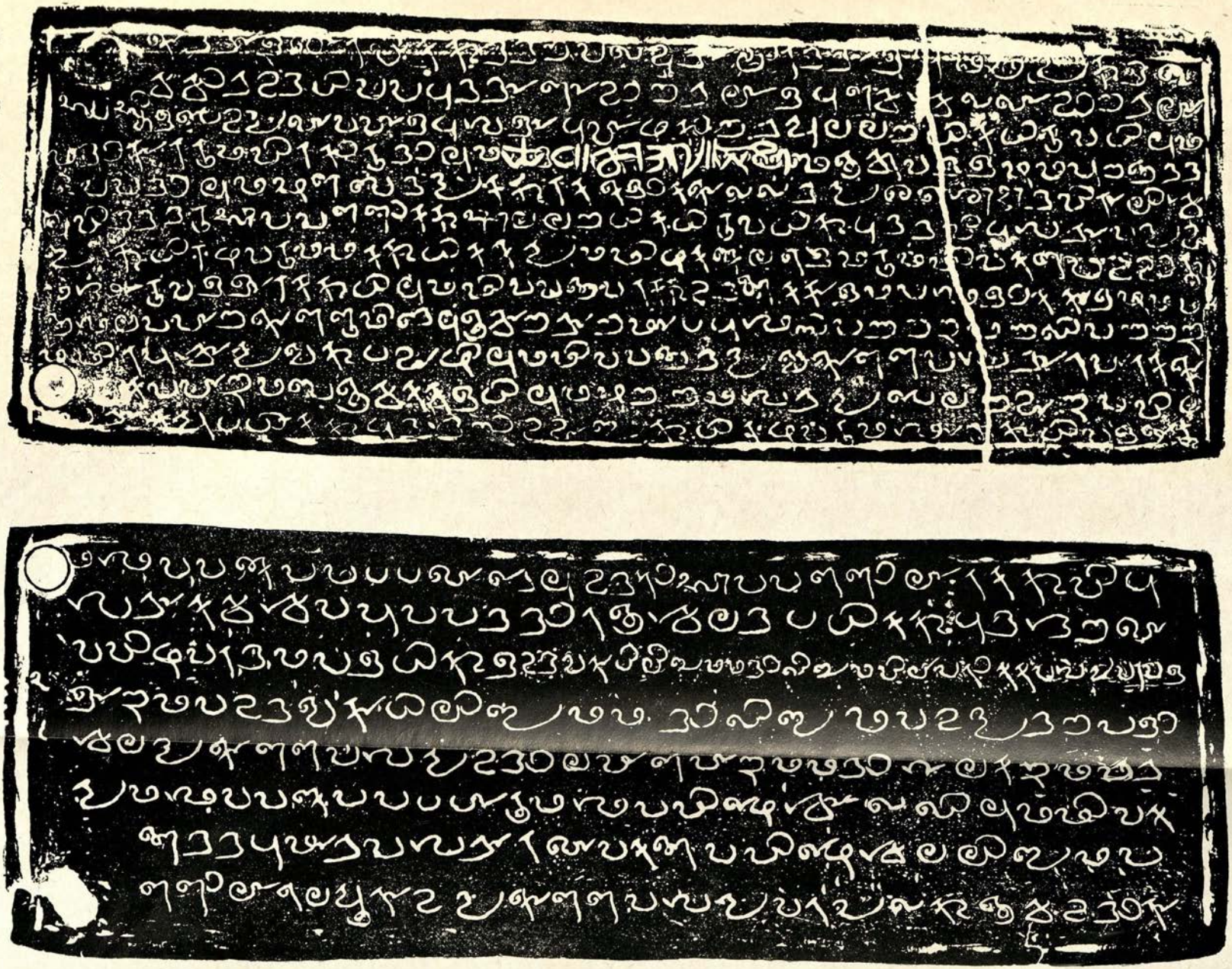
Paridu is a vulgar form of *pariśu.* This word exemplifies one of the most important laws of mutation in Dravidian languages: according to this law the sound *d* or *t* changes into *ś* or *ch* and latterly into *y* and rarely, *vice versa;* e.g., *Tam. pittu, pichchu; vaittu, vaichchu; Tam. Tēṉ* honey) *Kan. Jēnu: kāśu, kāyu; arisi, āriyi,* and *ari;* conversely *śākshi, tākki; santati, tandadi; Subrahmaṇyan, Tuppiramaṇiyan* which is abbreviated into *Tuppan; parisu, paridu Sapir, Tapir* and so on.

Sapir Īśōvāl: ஸபீர் ஈசோவால். In Tamil the *passive voice* is rarely used in ordinary language and this is one such instance.

Dēvar. This word is generally employed in inscriptions to denote the supreme king, *e.g.*, Rājarājadēvar, Periyadēvar (the father of the reigning king), *dēvar-maḍaippaḷḷi adum peṇḍāṭṭi* (the lady who works in the royal kitchen); therefore in this instance it may mean to refer to the king; it also means god, in which case, the passage may mean that god will help those who help this *viḍupēṟu.*

As regards the exact name of the builder of the Church there is certainly some difficulty. At first, in *l.* 5, he is called Ēśō dā Tapīr and in all other instances as Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō. The earlier editors have read the name as Iśōdāta Virāyi, which is incorrect. There is no *i* at the beginning of the word Ēśō but a very distinctly written *e;* the latter part of the name may be read in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters, which make no palpable difference between *p* and *v*, as Tavīr or Tapīr the initial *ta* of this word has been added by Dr. Gundert to the end of the word Ēśōda and the remaining read as Vīrāi (=virāyi of the original). As read by Gundert, this name does not fit in with the pronunciation of the name found in *l.* 25 of No. I. in *ll.* 5, 49 and 50 of No. II; in all the latter instances, the whole name Sapīr Īśō is written in Grantha letters which fixes unmistakably the correct pronunciation of this word. In Ēśō dā Tapīr, the words Sapīr and Īśō are made to change places and between them a syllable *da* is introduced, we do not know whether consciously or unwittingly. From the uniformity of pronunciation of the word in all the other instances, we may consider that the syllable *da* is something like the Latin *de* (=of) we may therefore suppose that the real name of the person to be Maruvān Īśō of Sapīr; then, in all the other instances, Sapīr Īśō, must be taken to mean *Sapīrkkārarāya* or *Sapīr-vāśyaya Īśō'* meaning Īśō, the native or resident of Sapīr; *Maruvāṉ* is perhaps an honorific prefix like the Syrian *Mār* prefixed to the names of Bishops. Tapīr is the corrupt form, like *paridu* (=*pariśu*) and *tandadi* (=*santati*) of Sapīr. Consequently, Ēśō dā Tapīr, is the same as Sapir Ēśō or Īśō as found in the latter part of the inscriptions Nos. I & II.

Kurakkēṇi-kkollam is the same as the modern Quilon. One of the inscriptions found in Quilon calls it distinctly by the name, Kurakkēṇi-kkollam. The document under discussion and No. II mention two persons, the Puṉṉaittalai-pati and the Āṉaikkuḍipati and they are, from the contexts, seen to be members of the Christian Community settled down at Kollam. Puṉṉaittala and Āṉaikkuḍi seem to be the house-names of two families, the heads of which appear to have been the leaders of the then Christian Community of Quilon.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO. SAME SIZE. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

From the concession granted here to the *Īḷavars* and *Vaṇṇārs* made over as the dependents to the Tarisāppaḷḷi, it is evident that the other *Īḷavars* and *Vaṇṇārs* were prohibited from enjoying the same privileges; that is, the latter were, as in modern times, shut out from the privileges which their brethren who joined Christianity were given to enjoy by the active cognisance of the kings and chieftains of the West Coast. These political heads were implacable in their harsh treatment of the so-called "untouchables" so long as they remained brother-Hindus but the moment the untouchables became converts to alien faiths such as Christianity or Muhammadanism, they were recognised as of castes which may approach very near but not touch, a high-caste Hindu; they may also go as far as the *prākāra* wall (*madil*) of a Hindu temple but not enter it; these concessions are not shown to such of those untouchables who, out of sheer love for or regard to their ancestral faith, Hinduism, still stick fast to it. This illogical behaviour of the kings and chieftains of Malabar, inculcated to their ancestors by the priestly class, the Nambūdiris, and blindly followed to this day by them, is a source of great misfortune to the cause of Hinduism, and an equally great good fortune to Christianity of which innumerable missions are actively at work in Malabar and claim daily large mass of the "untouchable" Hindu population as theirs.

Text.

First Plate: Second Side.

1. ஷவஷ்தி [॥*] கோத்தாணு இரவிக்குத் தன் பலநூருயிரத்தாண்டும் மறுதலை-
2. ச்சிறந் தடிப்படுத்தாளாநின்ற யாண்டுள்ச்(1) செல்லாநின்ற யா-
3. ண்டைந்து [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு வேணாடு வாழ்கின்ற அய்யனடிகடிருவடியும்-
4. மதிகாரரும் பிரகிருதியும் [ப]ணி. [க...யும்]மஞ்சுவண்ணமும் புன்னைத்த-
5. லைப் பதியும் முள்வைத்துக் குரக்கேணிக் கொல்லத்து எஜமானதபிராயி செ-
6. ய்வித்த தருமாப்பள்ளிக்கு ஐய்யனடி(2)கடிருவடி குடுத்த விடுபேறுவது [॥*] நா-
7. லுகுடி(3) ஈழவரும்மக்குடிக்கேறும் மீழக்கைய ரெண்மரும்மிவகள்(4) பந்-
   திருவ-
8. ருமொரு வண்ணாரக்குடியும் மிவ்வனைவர்க்குந் தலைக்காணமும் மேணிக்
   காணமும் ம-
9. னை மேய்ப்பான்கொள்ளுமிறையுஞ் சான்றன்மாட்டுமேனிப்பொன்னும்
   பொலிப்பொன்னு-
10. ம்மிரவுசோறுங் குடாநாழியும் மிவ்வனைத்துங் கொள்ளப்பெறுர் [॥*]
    பார்க்கோ-

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(1) The rules of *sandhi* require this to be read as யாண்டுட்°; தன் பலநூருயிரத்தாண்டு means literally the king's own hundreds of thousands of years; it is practically equivalent to 'of his reign'. I have read the passage as பல நூருயிரத்தாண்டு and not பல்நூருயிரத்தாண்டு, because the author of this document uses *sandhi* in almost all instances where it is required and if he had meant it to be read as பல்நூருயிரத்தாண்டு, he would certainly have applied the rules of *sandhi* and written it பன்னூருயிரத்தாண்டு; since he has employed ல in பல I am inclined to take that he meant the phrase to be read பலநூருயிரத்தாண்டு.

(2) Read அய்யனடிகள்; Dr. Gundert's reading is *Śeyyanaḍiga-ḍiruvaḍiyum;* there is a distinctly written *ai* at the beginning of the word.

(3) Dr. Gundert reads this as *nāṅgudi* which gives no meaning.

(4) Read இவர்கள்; Dr. Gundert reads this as வர்நீருபமொரு.

11. லுங்கப்பானும் பைஞ்சக்கண்டியும் முன்னம் பெற்றுடையன் ஈானும் விடு-
12. பேறுக அட்டிக்குடுத்தேனிந் ஈாலுகுடி ஈழவரும் மொ[ரு]குடி வண்ணரு-

Second Plate: First Side.

13. ம் [॥*] மெவ்வகைப்பட்ட இறையுந் த[ரி]ஸாப்பள்ளியார்க்கு விடு-
14. பேறுகச் செப்புப் பத்திரஞ் செய்தட்டிக் குடுத்தேன் [॥*] இ-
15. வ்வீழவர் தம்வண்டி சுணந்தங்(1) காடியிலும் மதிலிலும் வியாபரிக்கப் பெறு வர் [॥*] வண்-
16. ணனும் வந்தங்காடியிலும் மதிலிலும் வந்து(2) தன் பணி
17. செய்துகொள்ளப் பெறுந்[॥*]தியமாள்வானும் மதிணையனும் மற்-
18. றும் மெவ்வகைப்பட்டாரும் மெப்பிழை சொல்லியும் மிவக-
19. ளுத்தடுமாறப் பெறுர் [॥*] இவகளுப்(3) பிழை செய்யிலும் ப-
20. ள்ளியாரே(ய்) ஆரா[ய்*]ந்துகொள்ளப் பெறுவர் [॥*] உலகுஞ் சந்திரா-

Second Plate: Second Side.

21. தித்தரும் உள்ள ஈாளல்(4)லாஞ் செப்புப் பத்திரத்தி-
22. ல் பட்டபரிது(5) விடுபேறு அட்டிப்பேறுக அட்-
23. டிக்குடுத்தேன் [॥*] இப்பரிது(5) விடுபேறு அட்டிப்பேறுக
24. அய்யனடிகடிருவடியால் தரீஸாப்பள்ளிக்கு அட்டு வி-
25. (த்)தக் குடுத்தான் மருவான் ஸவீரீஸோ [॥*] இது காத்திலக்கில-
26. கைகிக்கும்(6) மவர்க்குத் தேவரேயனுக்கிர(ர)மஞ்(7) செய்வாராக [॥*] அ-
27. ய்[ய*]னெழுத்து ॥- வேள்குல சுந்தரனுக்கு மொக்கும் ॥- விசைய-(8)

(Incomplete).

Translation.

Of all the hundreds of thousands of years which have become excellent to the king Tāṇu Iravi by their rotation (or by their coming across the life of the king) (9) and (during which) he

(1) Read கொணர்ந்து.

(2) This second வந்து is redundant.

(3) Read இவர்கள். Dr. Gundert reads this as வந்ரீருபமொரு.

(4) Read ஈாளெல்லாம்.

(5) Read பரிசு.

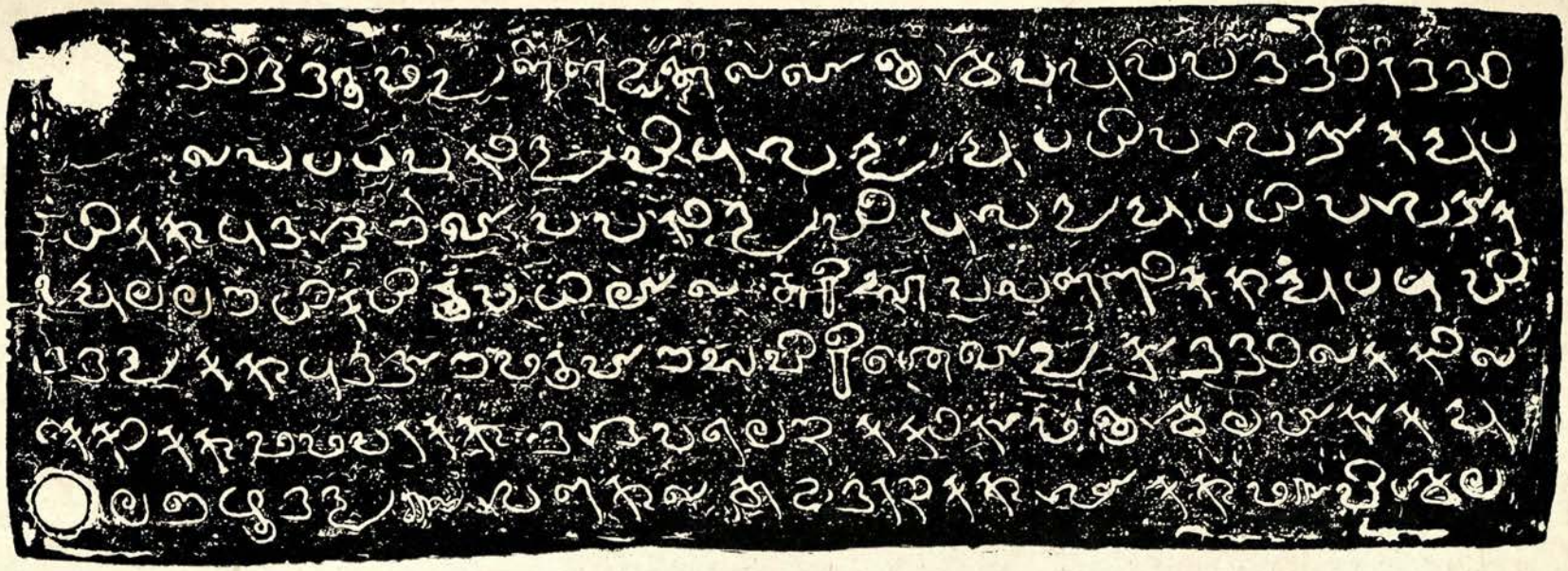
(6) Read °லக்கிக்கும்; the letters லகைகி are redundant and engraved by mistake.

(7) Read °யனுக்கிரகஞ்°.

(8) Perhaps விசையராகவ தேவன் or °தேவனெழுத்து, or °தேவனுக்கு மொக்கும்.

(9) மறுகுதல்=சுழலல், rotating; also குறுக்கிடுதல்=to come across one's way. In the latter sense it occurs in *Śilappadigāram*, in the passage: 'ஆரிடை யுழந்த மாதரை நோக்கிக் கொடுவரி மறுகுங் குடிஞைகூப்பிடும்', புறஞ்சேரியிறுத்தகாதை, *ll.* 30-31. 'The tiger will come across (the path of or directly in front of) the women tired by their long journey; the owls will (also) make noise'. மறுகுதலேச்சிறத்தடிப்படுத்து cannot be translated as 'treading under foot hostile heads' as has been done by Dr. Gundert.

KOTTAYAM PLATES OF STHANU RAVI. No. I.



T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

SCALE: SAME SIZE.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

TIRUVALLA PLATE OF STHANU RAVI. No. III.

SCALE O. 5.

T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co, Madras.

had been ruling (the earth by) keeping (it) under his feet (1) (that is, making it subordinate to him,(2) —(of these years) the fifth which is current. In this year, while Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi, who was governing the Vēṇāḍu (3) was in assembly with the *Adigārar*, the *Prakṛiti*, the.....the *Añjuvaṇṇam* and the *Puṇṇaittalaip-pati*, the *viḍupēṛu* which was given by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi to the Tarisāppaḷḷi which was constructed by Eśō dā Tapīr (4) himself at Kurakkēṇi Kollam, was (as follows) :—

Four families of *Īḷavar* and eight *Īḷakkaiyar* belonging to these families, (thus) making twelve (in number) and one family of *Vaṇṇār :* the *taḷaikkāṇam*, the *ēṇikkāṇam*, the tax levied on thatching houses, the (body tax) poll-tax received from the *Śāṇṛāṇ*, the *polippoṇ ;* the *iravuchchōṛu* and the *kuḍa nāḷi*, all these, they (the government officials) are not entitled to collect (from the families handed over to the Tarisāppaḷḷi).

I, who have received before the *pārkkōl*, *kappāṇ* and *paṇcha-kkaṇḍi*, I have given these four families of *Īḷavars* and one of *Vaṇṇāṇs* as *viḍu-pēṛu* by the pouring of water. I have (also) given, as *vīḍu-pēṛu*, by the pouring of water the deed (of grant engraved) on copper, of every kind of tax to the people of the Tarisāppaḷḷi.

These *Īḷavars* may (or are permitted to) bring their carts into the market and within the (fort) walls and ply their trade. The washerman also may, by coming into the market and within the (fort) walls, do his work. (5) The *Tīyam-āḷvāṇ* and the *Madil-ṇāyaṇ* and whatever sort of other people, should not, by imputing to these any (kind of) mistakes, cause any disturbance

(1) *அடிப்படுத்தல்*=Making a thing to take refuge under one's feet; subordinating, subjugating, converting to one's own faith and taking under one's protection.

(2) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " In the time (literally, year) of Perumāḷ (*Cō*, King, or *Gō*) Sthāṇu Ravi Gupta, who now rules gloriously for many 100,000 years, treading under foot hostile kings,....." No mention of Perumāḷ is found in the original; how he introduces this word in the translation is not evident; he leaves off *prakṛiti, etc.*, from the translation. Again, he appears at first to make Sthāṇu Ravi himself the donor, by translating, " under the concurrence of His Excellency (?) the Ayyan Aḍigaḷ, governing the Vēṇāḍu, " but strangely enough, he states further below, " the following grant of a free-hold has been given by His Excellency the Ayyan Aḍigaḷ.....".

The occurrence of the word *Gupta* in the translation is accountable for the mislection of Dr. Gundert of the passage *தாணு இரவிக்குத் தன்* into *தாணுஇரவிக்குத்தன்* which is taken to be the same as *தாணு இரவிக்குப்தன்*.

(3) *நாவொழ்தல்* : compare, " *குறையலூர்வாழி=திருக்குறையலூரை அவதாரஸ்தலமாக வுடையவராய், அதுவாழும்படி அத்தை நோக்குகிற ராஜாவென்னுதல்.*"

Commentary on the Periya-Tirumoḷi of Tirumaṅgaiyāḷvār by Periyavāchchan-piḷḷai.

(4) The name of the donee has been read as Īśōdāta Virāi, which ought, as has been pointed out, to be read as Ēśō dā Tavīr+āyi ; the word *āyi* is the same as *āgi ;* with this ending the phrase Ēśō da Tapīr āyi means Ēśō dā Tapīr (tāṇ-taṇṇē) āyi, Ēśō dā Tapīr by himself ; hence the reading *Virāi* has no justification.

(5) *பெறும் :* this usage is exactly similar to the modern Malayāḷam usage; what is neuter in Tamil, such as *பெறும், வரும்*, etc., is employed alike in connection with the masculine, the feminine and neuter nouns and pronouns, singular and plural, in the modern Malayāḷam thus :—

ராமன், லக்ஷ்மி, பசு ; பிராமணர், அச்சிமார், பசுக்கள் ; அவன், அவள், அது ; அவர்கள் and *அவை, பெறும், வரும்*, &c.

(to them). (1) Even should these (people) commit any mistakes, (such mistakes) should be enquired into by the members of the *Paḷḷi*. (2)

I gave the items of the *viḍu-pēṟu* detailed in the copper document as an *aṭṭipperu* (to the Tarisāppaḷḷi) to last as many days as the earth, the sun and the moon last. The *viḍu-pēṟu* containing these conditions was caused to be given to the Tarisāppaḷḷi as an *aṭṭippēṟu* by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi through (the efforts of) Maruvān Sapīr Īśō. God (or the king) himself would bless (or show his grace) to those who guard and protect this (the *viḍu-pēṟu*). (This is) the writing of Ayyaṉ. (This is) agreeable to Vēḷkulasundara also. Viśai .....

No. II.

This inscription is engraved on three plates, of which the first two now belong to the old Syrian Christian Seminary at Kōṭṭayam and the last one to the Bishop of the Reformed or the Mar Thoma Syrian Christians at Tiruvallā. The first two plates contain the Tamil portion of the document in Vaṭṭeḻuttu and end with the signatures of the donor and his officers in an archaic form Nāgarī (?); the last plate bears on both of its sides signatures of witnesses (?) in what according to Haug, is said to be three different scripts and in three different languages, namely, Pahlavi, Kufic and Hebrew respectively. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu of this record appears to be of a later date, but since the substance of it is apparently of the same period as No. I, we have to take No. II as a copy of an older document of almost the same age as No. I. As mentioned above, No. II is a fragmentary record wanting in its first part. The peculiarity of reduplicating the final *m* of the conjunctive particle *um* is repeated in this inscription also; *e. g.*, °*vilaiyum-mulai-vilaiyum* in *l.* 19. The existing portion of the inscription begins with an enumeration of the gift to the Tarisāppaḷḷi of some additional families of professional men thus :—

(1) two families of.....

(2) one of Tachchar (carpenters).

(3) four families of Veḷḷāḷar for farming the lands belonging to the church.

These, (perhaps meaning only the Veḷḷāḷar), are required to sow all kinds of seeds and plant all trees just as they were doing before for the king, and to pay the taxes, &c., to the king, and supply to the church the oil and other articles required for its use without any remissness.

The land that was granted to the Tarisāppaḷḷi constructed by Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō, who founded the city of Quilon, was bounded on the east by the arable land (*vayalk-kāḍu*); on the south-east by the back-water (*kāyil*) and the (fort) wall which has in it the small gateway; on the west by the sea; on the north by the garden known as the Tōraṇa-ttōṭṭam and on the north-east by the garden belonging to Aṇḍilaṉ of the Puṉṉaitalai house. These boundaries of this land were fixed by the ceremony of leading a female-elephant round it (*piḍi-naḍatti*) and was granted by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi governor of the lesser half (of Vēṇāḍu) in consultation with Viyarāgattēvar (= Vijayarāghava Dēvar) the *kōyil-adigāri*, that is, the adviser to the king (*lit.* the agent of the palace), and others. The donors further ordered that no one should accuse the

(1) The reading here ought to be தம்மாற்றப்பெறார், because it goes with இவரை.

(2) Regarding the pronunciation in ancient times in the Tamil countries and in the Malayāḷam of the present day of the words ending in *ē* and *ai*, see my article in *Śendamiḻ*, Vol. IV pp. 399-401. They are sounded as if there was a *y* at the end: here, பள்ளியாரே is written பள்ளியாரேய் as it was actually pronounced then. In the present day Malayāḷam அவ்விடத்திலே (in that place, there, or the honoured person spoken to) with the dative suffix *ku* is written அவ்விடத்திலேய்க்கு instead of அவ்விடத்திலேக்கு and the intruding *y* is conjuncted with the succeeding *kku*, thus, *ykku*.

foreign settlers and their dependants of any misdeed; if such misdeeds were actually perpetrated by any of them they should be tried only by the church-men and punished. The members of the community known as the Six Hundred (*aṟunūṟṟuvar*), the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam were enjoined to do everything in their power for the good of the church and its land, in accordance with the conditions laid down in the copper plate document, as long as the earth, the sun and the moon endure.

Again, the *viḍupēṟu* granted to the church-people by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, in consultation with Viyarāgattēvar, the *kōyiladigāri* and others, were :—

(1)..... (This portion is damaged and the remaining passage is not intelligible).

(2) No poll-tax should be levied on the slaves kept by the church authorities.

(3) The church-men might collect eight *kāśus* (a kind of coin) during the passage into or out of the jurisdiction of the church (?) of merchandise brought in loads (*vāyinam*) by land (?) and four *kāśus* per boat every time it came in or went out of the harbour (*veḍiyilum* ?)

(4) Customs duty should be levied on all dutiable articles only in their presence and with their co-operation.

(5) The fixing of the prices of these commodities and every other business of the king (perhaps only those pertaining to trade and not his private business) should be done only with the help of the people of the church.

(6) The customs collected day after day should be taken care of by the members of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam.

(7) Whatever portion of the land, which was situated within the four gates (of the fort or palace-grounds) and which was treated as not required for the use (of the palace, *vilakkum-bhūmi*) and therefore rented out to farmers,—the king's dues (*kōppadavāram*) on such land should be collected by the palace (agents) and the dues of the *Patis* (the Puṉṉaittalaippati, and the Pūḷaikkuḍippati, the *patippadavāram*), by the members of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (conjointly).

(8) On auspicious occasions such as marriage, etc., these people were permitted to enjoy the seventy-two *viḍupērus* such as the carrying of earth and water required for the ceremonies on elphants (*āṉaimēl-maṇṇunirum*).

All these *viḍupērus* were granted to the church of Tarisā by Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, after due consultation with the *kōyil-adigāri*, Viyarāgattēvar, the *Prakṛitiyār*, the *Aṟunūṟṟuvar*, the Puṉṉaittalaippati and the Pūḷaikkudippati, for enjoyment in the manner described in the copper-plates as long as the earth, the moon and the sun last.

If any complaints arose among the Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam peoples and others the former two should stop the *ulgu* and *tulā-kkūli* on the merchandise that were exported to the countries beyond the king's realm, and the differences settled amicably between them and the others, their aggressors.

If there were mistakes in their own conduct, the faults should be enquired into conjointly by the Maṇigrāmam Añjuvaṇṇam and the two *patis;* and whatever conclusions they arrived at should be final.

Sapīr Īśō, was bound to make over the weighment-charges to the church, by virtue of his receipt of the *pārkkōl* and the *pañcha-kaṇḍi* on behalf of the church. This privilege was also granted to him as an *aṭṭippēṟu* to last till eternity. So much about the contents of the actual document. Then follow what appear to be the signatures of the donors which are engraved

in the last line on the second side of the second plate. The third plate contains on both sides writing in the Pahlavi, Hebrew and other alphabets.

This document also is full of unintelligible words and phrases and it is therefore necessary to give short notes on such words and phrases below, before attempting a regular translation of the whole inscription.

Kārāḷar and *Kārāṇmai*. These words are derived from the same root and are very closely related to each other. One of the Tamil dictionaries gives the meaning of the first of these words curtly as the *śūdras* or the *bhūvaiśyas* and omits any mention about their origin. The Malayāḷam dictionary of Dr. Gundert contains the explanation of the word as it is current in the Malayāḷam language; it states that *kārālar* means workers, agents, temple-servants (generally) and tenants who hold the land for a long series of years; so, possessors of a free-hold; and *kārāṇmai* or *kārāyma* as it is pronounced in modern Malayāḷam, is, according to Gundert, the office of a *kārāḷaṉ*, a freehold. The ancient Tamil dictionary, the *Divākara-Nighaṇṭu* has

வளமையர் வேளாளர், மண்மகட்புதல்வர்,
வாய்த்தைத்தொழிலோர், வண்களமருமுவர்,
சீர்த்தவேரின் வாழ்நர், காராளர்.

which means, 'the names of *kārāḷar* are *vaḷamaiyār* (those that work for bringing about fertility), *Vēḷāḷar*, sons of the earth-goddess (*bhūmagaḷ-pudalvar*) those engaged in words (*vārttai-ttoḻilōr*, poets ?), workers in fields (*kaḷamar*), tillers of soil (*uḻavar*) and those who live by the plough (*sīrttav* = *ēriṉ vāḻṉar*.)

The *Piṅgalandai-Nighaṇṭu* says that the names of the people of the *maruda-nilam*,—that is, the flat country with fine irrigation facilities, where the chief agricultural produce is paddy,—are *kaḷamar*, *uḻavar*, *kaḍaiñar*, *śilādar*, *maḷḷar* and *meḻiyar* (those who employ the plough in their business). From these two authoritative sources we learn that *kārāḷar* are the inhabitants of the tract of river-irrigated land, who are employed in paddy and other cultivation. The etymological meaning of the word *kārāḷar* is 'those that rule the clouds'; from this, the connotation extended to those who work with water and those that are firmly attached to the duties of tilling and cultivating the soil of the *marudanilam*. If a family takes a lease or binds itself to be the cultivators, of a plot of land there is no reason to eject it from their lease until it is found unsatisfactory; so, the family may continue to be the tenants of that land from generation to generation, and be systematically paying to the landlord its dues. That such a state of things existed throughout the Dravidian countries in earlier times, and is still current in Malabar is patent from the more restricted meaning, 'the holder of a free-hold' which the word *kārāḷar* possesses now in Malayāḷam. Such free-holds were granted to the servants of temples for fixed services and from these circumstances the meaning of the word became still more narrow in Malabar and began to signify a temple-servant.

Kaḍam appears to be an older or perhaps also a dialectic form of *kaḍan* and is from the same root as the word *kaḍamai* and means a debt, an obligation or a due.

Samaittal = *amaittal*, establishing, setting up or preparing: in this document it means established.

The word *kaṇḍu* affixed to such words as *nagaram*, *kōyil*, etc., has a special meaning, namely, to found, to build anew or to make, as in '*nuṇ-viṇai-kkammiyar kāṇā marabiṇa*' (*Śilap-padigāram*, *Indra-viḻav-ūr-eḍutta kādai*, *l.* 106), and means 'not done by workmen of great skill'; also in phrases like *kōyil-kulaṅ-kāṇa*, meaning to construct a temple, a tank, etc. In this sense the word *kāṇudal* is used in *Śoṇṇa-varai pōl tiruk-kōpuramuṅ-gāṇat-tuḍiy-iḍaiyāy upāṇa-muḍal*

tuḍakkiṇāṇē (Teṇkāśi Ins. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, Volume I, p. 96.), 'to build the beautiful gōpura, like a mountain of gold, oh ' damsel who has a waist resembling the *tuḍi* (*ḍamaru*, a kind of drum) ! (the king Parākrama Pāṇḍya) began from the *upāna* (the base)'. In all other instances *kāṇudal* means simply, seeing, finding out. If the text of our inscription uses this word in the first and less frequently occurring sense, we have to understand that the 'city' of Kurakkēṇi-kkollam *was founded* by Maruvān Sapīr Īśō and consequently, the Kollam era, which records no other event but the founding of the town of Quilon [1], should perpetuate the landing in and occupation and extension of the town of Kollam. If such an assumption is correct at all, it would drive us to the conclusion that the exact date of the settlement of Sapīr Īśō at Kollam should be the first day of the month Āvaṇi (Chiṅgam) of A.D. 825; and, then, the word *nīr ēṟṟa* would mean, he who received the water (poured in token of *aṭṭippēṟu*) in his hands. No doubt, the phrase *innagaraṅ-ganḍu nirēṟṟa* could very well refer to the founding of the city of Quilon.

Tarisāppaḷḷi. The following interesting note of the Rev. Peet (of Māvēlikkara) on Tarisā is appended to the paper of Dr. Gundert:—" Dharyyāyikkaḷ (opposed to Maṇigrāmakkārs), steadfast confessors, exist still in S. Travancore, have their ceremonies conducted by Syrian priests and differ from the Nazranies merely only in their preserving the hair tuft". On this the Rev. Taylor remarks, " I see no reason, to give up my former conjecture as to the identity of *dharyya* and the Tarisā of the inscriptions.....I find in John de Monte Corvino's travels that the Nestorians in China and Tartary were called ' Tarisā ', the word is there spoken of as of Mongolian etymology. Might it not be derived from Tarsus, since the heads of the Nestorians (such as Diodor of Tarsus) were from Cilicia and the whole sect may have affected to derive their origin from Paul's birth place ? "

Piḍi-śūḷḍal : This is an old institution and is mentioned in the Leiden and the Aṉbil grants of the Chōḷa kings Rājēndrachōḷa and Sundarachōḷa respectively. In the former the passage referring to this custom reads *kariṇī-parikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīma-chatushṭayam*, and *piḍi-śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu*, passages which are translated into ' whose boundaries were clearly traced by the circuit of a female elephant ' and ' making the elephant walk round the plot of ground and defining the extent of the land '; in the Aṉbil plates we read ' *ibhī-parita-sīma*', land circuited by a female elephant. The ceremony involved in this custom appears to be to let loose a female elephant and to carefully note the path she pursues and fix this as the boundary of the land which is to be granted. The extent of land enclosed by the path of the elephant is called the *ibhī-parita-sīma* or *piḍi-śūḷnda nilam.*

Añjuvaṇṇam, Maṇigrāmam and the *Aṟunūṟṟuvar :* These three words have given the greatest trouble to the translators. Ellis takes Añjuvaṇṇam to mean the ' five degrees of legitimate title', while Gundert understands it as ' the possessor of the five colours' and later on he corrects this notion of his and states that it means one of the four emigrated merchant tribes. In support of this latter interpretation he quotes the *Payyanūr Paṭṭōla*, an ancient Malayalam poem thus:

Chāvāḷarai-ppōlē nī agala-ppōvūm
Changātam vēṇum perigay-ippōḷ
kōvatala-chetṭi añjuvaṇṇam

(1) In all ancient inscriptions in which the Kollam era is quoted, the expression *Kollam tōṉṟi* occurs before the number of years of that era; thus in the inscription of Śrīvallavaṅgōdai (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII,) we read *Kollam tōṉṟi nūṟṟu-nāṟpātt-oṉbadām-āṇḍu*, which means the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared (or came into existence). This usage clearly indicates the coming into existence (prominently) of the city of Kollam.

kūṭṭam maṇikkirāmattār makkaḷ
nammaḷāl nālu nagarattilum
nal-are kkōkudichchērnnōr.

that is, 'strong guards are required—take the childern of Gōvatala-cheṭṭi, of Añjuvaṇṇam and of the Maṇigrāmam, people who, together with ourselves, are the four (classes of) colonists in the four towns'. The later opinion of Gundert therefore is, that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam are two different trading communities of foreign merchants. Dr. Hultzsch translates the word Añjuvaṇṇam and *Añjuvaṇṇa-ppēṟu* into the village of Añjuvaṇṇam and the revenue from the (village of) Añjuvaṇṇam. From the fact that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were considered two different trading bodies, Dr. Gundert and following him Dr. Burnell and others understood Añjuvaṇṇam referred to the colony of the Jews and Maṇigrāmam to that of the Christians; further they supposed that the Jewish colony came into existence by the grant of the Cochin plates and the Christian settlement by the grant of the Kōṭṭayam plates of the reign of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti. That this supposition is quite incorrect was pointed out by the late Mr. Venkayya:—"From the extracts and from the references to *Payyanūr paṭṭōla* it appears that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were semi-independent trading corporations like the Vaḷañjiyar.....There is nothing either in the Cochin grant or the subjoined inscription (that of Vīrarāghava Chakravartti) to show that Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam were, as was believed by Dr. Gundert and others, Jewish and Christian principalities respectively. It was supposed by Dr. Burnell that the plates of Vīrarāghava *created* the principality of Maṇigrāmam and the Cochin plates that of Añjuvaṇṇam and consequently the existence of these two grants is presupposed by the plates of Sthāṇu Ravi which mentions both Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam very often. The Cochin plates did not *create* Añjuvaṇṇam but conferred the honour and privileges connected therewith to a Jew named Joseph Rabban. Similarly the rights and honours associated with the other corporation, Maṇigrāmam, were bestowed at a later period on Ravi-kkorraṉ. Therefore Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam must have existed as institutions even before the earliest of these three copper-plates was issued." The opinion of Mr. Venkayya is the one best suited to the context of all the records in which the word Añjuvaṇṇam occurs. Literally it means five colours and by extension of its connotation, five castes. From the two Kōṭṭayam plates we learn that five castes contributed to the bulk of converts to Christianity and these were Īḷavar, Tachchar, Veḷḷāḷar, Vaṇṇār and one more which is not legible in the inscription. These, in all probability, formed the Añjuvaṇṇattār.

As regards the word Maṇigrāmam, Dr. Burnell and others understood it to mean the Manichean followers of Maruvān Sapīr Īśō. Rev. Peet writes about the Maṇigrāmakkārar thus:—"Maṇigrāmam is the name of a class of Christians who relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Māṇikkavāchakar). Some of that class are still found near Quilon. Each individual is called a *maṇi* (in native books), a jewel, on account of his apostacy and the whole of them constitutes now a subdivision of the Śūdras." On this the Rev. Taylor comments "I venture the conjecture that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manichaens, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon." The word Maṇigrāmam occurs in one of the inscriptions of the reign of Rājakēsarivarman in Tiruveḷḷaṟai near Trichinopoly. The passage runs thus:—*Oru brāhmaṇaṇai ūṭṭuvidāga Uṟaiyūr Maṇigrāmattu Nārāyaṇaṇ Nāchchaṇ...vachcha poṉ*.....Here it does not appear to convey the meaning given above, namely, a Christian colony. Anyhow, the word in all the documents under notice clearly indicates a close alliance of the Maṇigrāmakkārs with the Christian Sapīr Īso and therefore were likely themselves Christians.

From the fact that the Añjuvaṇṇakkārs and the Maṇigrāmakkārs observed the ceremony of *aṅkurārpaṇa*, during their marriages it would appear that they still continued to be Hindus, though they served the Christians. It is quite likely that some of those families which were

made over to the Christian merchant prince, Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, did not become Christians at all, but remaining Hindus they served their new masters, the Christians, and on that account they became degraded in the eyes of their castemen. This last supposition might account for the existence at present of a sect of Śūdras known as the Maṇigrāmakkār, who are said to be looked down by the other Śūdras as their inferiors.

Aṟunūṟṟuvar may or may not be Christians. But in all probability it refers to a community of six hundred persons who were holding control over the affairs of a particular *nāḍu* or division of a country. We see instances of such corporate bodies mentioned in other inscriptions; *e. g.*, *Naṉṟuḷai-nāṭṭu-muṉṉūṟṟuvar*, the three hundred of the Naṉṟuḷaināḍu. Again, at the present day the Romo-Syrians are divided into the Eḷunūṟṟukkār and Aññūṟṟukkār, the community of the seven hundred and that of the five hundred, or, as they are otherwise known as the Sudists and the Nordists.

The word *ulgu* has been read as such by Ellis and also understood in the sense of sea-customs. Whereas the other editors of the Kōṭṭayam grants have read the word as *ulagu* and *ulaguṭṭuñ-jarakku*. Dr. Gundert translates the latter phrase as 'the merchandize belonging to the citizen.' The word *ulagu* occurs in *ll.* 28, 29, 34 and 46. In two out of these four instances, the word may be read as *ulagu* and this reading will suit as well as *ulgu*, but in the remaining two instances *ulagu* will make no intelligent meaning. The correct lection therefore is *ulgu* and it has been so read in the present edition of the documents.

The terms *talai-vilai* and *mulai-vilai* are also not intelligible. As understood by Gundert they literally mean the head-price and the breast-price, but their exact significance is not easy to determine. Gundert suggests that they are probably the right of selling males and females for serious caste offences. I confess I am unable to agree with him nor am I myself in a position to say what those terms mean.

Vāyiṇam and *veḍi* or *peḍi* are again two words the meanings of which are unknown. Ellis and Gundert have given interpretations which are not convincing; they seem to be wrong. Ellis translates the passage *veḍiyālum vāyaṇattālum pāguḍattālum*, as 'and tribute, with awe and oblations' and adds '*vāyaṇam* or *pāyaṇam* = upāyaṇam = reverence and offering'. Gundert translates the same as 'uses of elephants and horses' by taking *peḍi* as *piḍi* and reading *vāyaṇam* as *vāhanam*. Hultzsch follows the interpretation of Gundert.

The next phrase whose meaning has not been properly understood is *Āṇai-mēl-maṇṇu-nīrum*. Gundert translates it as 'the *viḍupēru* such as the elephant's back, the earth and the water, etc.' or 'earth and water on the elephant,—at all events marks of nobility'. The Tamil literary usage is *maṇṇum maṇamum* and it occurs in Periyāḻvār's *Tiruppallāṇḍu*; the passage runs thus :—

vāḻ-āṭpaṭṭu niṉṟuḷḷīrēl vandu maṇṇum maṇamum koṇmiṉ

(Tiruppallāṇḍu, verse 3, line 1.)

The commentary on it reads thus :—*tirumuḷai-ttirunāḷukku-ppuḷudi-maṇ śumakkukaiyum anda-kkalliyāṇattuku abhimāniyāyirukkaiyum*, (1) meaning, carrying fine earth for the ceremony of

(1) "மண்ணுக்கும் மணத்துக்கும் உரியார் அந்தரங்கமான அடியாரிறே. அடிமை விலையோலையெழுதும்போதும் 'மண்ணுக்கும் மணத்துக்கும் உரியனாக வேணும்' என்றிறேயெழுதுவது. மண்ணுவது-ஸ்வாமிக்கு ஒரு மங்களமுண்டாகில் அங்குரார்ப்பணத்துக்குப் புழுதிமண் சுமக்கை. மணமாவது-அந்தக் கல்யாணத்துக்குத்தான் அபிமானியாயிருக்கை.....'கூழாள்'—என்று சோற்றுக்காக ஆசேனுக்கும் தன்னை யெழுதிக்கொடுக்கை."

திருப்பல்லாண்டு வியாக்கியானம், verse 3.

muḷaippāligai or *aṅkurārpaṇa* and conducting as persons interested in the marriage (for which the *muḷaippāligai* ceremony was begun). Those that are fit for *maṇṇum* and *maṇamum* are said to be those that are intimate with the person in whose house the marriage takes place. Periyavāchchān-Piḷḷai, the commentator, adds that when deeds of slavery (that is, of the sale and purchase of slaves, as also when a free person sells himself as a slave for the sake of food) are drawn up the phrase *maṇṇum maṇattukkum uriyaṇāga vēṇum* is usually entered therein. It is therefore clear that *āṇaimēl maṇṇum nīrum* means carrying earth and water for *aṅkurārpaṇa* on occasions of marriage on the back of elephants.

Having given the meaning of the difficult words that occur in the document, I shall proceed to discuss its historical aspect. It is stated in the inscription that Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō founded the city of Kollam and built in it the Tarisāppaḷḷi; he also received the *pārkkōl* and *pañcha-kaṇḍi* on behalf of this *paḷḷi* and received from the prince Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi the gift of a number of families of artizans and others. Duty on all dutiable articles had to be levied by him and all other business of state pertaining to trade had to be transacted by the same person with the co-operation of the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people. Besides being himself thus honoured personally, Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō got also for the two communities of Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam, which were closely allied with him, some privileges and duties.

The Kollam era is known, from the way in which it is referred to in inscriptions, to have come into existence from the time of the founding of the city of Kollam and we further know that in that city the Vēṇāḍu prince had a garden palace with a number of storeys (*Kollattu pūṅgāviṉuḷ uyariya koṭṭil*) and that he was often sojourning in it, (see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX). If the founding of the city of Kollam mentioned in the Kōṭṭayam plates refers to the same event as that commemorated by the Kollam era, it is certain that the advent of the merchant Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō ought to have taken place in A. D. 825. The Christian traders under the lead of Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō ought to have come to the west coast of the Madras Presidency, much in the same way as the English merchants of the East India Company came and settled on the east coast. The former must have improved the city of Kollam, built in it factories and warehouses and residential quarters for themselves and their dependants; the Tarisāppaḷḷi was constructed for their worship. All these might have taken them some years at the end of which they were recognised as important factors in the commercial prosperity of the city of Kollam and of the kingdom in general, by the local prince and his overlord, namely, Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Kō Sthāṉu Ravi, who have granted to them help in the shape of men and several privileges and made Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō practically a political head, having civil and criminal jurisdiction over the people placed under him. The public recognition of the merit of the Christian merchant Sapīr Īśo might have been announced some thirty or forty years after his settlement in Kollam and hence the palæography of the inscription is more of the latter part of the 9th century A. D. than of its first quarter. The king Sthāṉu Ravi and the prince Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi must therefore have lived in the second half of the ninth century.

The following inscription in the Śiva temple at Tillaisthānam mentions a Chēramāṉ Kō-Tāṉu Iravi as a contemporary of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman who overran the Toṇḍaināḍu and extended his dominions so far:—

1. ஷஷ்ஹி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] தொண்டைநாடு பரவின சோழன் பல்-
2. யானைக் கோக்கண்டஞ இன[1] ராஜகேஸரிவர்மனு-
3. லுஞ் சேரமான் கோத்தாணு இரவியாலுந் தவிசுஞ்சா-
4. மரையுஞ் சிவிகையுந் தி[பி]லையுங் கோயிலும் போனக-

(1) Read கண்டஞையின.

5. முங் காளமுங் களிற்றுநிரையுஞ் செம்பியன்றமிழவேளெ-
6. ன்னுங் குலப்பியரும் பெற்ற விக்கிஅண்ணன் றேவிவா(யா)ன
7. கடம்ப மாதேவி திருநெய்த்தானத்து மாதேவர்க்கொரு நந்தாவிளக்கி-
8. னுக்கு க்குடுத்த ஆடுநூறு [॥*] பத்மாஹேஶ்வரக்ஷை ॥—

Translation.

Hail Prosperity! The wife of Vikki Aṇṇaṉ, who was honoured by the king Kaṇḍaṉ Rājakēsarivarman who was the possessor of several elephants and by the Chēramāṉ Kō-tTāṇu Iravi, with (the privilege of using) the seat (of honour), the *chauris*, the palanquin, the drum, a palace, (royal) dinner, (participation in it perhaps) and the bugle and (who was presented) with a battalion of elephants and the hereditary title of Śembiyaṉ Tamiḻa-vēḷ,—Kaḍambamahādēvi (the wife of Vikki Aṇṇaṉ above mentioned) gave to the god Mahādēva at Tiruneyttānam a perpetual lamp, for which the number of sheep given by her is a hundred. May these be under the protection of the several *māhēśvaras*.

The Chōḷa king who extended his sovereignty over the Toṇḍaināḍu was, as we know from other sources, Rājakēsarivarman Āditya, the first. He allied himself with the Pāṇḍya king, Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya, and uprooted the Pallava dynasty and extended his dominions over the whole of the Toṇḍaināḍu. Therefore Āditya I ought to have lived in about the second half of the ninth century, for, we know Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 862-3 upwards. The palæography of the Tillaisthānam record also points to the same period.

It might be now argued that since from the palæographical standpoint of the Tillaisthānam and the Kōṭṭayam records we can assign to Sthāṇu Ravi no earlier date than the last quarter of the ninth century, the Kollam era cannot be said to have had its origin in the settlement of the Christian traders in Kollam. Another argument which can also be urged against the hypothesis is that such an event as the settlement of a colony of foreigners at Kollam could never have given rise to an era universally adopted by the whole of the Malaināḍu; if Kollam was founded and made prosperous by the Christian traders, the people in and round Kollam might count their years from the date of the advent amidst them of the traders, out of gratitude to them for making their city very prosperous, but why should the Malayāḷis of the other parts of the country also do so? If, on account of the palæography we cannot assign the records to the first quarter of the ninth century, the interpretation of the phrase *innagaram kaṇḍu nīrēṟṟa* cannot be 'who founded this city and received the grant of (the *kārāṇmai* of) it', but must be translated as 'who saw this city and received afterwards the grant of the *kārāṇmai* of it'.

Certainly the arguments against the hypothesis are not altogether negligible. However, it is not improbable that the settlement of a colony of foreign traders at Kollam took place in A. D. 825 and brought great commercial prosperity to the kingdom and that the grant of privileges came later on. If we suppose Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō was about thirty years of age when he landed in Kollam, say, in 825, he would not be more than 70 or 75 years old when he and his community were honoured by Sthāṇu Ravi in about 860-70. The palæographical evidence is therefore not so insurmountable as it appears at first sight.

As for the other objection, we may point out that the whole Malabar country was practically under the sway of one sovereign and if he issued a mandate that the people should thenceforth count their years from the date of landing in Kollam by Maruvāṉ Sapīr Īśō, it would surely be

obeyed by the whole of Malainādu which was ruled over by him. Did not the Guptas, the Chālukyas and even the Hoysaḷas found eras which had nothing sacred about them, except that they commemorated the achievements of some famous member of their families and did not these eras find acceptance among their subjects, who were dating all their records in these eras? Was not the occupation for the first time of the strip of land that formed out of the sea near Cochin made the origin of the *Pudu-vaippu* era, which was current till so late a period as a hundred years ago in the country which is at present known as the Cochin State? (See *Trav. Arch. Series*, pp. 22-23). We learn from the Tirukkaṇḍiyur inscription (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 290) that the date of construction of the Śiva temple in it gave birth to an era which was current in that tract of the country: similarly, the building of the Śiva temple at Tirunakkarai in Kōṭṭayam has given rise to another local era; again, notice the method of computing the years in the following instance: *Tirukkulaśēkarapurattu taḷikku-chchellāniṉṟa yāṇḍu nuṟṟu-ttonnūṟṟ-añcu, ivvāṇḍu Makaranāyiṟṟu*.....that is, in the Makara month of the year one hundred and ninty-five (after its construction) of the temple at Tirukkulaśēkharapuram...; nay, do we, Hindus, not use very freely the Christian era at the present time to the exclusion of all Hindu eras? Why should the Śālivāhana era which had nothing to do with Southern India, find favour with the southerners? The only answer to these objections is that the Hindus were not, as they are even now, so bigotted as to refuse to adopt any convenient era for all secular purposes. Some might feel inclined to think that the state of civilization and the free intercourse with foreigners at the present time is largely responsible for the cosmopolitan spirit of the modern Hindu and the Hindus of the medieval period cannot be expected to be so liberal in their views in all such matters as the moderner. It would in the first place be wrong to say that the civilization at that time had not progressed so far as it is now; it certainly had attained a very high degree, but only, it was of a different type. The intercourse with foreigners was no less in those days than it is at present, especially on the west coast. The all-important business of the people in Malabar was trade and they had customers from Arabia, Egypt and Europe, and the commingling of nations in business should necessarily have produced the same spirit of cosmopolitanism which characterises the present day. The very facts that the kings permitted the Christians to erect a *paḷḷi* for their worship in the midst of their capital city and freely made over Hindu families for conversion by them to their faith and the utilisation of their services for themselves, would clearly evidence the immense degree of toleration which the kings and the people possessed in those days. Again, the fact that the era is in universal use throughout Malabar also distinctly points to the conclusion that it was imposed upon his subjects by Sthāṇu Ravi (or any other sovereign, if my hypothesis be incorrect), and that he had jurisdiction over the Malabar country. So much about the date of the record and of the probability of the Christian settlement having been the origin of the Kollam era.

The second point of interest in the document is the formation of a large corporation of merchants from the natives of the soil who either became converts to the faith of the aliens or subjects of foreign merchant princes like Maruvān Sapīr Īśō. The community of Añjuvaṇṇam, as I have already expressed, appears to me to be composed of the members of the five communities, the Īḷavar, the Vaṇṇār, the Veḷḷāḷar, the Tachchar and one other caste whose name is lost. The Añjuvaṇṇam people also exercised some influence in the management of the trade and in the affairs of the church. The community called the Maṇigrāmam is still an insoluble riddle; who they were, when they came to exist and under what circumstances—all these cannot even be guessed at present. The name Maṇigrāmam occurs in inscriptions in parts of the country which had no touch of the Christians (the Manichaens) and in these instances Maṇigramam does not appear to be Christian at all.

Another noteworthy fact in the document is the creation of the exalted position of *patis* and the heads of the two families, the Puṉṉaittalai house and the Pūaikuḍi house, were conferred

upon them this distinguishing title. The influence of these merchant princes seems to have lasted long and their administrative functions also appear to have been exercised for several centuries after the date of this document; there is also a tradition current that there ruled in some part of Malabar (near Quilon or Kāyaṅguḷam) a Christian prince and curious stories of his being a nephew of the Cochin Rāja, who became a convert to Christianity and ruled over a small portion of the country, which eventually lapsed into the kingdom of the Hindu princes of the land. Perhaps the tradition records the existence of these merchant princes who possessed all sorts of jurisdiction in their territory.

Now it is easy for us to picture to our mind the history of Kēraḷa of this period. The Vēṇāḍu princes were ruling perhaps with Trivandram as their capital, but Kollam was their chief sea-port. Merchants from foreign countries such as Arabia, Egypt and Europe came annually with the beginning of the monsoons to purchase the world-famous spices of Malabar and as the favourable wind set in they started out for their native countries. No one made a permanent stay in Malabar. To push on trade briskly enough, one of these merchants, by name Maruvān Sapīr Iśō, either of his own accord or at the request of the Vēṇāḍu king, resolved to settle down at Kollam. The necessary permission to remain in Kollam was sought from the local king of Vēṇāḍu who in the interest of the maritime trade, gladly conceded the request of Sapīr Īśō. At once, Īśō set about building factories and warehouses and residential quarters for himself and his followers and perhaps also improved the harbour at Kollam. The extension of the city of Kollam and the increase in its commercial prosperity attracted people from all other places in the kingdom and thus made Kollam very populous. Even the Vēṇāḍu prince erected for himself a palace at Kollam and began to reside in it very often.

After every business pertaining to trade was settled, Īśō resolved upon the construction of a place of worship for himself and his Christian followers, for which permission was obtained easily from the king and the Tarisāppaḷḷi came into existence. Then there was dearth for men of various professions whose services the Christians were badly in need of. The Vēṇāḍu prince persuaded some families of various castemen to settle in the territory of the Christians and render them service, for which certain concessions were shown to them, which their fellow castemen did not enjoy. Some of these, by long contact with the Christians became converted to Christianity, while others remained Hindus and served the Christians; for doing this they were looked upon as inferior in social status. In gratitude to the efforts of Maruvān Sapīr Īśō in enriching his country by foreign trade, Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi granted to the Christians and the Hindus under their jurisdiction a number of *viḍupēṟus* and *aṭṭippēṟus*. The Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam received the *kārāṇmai* of the whole of the city of Kollam.

The busy traders of the foreign country began to reckon their dates from the date of their settlement in Malabar and this, in all probability, became the Kollam era or the era of the founding the city of Kollam. This era might have been later on adopted by the people of Malabar as their ow either because of the mandate of the king desiring them to adopt it or adopted by themselves on account of its usefulness. The era came into vogue with the people of Kollam and its neighbourhood one month earlier than among the Malayāḷis of the north Malabar,—a fact which clearly evidences two things, namely, firstly, that the era commemorated nothing religious or national; if it were based upon religion etc., the first day of the year should be the same for all Malabar; for instance, Ōṇam, their national festival is observed by all Malayāḷis on the same day, as it is based upon religion. Secondly, it took the northern Malayāḷis nearly a month in adopting the era after the people of Kollam. The delay was perhaps due to the delay in transit of the king's order to that part of his kingdom (or of his overlord).

From this time forwards the artizans and others given to the foreigners for their help came to be known by the name of Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam. (Has Maṇigrāmam anything to do with *maṇiyakāran*, a supervisor?). Help in the shape of men to the foreign merchant, Joseph Rabban (1) was given at a later period by Bhāskara Ravivarma Tiruvaḍi, (*Añjuvaṇṇam kuḍuttōm*); at a still later time, Vīrarāghava Chakravartti granted to the merchant Iravi Korttan similar help (*Maṇigrāmappaṭṭaṅ-kuḍuttōm*) (2). It is therefore not an honour or distinction as is made out by the earlier editors of the documents. The same cause, namely, the attraction for the trade of Malabar, having existed always, in later times it made the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English to settle down in India for their trade.

Text.(3)

First Plate : Second Side.

1. இரண்டுகுடி[சி]...[ரு]வியரும்(4) ஒருகுடிதச்சரும்[ப*]ள்ளி[ப்]பூமி(ய்)க்கு காரா(5)-
2. ழர் னாலுகுடி(6) வெள்ளாளரும் இவ்வனைவரு[ம்*] தேவர்க்கு நடுவன(7) ந-
3. ட்டு இடுவன இட்டு பள்ளிக்கு எண்ணைக்கும்மற்றும் வே-
4. ண்டுஞ்(ங்)கடங்குற(றை)வு(8) வாராதே(ய்) செய்யக்கடவராக சமைச்சு இ-
5. ந்நகரம் கண்டு நீரேற்ற மருவான் ஸபீரீஶோ செய்விச்சு(ச) தரி-
6. ஸ்ஸாப்பள்ளிக்கு குடுத்த ஸூதியாவது [।*] கோயிலதிகாரிகள் வி-
7. யராகண(த்)தேவர் உட்ப...(9) ருந்தருளிப் பிடிநடத்தி நீர்த்துள்ளியோடு கூ-
8. ட அய்ய.....(10)[ள்] திருவடியும் இளங்கூறுவாழின்ற ராமதிரு-
9. வடியும் அ...(11) காரரும் ஆக்ஞதியும் அறுநூற்றுவரும் புன்னைத்தலைப்-
10. பதியும் பூ[ளை]க்குடிப்பதியும் உள்ப்படவச்சு இப்பூமிக்கெ-
11. ல்லை [।*] கிழக்கு வயல்க்காடேயெல்லையாகவுங் காயிலுமுட்படத் தெ-

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(1) The Joseph Rabbān of the Cochin plates need not be Rabbi Joseph, a Jew. The word Rabbān may be considered as another form of Rambān, the name applied to those Christian priests who aspire to the position of a bishop and who in Russia are either widowers or unmarried men, and in Malabar only unmarried men. The donee of the so-called Jewish deed may as well be a Christian.

(2) In this instance, the 'headship of Maṇigrāmam' was granted to Iravi Korttan, a name which is distinctly Hindu and suits my interpretation of the name Maṇigrāmam as a Hindu colony under the jurisdiction of the Christians.

(3) From paper impressions prepared under my supervision.

(4) Dr. Gundert reads this as நீருடி or வீருயரும் neither of which makes any meaning. He reads this passage as ஒ (or இ)ருகுடிதச்சருமளடை (or வை)ய பூமிய்க்கு காராழர்...

(5) Read காராளர்.

(6) Read நாலுகுடி.

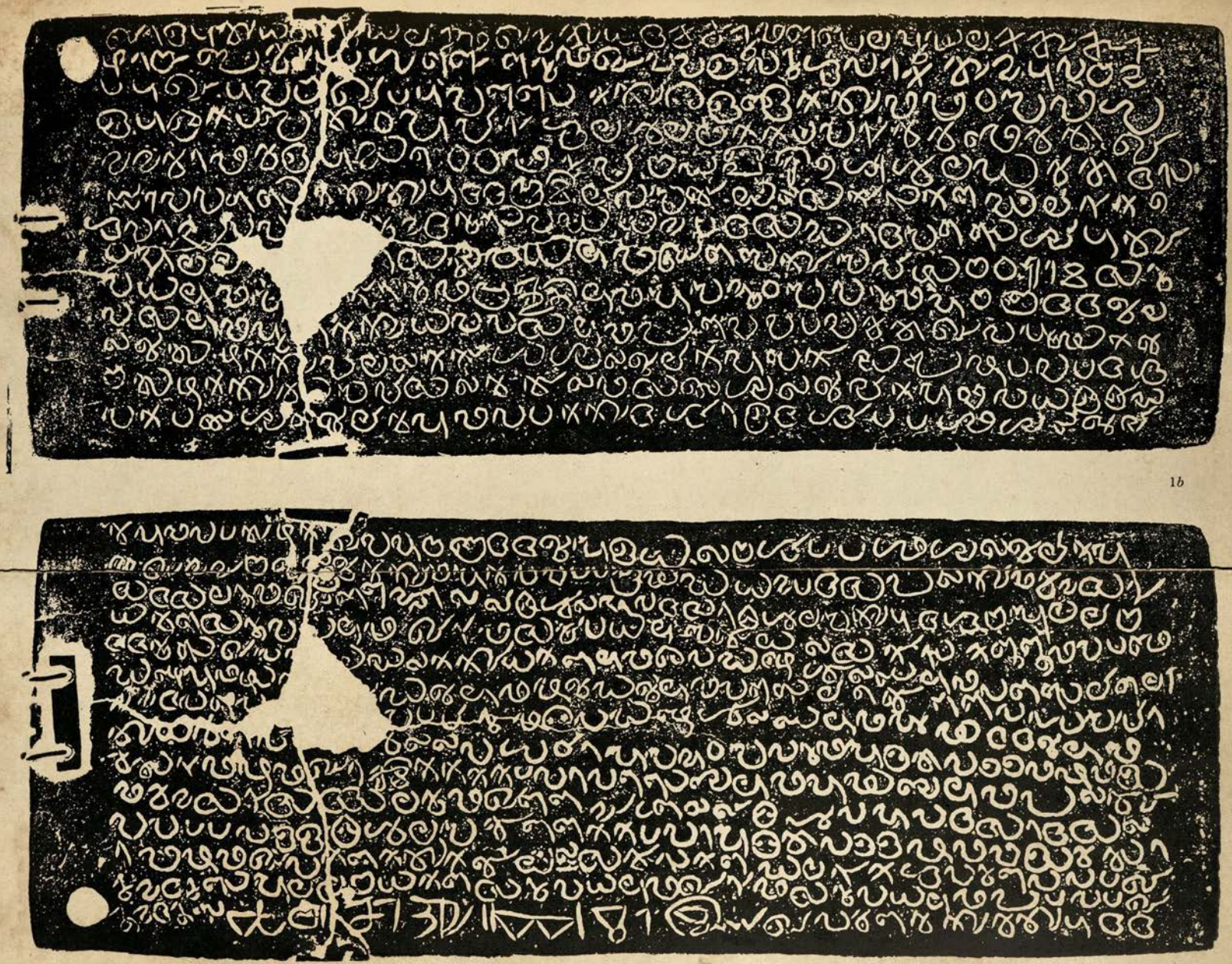
(7) Gundert reads நடுவன and இடுவன as நடுவன் and இடுவன் which give no sense.

(8) Gundert's reading here is மற்றும் வேண்டுஞ் சடங்கு; he thinks that after சடங்கு one or two கு seem to be wanting.

(9) Read உட்பட இருந்தருளி.

(10) Read அய்யனடிகள் திருவடியும்.

(11) Read அதிகாரரும்.



1b

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12. ன் கிழக்கு சிறுவாதில்க்கால் மதிலேயெல்லையாகவும் படிஞ்ஞாயி-
13. று கடலேயெல்லையாகவும் வடக்குத் தோரணத்தோட்டமேயெல்லையா-

First Plate: Second Side.

14. கவும் வடகிழக்குப் புன்னைத்தலை அண்டிலன்தோட்டமே யெல்லையாகவு-
15. ம் இங்ஙான்கெல்லைக்கும் அகப்பட்ட ஊரிபிடிநடத்தி உலகுய் சந்திரா-
16. தித்தியரும் ஒள்ளகாளெல்லாஞ்செலவுபத்திரஞ் செய்துகுடுத்தேன் அய்-ய(ர)ன-
17. டிகள் திருவ[டி]யும் இராமதிருவடியுங் கோயிலதிகாரிகளு(ரு)ம்படமை-(1)
18. த்தருளி இப்[பூ]மியில்க் கூ(கு)டிகள(ளை)யும் எப்பிழைசொல்லியும் பள்ளி-யாரே(ய்) [ஈ]-
19. பிழையுமழி.....(2) வியும் மூலவிலையும் பள்ளியாரே கொள்ளப்பெறு-வார் [॥*]
20. ஈந்தமரெப்.....(3) பட்டாரும் எப்பிழைசொல்லியும் பூமித்தலையும்
21. குடிகள்ப.....(4) [ெ]ச[ர]ல்லப்பெறார் [॥*] அறுநூற்றுவரும் அஞ்சுவண்-ணம்மூமணி-
22. க்கிராமமும் இரகூடிக்கக்கடவர் [॥*] பள்ளியையும் பு(பூ)மியையும் உலகூ(கு)-
23. ம் சந்திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ளகாளெல்லாம்ஞ் செலவு பத்திரத்தில்-
24. ப்பட்டவண்ணஞ் செய்துகொள்ளக் கடவர் அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிர-
25. ர(ர)மமும் [॥*] இவள்க்குக் கோயிலதிகாரிகள் வியராகதேவருள்பட இ-
26. ருந்தருளி அய்யனடிகள்திருவடியும் இராமதிருவடியும் உட்பட இ-
27. ருந்தருளி (here occur some letters in what appears to be Nāgari alphabet, perhaps the signature of the donors) இவகள்க்குக்(5) குடுத்த

Second Plate: First Side.

28. [வி]டுபேறுவது [।*] அறுபதி (லொ)ன்றுல்குங்கள்வாத்...(6) லுல்கில்லையாக-வும் [।*] அழிவு-
29. ல்கில்லையாகவும் [।*] இவகள் கொள்ளும் அடிமைக்கு ஆள்க்காசு கொள்ளப்-பெறாரா-
30. கவும் [।*] வாயினம் வருமதில் வரத்திலும் போக்கிலும் எட்டு[கா]சு கொள்-ளக்கடவா-
31. ராகவும் [।*] வெடியிலும் படகிலும் போக்கிலும் வரத்திலுங்காலுகாசு கொள்ள-

(1) Gundert reads this passage thus: "கோயிலதிகாரிகளுளும்பட (evidently a mistake of the writer for ளுமுள்பட) மை (or வை) த்தருளி."

(2) Gundert supplies the blank thus: "பிழையுமழிவும் தலைவிலையும்."

(3) Read ஈந்தமரெப்பேர்ப்பட்டாரும்.

(4) Gundert supplies the blank thus: குடிகள்பாடுஞ்சொல்ல.

(5) This இவகள்க்கு is redundant.

(6) Read வரத்திலு°.

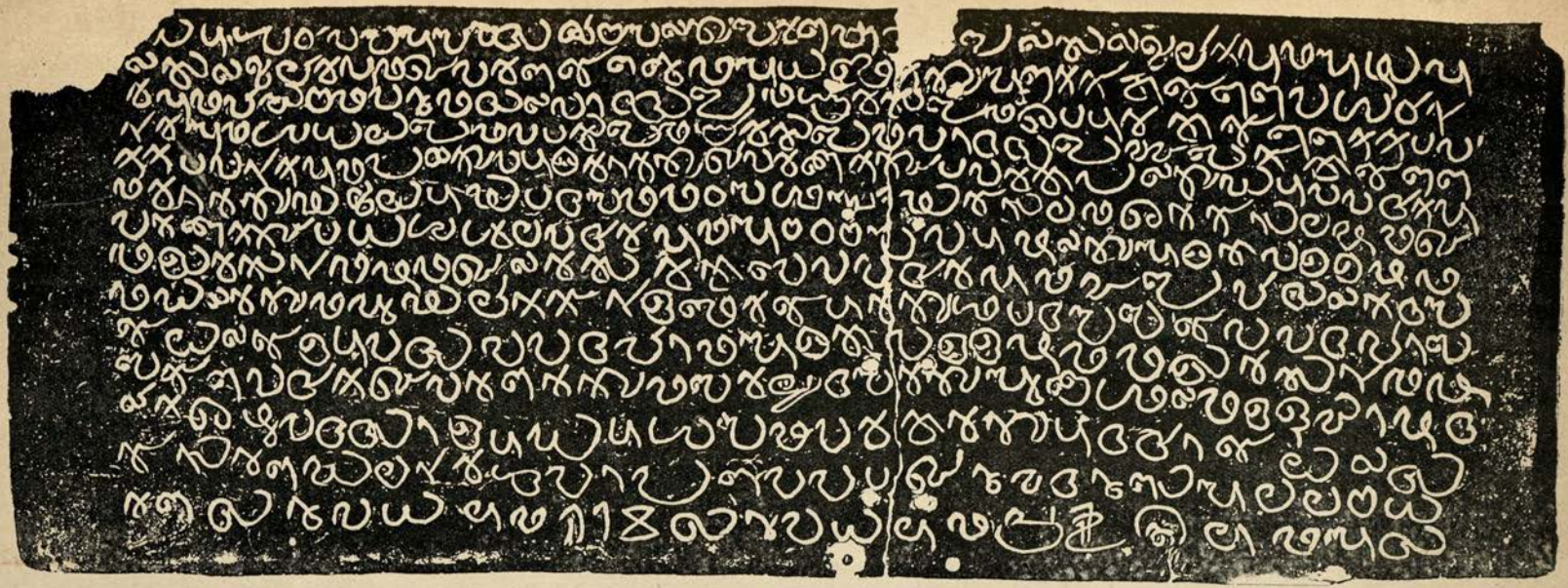
32. க்கடவராகவும் [1*] உல்கு(கூ)ட்டுஞ்சரக்கு இவகளைகூடவச்சு உல்குவிடுப்ப-
தாகவு-
33. ம்[1*] சரக்குமி(வி)லையிடுமிடத்தும் மற்றுமே வ்ஹாமிகாரியம்(1) எக்காரியமும்
34. இவகளைக்கூட்டியே செய்வதாகவும்[1*] அன்றன்று படிமுல்கு அஞ்சுவண்ண-
மும்
35. மணிக்கிராமமும் இலக்கிச்சு வைப்பதாகவும் [1*] நாலுவாதிலகத்து-
36. ம் விலக்கும் பூமியாக க்காராண்மைக் கொடுக்குமெடத்துங் கோப்பதவாரங்-
37. கோயில் கொண்டு பதிப்பதவாரம் அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமு-
38. ங் கொள்வதாக [1*] இவகள்க்கு மங்கலத்துக்கு(2) ஆனமேல் மண்ணுநீர்
முத-
39. லாக எழுபத்திரண்டு விடுபேறும் வச்சுக்குடுத்தார் கோயிலதி-
40. காரிகள் வியராகதேவர் உள்ப்பட இருந்தருளி அய்யனடி-
41. கள் திருவடியும் ஸாதிருவடியும் வ்ருதியும் அதி-

Second Plate: Second Side.

42. காரரும் அறுநூற்றுவரும் புன்னைத்தலைபதியும் பூளைக்குடிப்ப-
43. தியும் உள்ப்படவைத்து உலகும் சந்திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ள நாளெல்லா-
44. ம் இவ்வட்டிப்பேறெல்லாஞ் செப்புபத்திரத்தில்ப்பட்டவண்ணஞ் செய்து-
45. கொள்ளப்பெறுவர் [1*] அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமும் இவகள்க்கு
46. அன்னியாம்மொண்டாயில் உல்குதுலாக்கூலிதடுத்துத் தங்கள் அன்ஞாயா-
யந்(3) தீர்-
47. த்துகொள்ளக்கடவர்[1*] தங்கள் செய்யும் பிழையுண்டாகிற்றங்களைக்-
கொண்டே யாராஞ்ஞ-
48. கொள்ளக் கடவராகவுமிந் நகரத்துக்குக் காராளராக நீரேற்றூர் அஞ்சுவண்-
ணமு-
49. ம் மணிக்கிராமமும் [1*] இவருளிரண்டு தலையாருங் கூடிச் செய்வதே க-
50. ருமமாகவு [1*] மிந்நகரங்கண்டு நீரேற்றவருமான வஷீரீ[ீ]ஸா மூன்-
னம் பள்ளி-
51. யார் பெற்றுடைய பார்க்கோலு[ம்] பஞ்சகண்டியும் ம[னெ]வான்(4)
வஷீரீ[ீ]ஸா ெ[ந]-
52. றுத்து(5) நிறைக்கூலி பள்ளிக்கு குடுக்கக்கடவர் [1*] இதுவும் அட்டிப்-
53. பேறுகக் குடுத்தேன் உலகுஞ் சஞ்(ந்)திராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெல்ல[ா*]-
ம்[11*]
54. (The same writing as is found in line 27 occurs in this line also.)

(To be continued.)

(1) Gundert's reading is ஸாதிகாரியம்.
(2) Gundert reads this as மங்கலத்துக்கு.
(3) Read அன்னியாயக்.
(4) Read மருவான்.
(5) Read நிறுத்து.



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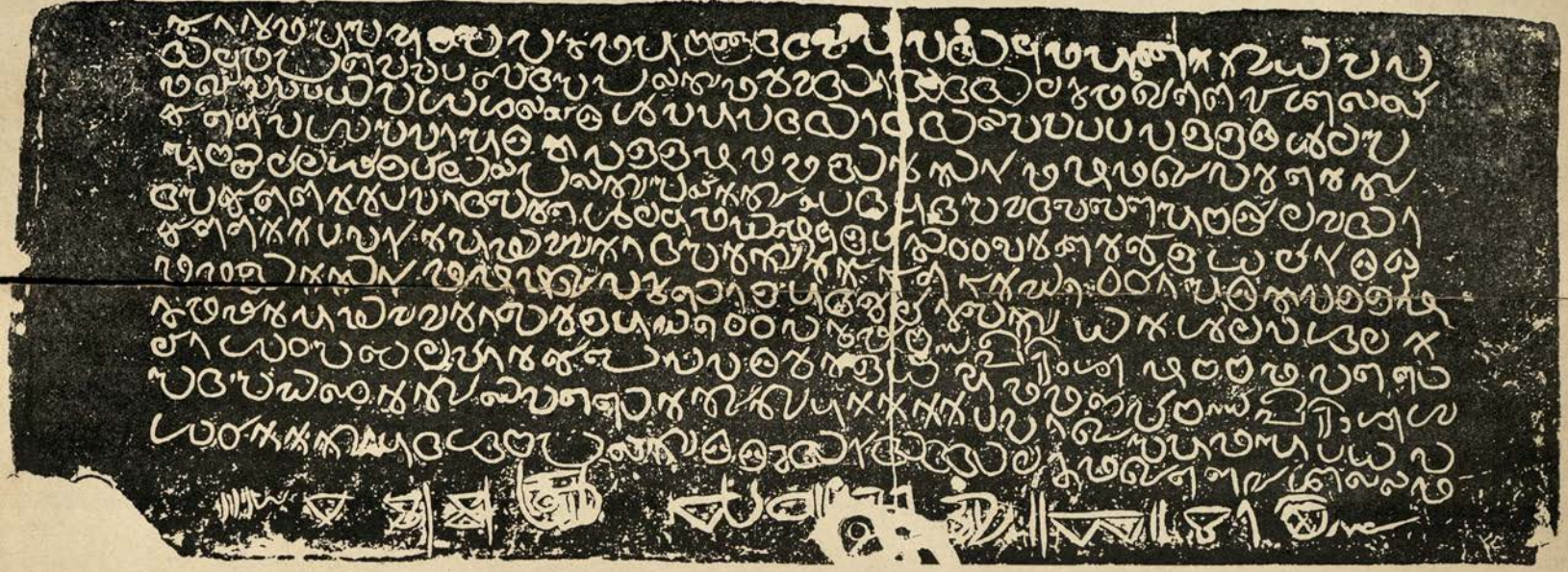

T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE: SAME SIZE. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

Translation.

Lines 1-6. ..... two families of ..... one family of carpenters and four families of Veḷḷāḷars to till the soil, all these have been ordained to sow (all seeds) and plant (all trees) as they did for the king, so that there might be no failure in the supplies, such as oil, for the Church [1]. The land which was granted to the Tarisāppaḷḷi erected by Maruvān Sapīr Īśō, (who founded the city of Kollam) and received water (in token of many *viḍupēṟus* being granted to him) is (what is going to be described below) :—

Lines 7-11. The land had its boundary marked by the performance of the ceremony of circumambulating a female elephant under the supervision of the *kōyiladhikāri*, Viyarāgattēvar and others and (granted) by the pouring of water drops by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, who was governing the smaller division (of Vēṇāḍu or was the *yuvarāja*) in the presence of the *adikārar*, the *prakritiyār*, the Six-hundred, the Puṉṉaittalipati and the Pūḷaikkuḍippati.

Lines 11-15. The boundaries of the land are :— The cultivated land (*vayal-kkāḍu*) being the eastern boundary ; the fort-wall having a small gate in it, including the *kāyil* (=*kāyal*=back-waters) being the south-eastern boundary ; the *tōraṇa-ttōṭṭam* being the northern boundary and the garden of Aṇḍilaṉ of the Puṉṉaittalai house being the north-eastern boundary [2].

Lines 15-18. (We) Ayyanaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍigaḷ and Rāma Tiruvaḍigaḷ, together with the *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* have granted the land enclosed within these four boundaries which were fixed by the circuiting of a female elephant [3] and given this deed, so that it may be in force as long as the world, the moon and the sun last.

Lines 18-22. If the inhabitants residing in this portion of land commit any mistakes, the Church authorities shall receive the fines levied on the delinquents, as also the *talai-vilai* and the *mulai-vilai*. None of our relatives (or dependants) shall charge them with any mistakes, nor shall they say.... *bhūmittalai* and the tenants, the six-hundred, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall protect [4].

Lines 22-25. The Añjuvaṇṇam people and the Maṇigramam people shall do for the Church and the land belonging to it everything according to the contents of the deed, as long as the earth, the moon and the sun last [5].

Lines 25-28. The *viḍupēṟu* granted to these (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam) by Ayyaṉaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi together with Rāma Tiruvaḍi and the *kōyiladhikārigaḷ* are :—(Here occur some letters in some sort of Nāgari, which appear to be signatures of the donors).

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(1) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " The latter being (*Veḷḷāḷar*) *Cārāḷar* of the Alave (or *Aladeiya*) land, that all these may do their duty to the god, the planter by planting (rice etc.), the setter by setting (trees or by building, offering ?) ".

(2) The following is the translation of the passage by Dr. Gundert : " The garden of the unapproachable of Puṉṉaittalai ".

(3) Dr. Gundert overlooks the word *piḍinaḍatti* in his translation which runs as follows :— " Decreed with the sanction of the Palace-major Vyarākadōvar and power given with (the ceremony of) waterdrops for seizing and possessing.....".

(4) If translated in this manner we do not know what it is that these three bodies are required to protect. The passage may also be translated thus : The six-hundred should protect the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam (communities).

(5) The construction of the sentence is here very faulty. பள்ளியையும் பூமியையும் ought to be understood perhaps as பள்ளிவிடயத்திலும் பூமிவிடயத்திலும் and rendered into English as in the matter of their duties to the Church and the land.

Lines 28-29. The customs duty of one in sixty on toddy (?) shall not be levied when it is in-coming and no duty when it is consumed.

Lines 29-30. No one shall levy poll-tax upon those whom these people take as their slaves.

Lines 30-32. In the case of *vāyinam* (merchandise ?), they shall collect eight *kāśus* on it when it is in-coming and out-going, (that is, when it is taken, for instance, into the warehouse after its collection and goes out of it when it is sold or despatched to other countries) ; they shall collect (similarly) four *kāśus* when it comes in *veḍi* (or *peḍi* ?) and in boats.

Lines 32-35. The levying of customs on dutiable articles should be done only in their presence (1). (Similarly) the apprising of articles and all other business of the lord (the king) shall be done in company with these people (2). The Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall take care of the customs collected every day.

Lines 35-38. When such of those lands within the four gates (of the fort) are set apart as not wanted (for the use of the palace, *vilakkum-bhūmi*) and is therefore given on the *kārāṇmai* tenure, the palace (agents) shall collect the *kōppadavāram* and the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam shall collect the *patippadavāram*.

Lines 38-45. While the *kōyiladhikāri* was also present, Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi and Rāma Tiruvaḍi, together with the *prakṛiti*, the *adhikārar*, the six-hundred, the Puṇṇaittalaippati and the Pūḷaikkuḍippati, granted to these (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people) seventy-two *viḍupēṟus* beginning with the (right of) carrying earth and water on the back of the elephant on auspicious or marriage occasions (3), for all time the earth, the moon and the sun last and they (the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam) have a right to enjoy these *aṭṭippēṟus* in the manner detailed in the copper (plate) deed.

Lines 45-48. If the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people have any misgivings (or injustice) done to them by others (or they against others) they shall settle these by stopping (the collection and payment of) the customs duty and the duty on weighment (of articles of merchandize) till the aggrandisers come to terms. If (however) there are mistakes committed (by some) among themselves, such mistakes shall be enquired into by themselves (4).

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(1) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus : " Merchandize belonging to the citizens of the above (the *paḷḷiyār* ? or the protecting lords ").

(2) The passage beginning with சரக்கு விலையிடத்து, etc. is translated by him thus :— ' (that in the space within the four gates or in the four public offices ?) and on the spot where land for sale (or under prohibition) is given in trust."

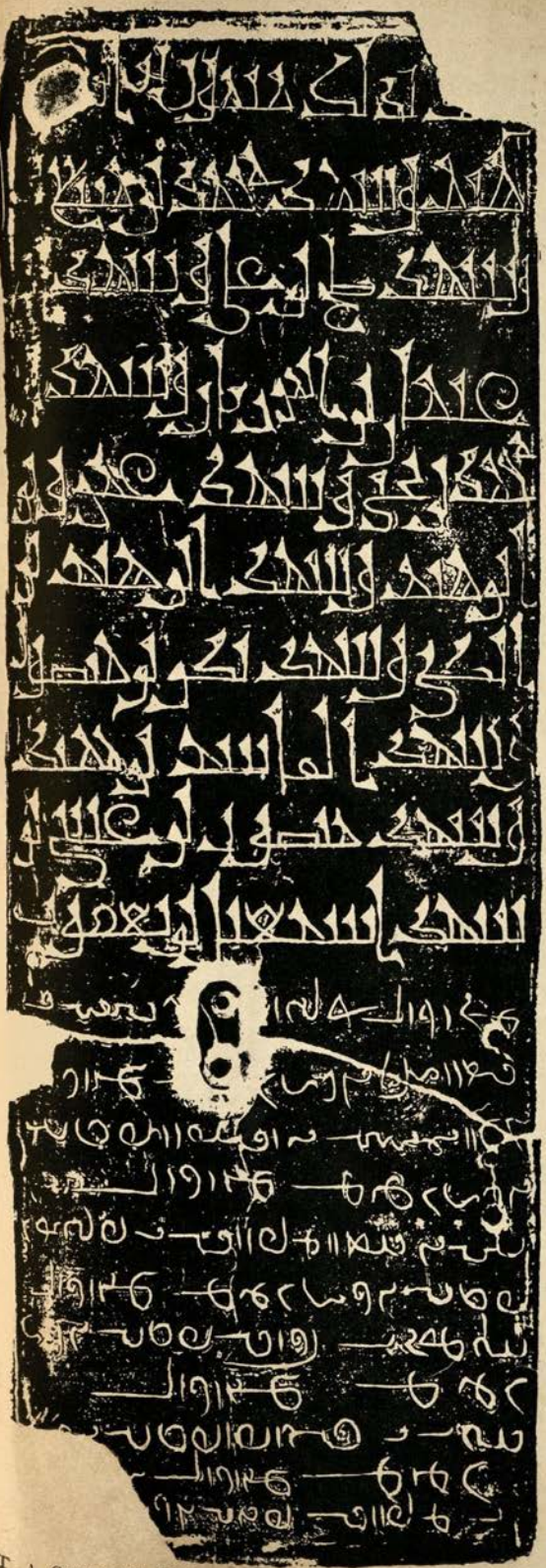
(3) ஆனைமேல் மண்ணுநீரும் is rendered by him thus :—(*viḍupēru* such as) the elephants' back, the earth, the water etc., (or earth and water on the elephant)—at all events marks of nobility.

(4) Dr. Gundert translates this passage thus :—

" If any injustice is done to these (the *paḷḷiyār* ? or Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam ?) they may withhold the tribute (' world-bearing hire ') and remedy themselves the injury done them. Should they themselves commit a crime they are themselves to have the investigation of it. And let whatever the two chieftains in Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam who have taken the water (possession) as trustee for this town (*kārāḷar* may do in unison be counted for one act—And let Maruvān Sapīr Īśō who took the water for this town, since he acquired (or transferred ? *peruttu*) the share-staff *vārakkōl*) and the five pieces (of Añjacaṇḍi) which formerly were the property of the Paḷḷiyār pay for it the full price for the church".

KOTTAYAM PLATES OF STHANU RAVI, No. II.—*Continued.*

3a



3b

T. A. Gopinatha Rao. SCALE : SAME SIZE. Half-Tone By Photo-Engraving Co., Madras.

Lines 48-54. Whatever arrangements these two bodies, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people, who have received (the perpetual lease of) the *kūrāṇmai* of this city (Kollam), do shall be considered to be the proper ones. And Maruvān Sapir Īśō who founded this city and received the water (poured into his hands in token of the receipt of the *aṭṭippēṟus* and *viḍupēṟus*) shall collect duty upon all articles which are weighed and make over the collection to the Church by virtue of his acceptance, on behalf of the Church people, the *pārkkōl* and the *pañchakkaṇḍi*. This also, I, (Ayyaṇaḍigaḷ Tiruvaḍi), granted as an *aṭṭippēru* to last as long as the earth, the moon and the sun. (Once again the signatures of the donees mentioned in line 27 occur in the line 54 also).

(To be continued).

No. III.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on two sides of a single copper-plate belonging to the Mūviḍattu-mēṟ-chēri Illam at Tiruvallā; the Vaṭṭeluttu characters employed in this document are similar to those of No. II above. The writing is executed in a very slovenly manner and a large number of errors have consequently been allowed to creep in. The preservation of the record is good.

It belongs to the **seventeenth year** of the reign of the king **Tānu Iravi (Sthānu Ravi)**. Nothing beyond the bare regnal year is given and it is therefore not possible to fix his age from this record also. The document contains the arrangements made by the *sabhā* of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and the *aḍigaḷ* (perhaps the temple servants) regarding the feeding that should be conducted on the Ōṇam day in the month of Āvaṇi, for which one Śēndan Śaṅkaran of Puṉśey-ppaḍagāram gave certain lands.

The names of places that occur in this document are Tiruvāṟṟuvāy and Puṉśey-ppaḍagaram. Of these the former is the name of a suburb of Tiruvallā in which is situated the Śiva temple of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy; it is not possible to identify the latter.

Text.(1)

First Side.

1. கோத்தாணு இரவிக்கு செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டுபதினேழு [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு திருவாற்றுவாய் ஸபெயு மடிகள்மாருமவிரோதத்தால்க் கூடிச் செ-

2. ய்த கச்சம் [।*] புன்சைப்படகாரத்து சேந்தஞ்சங்கரன் ஆவணியோணமடு-வான் கொடுத்த பு(பூ)மி [।*] சேந்தஞ்சேந்தனூர்கரி பதின்கலம்(2) [।*] காடேறு-

3. ஐந்நூற்றுநாழியும் [।*] இவைகொண்டு ஊர்மறையால் ஓணமடக்கட[வ*]ர்[।*] ஊட்டம் முட்டிகுவாரர்(3) ஐம்பத்து[நாலு] காணங் பொன்பழங்காயுனெடு

4. ஒப்பது [।*] இ தண்டமிட்டு ஊட்டுமடக்கடவர் [।*] இரண்டும் செ[ய்*]-யாதொழிகில் அவர் அவிரெ[ப]ருகா(4) [।*] ஊட்டு பரிசு அடமித்துடவி-னு[ல்](5) ஒரு-

(1) From inked impressions prepared under my supervision.

(2) Read கலமும்.

(3) Read முட்டிக்குமவர்.

(4) Read .....பெருர்.

(5) Perhaps அடமிடத்துத்துடவினுல்.

5. தடவு நெயும் பயறும் சரு[க்*]கரையும் வாழை[ப்]பழமு[ம்*]கூட ஊ[ட்*]ட
கடவர் [।*] எண்ணெயு[ம்*] அட[க்]கடவர் [।*] உச்ச அக[த*]து ப[ந்]தீறடி[1]
தடங்கி அந்தியில் மு-

6. ன்னுடுக[2] [।*] அறதினரிடைஈடு உடையாராசேற்வர்களோ ஊ[ட்*]ட கட-
வர்[।*] தேவர்[க்*]கு எ[ண்*]ணழி அரிசிகொண்டு நிவேதி[க்*]க[க்*]கட-
வர்[।*] உழ[க்*]குநெயும் நிவேதி[க்*] க[।*]

7. முழக்கு[3] நெய்கொண்டு திருவிளக்கு வை[க்*]க[।*] நாளழி அரிசிகொண்டு
பூதபலி ஊ[ட்*]ட[க்*]கடவர்[।*] பாதமூலிகளில் நடந்து சேற்துகொள்வார்-

Second Side.

8. [க்*]கு அஞாழி[4] நெல் குடு[க்*]கக்கடவர்[॥*]

Translation.

The year that was current (in the reign) of the king Tānu Iravi was seventeen; in this year the following was the decision arrived at without disagreement by the *sabhā* of Tiruvārṟuvāy and the *aḍigaḷ* (temple servants). The lands given (to the temple) by Śēṇḍaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ of Puṉśey-ppaḍagāram for cooking (food for feeding brāhmaṇas) on the Ōṇam (Śravaṇa nakshatra) day in the month of Āvaṇi (Śrāvaṇa month), are :—Śēṇḍaṉ-Śēṇḍanār-kari yielding ten *kalams* and Kāḍēṟu yielding five hundred *nāḻis*. Collecting these (items of income) they shall cook for the Ōṇam by the *maṟai* (*paṟai*?) of the village. Those that obstruct (this charity) shall.....fifty-four *kāṇams* of gold. Even after paying this fine they shall still be bound to conduct the feeding. If they do neither of these things, they shall not be eligible for.....In making the preparations for feeding, they shall do so with a *tuḍavai* of ghee, green gram, sugar and plantain fruits also. They shall also give oil (perhaps for burning lamps). The cooking should be begun at the *twelve-feet* time of the day and be continued until the evening. Such of those as.....alone shall be fed. They are bound to offer eight *nāḻis* of (cooked) rice to the god; also offer one *uḻakku* of ghee, and burn a lamp with one *uḻakku* of ghee, (or three *uḻakkus=muḻakku*). They are to make the offering of *bhūtabali* with four *nāḻis* of (cooked) rice. To those among them who walk about here and there (in connection with this *uṭṭu* business) shall be given by the Pādamūlis five *nāḻis* each of rice (as remuneration for their labour).

Erratum. Wherever the word *Āṇaikkuḍippati* occurs read it as *Pūḻaikkuḍippati*.

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(1) Read பத்தீரடி.

(2) Read முன்னைடுக.

(3) முழக்கு is perhaps மூவுழக்கு...முழக்கு.

(4) Read அஞ்ஞாழி.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MŪSHIKA-VAMSAM.

श्रीरस्तु ॥

अथ पृथुभुजवीर्योपार्जिताशेषभूभृ-
न्मकुटमणिमयूखामृष्टपादाम्बुजन्मा ।
अशिषदवनिमेनामुद्धृतैकातपत्रं
जगति बुधजनानामाश्रितः कुञ्जिवर्मा ॥ (१२-१)

अभवदमलकीर्तेरात्मजा तस्य काचि-
त्तदनु च कुलदीपस्सूनुरीशानवर्मा ।
दधदिव विजिगीषुर्विक्रमं नीतियुक्तं
धरणिपतिरुभाभ्यामुच्चकैराबभासे ॥ (१२-५)

महति दुहितरं तामीश्वरे केरलानां
प्रथितयशसि कृत्वा राजलक्ष्मीं तनूजे ।
अपगतगुरुभारं पुण्यसंभारमुच्चै-
रविशदुप.....धानस्थानमाखण्डलीयम् ॥ (१२-६)

अथ पितुरधिगम्य प्रोज्वलां राजलक्ष्मीं
दिशि दिशि विलसद्भिस्सद्गुणानां सहस्रैः ।
सकलजनमनोज्ञां चन्द्रिकां प्राप्य चन्द्रा-
दुडुभिरिव निशायास्तोवकारश्चकाशे ॥ (१२-७)

परणयविधियोग्ये प्राप्तविद्यं कदाचि-
द्वयसि कृतपदं तं वल्लभे मन्मथस्य ।
तदनुगुणकलत्रान्वेषणन्यग्रचेताः
वच इति वरमन्त्री मन्त्रविद्याजहार ॥ (१२-८)

अधिवसति मयूरोत्पातमत्रैव राष्ट्रं
भृशतरमधिराजेनान्वितस्तद्भवेन ।
अविरहितकुडुम्बो विप्रवेषावलम्बी
स्वरिपुभिरवरुद्धश्चेदिवंश्यो नरेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-९)

अनुपमगुणरूपा नन्दिनीत्यस्ति काचि-
द्वयसि शिथिलबाल्ये वर्तमानाऽस्य कन्या ।
चिरपरिचयशीलप्रेमबन्धात्सलेशं
स्वयमिव रिपुहस्तादागता राज्यलक्ष्मीः ॥ (१२-१०)

श्रियमति.....युक्तां लक्षणैर्जन्मयोगै-
रपि जगति दुरापैरात्मनस्सूचयन्ती ।
परिणयविधियोगे साभविष्यत्यलं ते
प्रतिहतिरहिताया जन्मभूमिःप्रजायाः ॥ (१२-११)

इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य श्रेयसी[म*]र्थबन्धो-
रपि गलितसमृद्धिश्चेदिवंश्योन्नतस्य ।
पटुसचिवमुखेन श्लाघनीयान्वयस्ता-
मवृणुत वरकन्यामादरान्मूषिकेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-१२)

अथ जलधिरिवैनामम्बुजाक्षाय लक्ष्मीं
सुरभिरिव समृद्धिं कौसुमीं पार्थिवाय ।
भृशतरपरितोषं प्रादिशद् भूमिभर्त्रे
सकलजनमनोज्ञां चेदिराजस्स्वकन्याम् ॥ (१२-१३)

प्रहितविपुलदण्डाः प्राभृताधानतुष्टै-
रुपहितबलवाह्यस्तस्य सामान्तमुख्यैः ।
अघटयदतिदूरभ्रष्टया राज्यलक्ष्म्या
पुनरपि गुरुशक्तिं चेदिपं हेहयेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-१४)

स्वभुवमभिजिगीषु[म्*] र्मूषिकेन्द्रो बलोघैः
सरथगजतुरङ्गैस्सार्धमृद्धानुभावम् ।
चलितमचलितश्रीः केरलेन्द्रं पुरा स्वा-
त्पुरमथनसमानस्सोऽथ शुश्राव तावत् ॥ (१२-१५)

सन्निशम्य सरुषस्तमुदन्तं भूपतेर्मुखरिताद्रिगुहेन ।
तस्य यानपटहेन गभीरं दध्वने कनककोणहतेन ॥ (१२-१६)

गन्धसिन्धुरघटाकृतभास्वत्सेतुबन्धसुखलङ्घितसिन्धुः ।
तं तमुद्धरबलस्सधरायां देशमाशु समलङ्घयदीशः (१२.१६)

यानदुन्दुभिरवध्वनिताशं वाहिनीभरणनामितभूमिः ।
रेणुजालपिहितान्तरमुच्चैरासदत सरितं सपरुष्णीम् ॥ (१२-२७)

तामतीत्य सरितं निकषासौ सन्निवेशमकरोत्पृतनायाः ।
बद्धकुञ्जरतुरङ्गमुदञ्चत्केतुमुत्पटकुटीरमुदारम् ॥ (१२-२९)

केरलेन्द्रमपरेद्युरुपेतं शुश्रुवानथ रणोत्सवहेतोः ।
आह्वाय समनाहयदुच्चैर्वाहिनीमहितलोककृतान्तः ॥ (१२-३०)

वाहिनी रघुपतेरपि चैवं सन्ननाह सहसाऽऽहवहेतोः ।
दुर्जयारिजयलंपटचित्ता दुश्श्रवप्रतिबलानकशब्दा ॥ (१२-३४)

ते परस्परसमेतपदातिस्यन्दने हयहयादिसमूहे ।
उद्यतायुधभुजे पृतने द्वे संप्रहर्तुमभिसंववृताते ॥ (१२-३५)

दुर्विलङ्घ्यमितरेतरधाम्ना तन्निशान्धयुगलध्वजपत्योः ।
केरलेन्द्रपृतनामथबाणैर्विध्यतिस्म कुपितो रणमानी ॥ १२-४९

भिद्यमानममुना विशिखौघैस्संविलोक्य बलमाकुलयोधम् ।
प्रत्यविध्यदरिसैन्यमसङ्ख्यैः पत्रिभिः प्रकुपितो जयरागः ॥ (१२-५०)

तावुभाविति परस्परहेतित्रातपातविरलीकृतसैन्यौ ।
द्वन्द्वयुद्धमतिमानुषसत्वौ कर्तुमाहितमती समभूताम् ॥ (१२-५२)

जृम्भिताम्बुनिधिविभ्रमभाजोर्मध्य एव पितृमातुलयोस्सः ।
सेतुबन्ध इव केरलकेतुः प्रत्यदृश्यत तयोरथ गोदः ॥ (१२-५३)

अविरलशरवर्षावग्रहत्वं प्रपन्ने
नरपतितनयेऽस्मिन्संपरायान्निवृत्तौ ।
भुवनमवनिपालावन्धयत्यन्धकारे
सपदि बलनिवेशं स्वं स्वमेतावयाताम् ॥ (१२-५५)

तावन्येद्युस्समरसुलभज्याकिणाकल्पभाजौ
शौर्याधारौ प्रकृतिवचनात्सङ्गतौ बन्धुभूतौ ।
शान्तद्वेषौ पुनरुपचितप्रेमभारौ नरेन्द्रौ
लज्जां युद्धस्मरणजनितां सन्दधाते मुहूर्तम् ॥ (१२-५६)

भूयः प्राप्य प्रमुदितमनास्स्यालमाहूय कोलं
पृथ्वीपालः पुनरनुपमो लोकपालोपमानम् ।
संपन्नाभिर्गुरुतरमुदं सत्क्रियाभिस्स चक्रे
नानारूपैर्जनपदजनैः प्राभृतैराहृतैश्च ॥ (१२-५७)

तत्रोषित्वा कतिचन निशा निर्गतैस्सोऽथ मार्गे
तैस्तैर्दैत्यैरुपहृतमहातिथ्यसत्कार एव ।
कृच्छ्रात्तेन स्वयमनुमतः स्नेहनिघ्नेन राज्ञां
प्राज्यैश्वर्यां सधृतिरविशत्स्वां पुरीं केरलेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-५८)

श्रियमकृतपराङ्गस्पर्शदोषां स पश्चात्
प्रभुरुचितमहिष्या निर्विशेषामशेषाम् ।
सुखमनुबुभुजे स्वां दीर्घबाहुस्सुदीर्घं
दिनमनुकृतशम्भुप्रीतिरीशानवर्मा ॥ (१२-५९)

प्रणयपरवशात्मा लालयन्प्रेयसीं तां
श्रियमिव पृथुहस्तादाहृतां दीर्घकालम् ।
प्रभवमिह सुखस्य श्रेयसोऽमुत्र चान्य-
द्धरणिपतिरपत्यं नाशु तस्यामविन्दत् ॥ (१२-६०)

व्यथितमतिरभावात्पुत्रलाभोत्सवस्य
श्लथितसकलभोगश्लाघनीयान्वयस्य ।
सुबहुभिरभिरामां स्वैर्गुणैर्मूषकाणां
पतिरथ परिणिन्ये कन्यकां चोलभर्तुः ॥ (१२-६१)

प्रथममथ नरेन्द्रः पश्चिमायां महिष्या-
मलभत नृपरामं सूनुमानन्दहेतुम् ।
निजविभवशिखायामुन्नतं कोमलायां
फलनिचयमिवोच्चैर्भूरुहः पारिजातः ॥ (१२-६२)

क्षितिचरदुरवापं रूपमम्भोधिसीमा
नृपविभवसमृद्धिस्तादृशं प्रेम भर्तुः ।
इति सकलमपार्थं साऽथ मत्वा स्वगत्या
चिरमभजत पादौ नन्दिनी चण्डिकायाः ॥ (१२-६३

प्रमदकलितभक्तिव्यक्तरोमोद्गमाङ्गीं
स्वकरकिसलयेनोत्थापितां संस्पृशन्ती ।
वरमभिमतमाशु त्वं वृणीष्वेत्यथैना-
मतिगुरुकरुणार्द्रं वाक्यमार्या बभाषे ॥ (१२-६७)

प्रतिपदमियमस्मद्वंश्यनारीसुतानां
क्षितिरवनिपतीना[म*]म्ब भूयात्स्वराज्यम् ।
पुनरिति निगदन्ती साभवद्भक्तिपूर्वं
प्रणतजनशिवायाः पादमूलं शिवायाः ॥ (१२-६८)

प्रथितगुणमपत्यं संभविष्यत्यलं ते
क्षितिरपि च पुनस्त्री.....कृत्वास्तथैव ।
इति गिरमुपकर्ण्य प्रेयसीमम्बिकासौ
कृतफल इव पुण्ये भोगसंपत्तिरोऽभूत् ॥ (१२-६९)

प्रमदमथ विबुद्धा संविभज्य स्वभर्तृ-
गणमनतिचिरेण प्रीणयन्ती सखीनाम् ।
अलभत सुतमेकं नन्दिनी पालकाख्यं
दुहितरमपि कांचिददुःखविध्वस्तिहेतुम् ॥ (१२-७०)

करिकलभविलासं पालकं बालमेव
प्रियतरमभिरामैस्स्वैर्गुणैरप्यसुभ्यः ।
निकटमतिदिदृक्षोः प्रेषयामास धीर-
स्तनयमवनिपालस्तस्य मातामहस्य ॥ (१२-७१)

अथ निजभुजदण्डोपार्जितैरूर्जितश्री-
र्वसुभिरवनिपालस्तर्पयन्नर्थिवर्गम् ।
अतिबहुषु विमानेष्वप्रयायी बुधानां
स्वयमुपरचितेषु स्थापयामास शम्भुम् ॥ (१२-७२)

पितरि दिवमुपेते पालकश्चेदिसंस्थः
प्रकृतिभिरथ सद्यः प्रापितां राजलक्ष्मीम् ।
विपुलबलभुजोऽपि ज्येष्ठभावानुवृत्त्या
कथमपि नृपरामं रुद्धबुद्धिर्विषेहे ॥ (१२-७५)

स च भुवमभिरक्षन्नक्षताज्ञो रिपूणां
उपगतमिव मृत्युर्गोचरं लोचनानाम् ।
....
.....(११-७४)

प्रथितपृथुयशोभिर्विक्रमाक्रान्तविश्वैः
स्वकुलनृपतिमुख्यैस्तेजसा संभृतेन ।
अशिषदवनिमेनामस्थितारिष्टशल्यः
कतिपयमथ कालं चन्द्रवर्मा नरेन्द्रः ॥ (१२-७७)

पितरि दिवमुपेते प्राग्दवीयः कनीय-
स्यखिलमलघु.....ग्नाजसा जीवलोकम् ।
प्रतनुरमृतभासस्सोऽपि कालेन बाल-
श्चरम इव कलांशो जग्रसे चन्द्रवर्मा ॥ (१२-७८)

प्रकृतिसचिवमुख्यैर्भर्त्तृनाशे विपक्ष-
प्रतिहतबलवीर्यैः कृच्छ्रतो धार्यमाणा ।
उडुविजयितमिस्रा नष्टचन्द्रेव रात्रिः
समभवदतिशोच्या मौषिकी राजलक्ष्मीः ॥ (१२-७९)

खलजनपरिभूतः कृष्टवर्त्माश्रमेऽस्मिन्
परिदिशमवरुद्धे मण्डले शत्रुसैन्यैः ।
प्रकृतिसचिववर्गः पालकाह्वानहेतो-
र्द्रुततरमतिचेदि प्रेषयामास दूतम् ॥ (१२-४०)

परिभवमरिवर्गैस्सन्निशम्य स्वभूमेः
स्फुटतरपरिकोपः कल्पितानल्पसैन्यः ।
प्रथितविपुलशक्तिर्निर्ययौ सोऽथ सद्यः
कृतपद इव मूर्धन्युद्धतः कृष्णसर्पः (१२-८१)

सपदि विहतभग्नाशेषविद्वेषिवर्गः
प्रकृतिसचिवजुष्टो वश्यसामन्तलोकः ।
समुचितमभिषेकं प्राप्य सम्यक् प्रजानां
अधिगतविपुलश्रीः पालकः पालकोऽभूत् ॥ (१२-८३)

कृतवति पदमस्मिन्राज्ञि मृत्योः कटाक्षे
स्वसुरथ पृथुकीर्तिस्तस्य राज्ञस्तनूजः ।
अभवदभवहारी पूरिताशः प्रजानां
वलिधर इति तस्या वल्लभो राजलक्ष्म्याः ॥ (१२-९०)

पटुभिरिव दधाना भूतिनक्षत्रमेघैः
प्रथितरवपरीताशेषदिक्चक्रवाला ।
उपरि धरणिभर्तुस्तस्य तीव्रा कदाचित्
पुरजित इव गङ्गा प्रापतत् गाङ्गसेना ॥ (१२-९१)

पृथुतरमवतीर्णं वासरे जीर्णभानौ
धरणिपतिरसह्यं सह्यशैलाग्रभागात् ।
द्रुततरमभिपत्य प्रत्यनीकं प्रदोषे
वचन इव सपूगस्तूलपुञ्जं बभञ्ज ॥ (१२-९२)

परिचितबहुशस्त्रः पारगो दण्डनीतेः
प्रतिहतरिपुवीर्यः प्रत्यनीकःशठानाम् ।
भरतनहुषकीर्तिर्भागिनेयोऽस्य राज्ञः
श्रियमथ रिपुरामः श्रेयसीमभ्यगच्छत् ॥ (१२-९३)

व्रजति गतिममर्त्यामीश्वरेऽस्मिन् जगत्याः
सपदि.....तनुजन्मा जन्मभाजां पुरोगः ।
अभवदवनिचक्रं विक्रमोद्घातनामा
कृतमतिरथ रामस्सोमवंशप्रदीपः ॥

प्रथितमिह जनस्य श्रीनिकेतं कदाचि-
न्मुषितजनविपत्तेरालयं मूलवासम् ।
पृथुचटुलतुरङ्गक्षुब्धवेलातटान्तः
कबलयितुमुदन्वानुद्धतं व्याजृम्भे ॥ (१२-९६)

सपदि च तमुदन्तं सन्निशम्यात्तकोपः
परिभवामिव शत्रोरात्मनोऽनन्तरस्य ।
प्रतिजलधि सदूरादुद्यतासिः प्रतस्थे
न खलु जगति धीरास्स्वस्य पश्यन्त्यभूमिम् ॥ (१२-९७)

प्रलय इव गभीरध्वानमुल्लङ्घ्य वेला-
विसृतचटुलवीचेरुत्थितस्यार्णवस्य ।
तुलितजलदशल्कैस्तूर्णमाबध्य सेतुं
बलवदुपलभङ्गैः स्तम्भयामास वेगम् ॥ (१२-९८)

अथ मथितविपक्षः पक्षपाती गुणानां
शशधर इव भौमः कामिनीलोचनानाम् ।
प्रतिहतिरहिताङ्गं प्राज्ञसाधारणश्री-
रभजत जनमानी मौषिकीं राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥ (१२-१०१)

पुरविजितमुदस्य क्ष्मापतौ जीवलोकं
मखविजितममुष्मिन्प्रस्थिते लोकमन्यम् ।
अभृत निभृतचेता मेदिनीमर्णवान्तां
प्रतिहतरिपुसङ्घोपक्रमश्शङ्खवर्मा ॥ (१२-१०२)

अथ वहति विभावभावमस्मि-
न्नृपमकुटाग्रविघट्टिताङ्घ्रिपीठः ।
पुनरपि जयमानिनामधेयः
पुनरवहन्नृपतिश्चिराय कोलम् ॥ (१२-१०३)

उच्छ्रायिसालवलयं परितोषितस्य
खातं गभीरमरिभिः कथमप्यधृष्यम् ।
गाम्भीर्यमुन्नतिरिति प्रथयत्यमोघं
हेतुं परैर्द्वितयमेतदलङ्घ्यतायाः ॥ (१२-१०४)

पर्याकुले विलसति प्रथनापगाया-
श्छायागतं पयसि गोपुरमुन्नताग्रम् ।
भावस्य यत्र सकलस्य जगद्धिताय
प्रत्यक्षतामपनयत्प्रतिभङ्गलीलाम् ॥ (२१-१०५)

कृतास्पदाः काननसत्वजातयः
तपोभृतां सिद्धिमतामिवाश्रमे ।
जगत्प्रतीतातिविरुद्धवृत्तयः
सहाखिला यत्र वसन्ति देवताः ॥ (१२-११२)

शिरसि विदधद्राज्ञां श्लाघ्ये पदं विहतात्मना
कृतपरिकरैर्नागैरुग्रैरनुज्झितविग्रहः ।
रिपुकुलपुरध्वंसी गृह्णन्नहीनगुणं धनुः
शिव इव बभौ गामाक्रामन्नसौ धरणीपतिः ॥ (१२-११३)

अथ तस्य विभोरनन्तरो विजयी सद्गुणरत्नसागरः ।
बलभद्रसमानविक्रमो वलभो नाम बभूव पार्थिवः ॥ (१३-१)

स कदाचिदवन्ध्यपौरुषः कुपितो भूपतिरागसि क्वचित् ।
प्रचचाल भटस्थलीभुवः पतिमुन्मूलयितुं मदोद्धतम् ॥ (१३-६)

भरितां भयजातसंभ्रमैरभिनिर्यद्भिरितस्ततो जनैः ।
प्रलयानलभीषणोद्यमः प्रतिपेदे नृपतिर्भटस्थलीम् ॥ (१३-९)

प्रतिगर्जितुमक्षमैरलं पुरतस्तस्य पुरारितेजसः ।
परितो वनमार्गमाश्रितैरभिनिर्यद्भिरथोपचक्रमे ॥ (१३-१०)

अपनुद्य ततस्ततो रिपून् स्वपरित्राणपरायणोद्यमान् ।
नृपतिर्निजवंशकेतवे नृपरामाय ददौ भटस्थलीम् ॥ (१३-१२)

अनुजेन ततोऽस्य भूपतेरधरीकृत्य यशांसि भूभृताम् ।
धरणी वरदेन मौषिकी स्वसनाथाकृतकुन्दवर्मणा ॥ (१३-१४)

अभिरक्ष्य भुवं चिराय यो विभवैर्न्यायवशादुपार्जितैः ।
व्यधित प्रथितं मुरद्विषो भुवि नारायणपूर्वकं पुरम् ॥ (१३-१६)

अथ तत्र नृपे यशोनिधौ स्मरणीयां गतिमभ्युपेयुषि ।
स्वसुरस्य सुतः स्मराकृतिः पृथिवीं पालयतिस्म पालकः ॥ (१३-१७)

पृथुतेजसि तत्र चाचिरात्पतिते कालकटाक्षवर्त्मनि ।
पदमस्य भटस्थलीभुवो रिपुरामस्त महानगाहत ॥ (१३-१८)

तमनु प्रमनास्समाख्यया भुवि गम्भीर इति प्रतीतिमान् ।
सुत एव तु पालकस्स्वसुः क्षितिमेनां क्षपितारिरग्रहीत् ॥ (१३-१४)

प्रणिहत्य विपक्षभूपतीन्परिरक्षन्नखिला भुवि प्रजाः ।
प्रजिघाय सवेलमुच्चधीरहताज्ञः कुहचिद्धरापतिः ॥ (१३-१५)

नयवर्त्मवशादितस्ततो चरतो लेखममुष्य भूमिषु ।
अहरद् बलदर्पमोहितो मरुपूर्वस्य पतिः पुरस्य तम् ॥ (१३-२६)

द्विषता विहितां विलङ्घनामसहस्सोढुमनल्पपौरुषः ।
सहसा मृगदष्टकेसरो विजयी सिंह इवोच्चचाल सः ॥ (१३-२७)

प्रचलद्बलवाजिहेषितश्रवणक्षोभितसर्वदिङ्मुखः ।
अभिहत्य चमूभिराशु तं स्वबलैस्तां स पुरीं समावृणोत् ॥ (१३-२८)

अथ सा रिपुसैन्यमुत्थितं शरवृष्टिप्रकरैरशीशमत् ।
दववह्निमिवाभ्रसंहतिस्तरसा कोलपतेः पताकिनी ॥ (१३-३०)

अपनुद्य रिपून्सहस्रधा बलदर्पोद्धुरया ससेनया ।
दहनं तुहिनांशुवंशजः पुरि तस्यां रभसाददीपयत् ॥ (१३-३१)

परिदह्य पुरीं स पाण्डवः कमनीयामिव खण्डवस्थलीम् ।
परिनिस्सृतकोपपावकः स्वपुरीं प्रत्यनयत्पताकिनीम् ॥ (१३-३८)

व्रजति त्रिदशेषु गण्यतां नृपतौ तस्य निरस्तविद्विषः ।
अनुजो मनुजोत्तमश्चिरं जयमानी जगतीमपालयत् ॥ (१३-३९)

संजज्ञे सकलगुणैकपात्रमस्य स्वस्रीयो वलभ इति प्रतीतनामा ।
भूतानामिह भुवने हितार्थमुच्चैरेकांशः प्रमथपतेरिवावतीर्णः ॥(१३-४३)

बद्धौत्सुक्यो भाविनीं जीवलोकः प्रत्यैक्षिष्ट श्रेयसीं यस्य वृद्धिम् ।
प्रादुर्भावं संप्रपन्नस्य भूमौ बालस्येव स्वर्गपृथ्वीरुहस्य ॥ (१३-४९)

श्रीमानमुष्यावरजः कलानां वेत्ता कृतज्ञो वसतिर्गुणानाम् ।
रामस्य सौमित्रिरिवाजनिष्ट राजा प्रतीतो भुवि राजधर्मा ॥ (१३-५०)

धर्मस्य पाश्चात्ययुगप्रतीक्षास्थानायमानं कलिदुर्बलस्य ।
चेलूरनामानमसौ कदाचिन्महाग्रहारं वलभः प्रपेदे ॥ (१३-५१)

त्यागप्ररोहनिभृतस्थितयस्समन्ताद्व्याप्ताष्षडङ्गलतिकाभिरुदीर्णशाखाः ।
यस्मिन्विधिप्रसवबद्धफलाभिरामास्तिष्ठन्ति वेदतरवो महिता द्विजानाम् (॥१३-५२)

यत्र द्विजन्मतिलकौ भवनन्दिसंज्ञौ
अक्षीयमानगुणरत्नचयावभूताम् ।
मोहापनोदकरणार्थमिह प्रजानां
शुक्रश्च शक्रसचिवश्च दिवोऽवतीर्णौ ॥ (१३-६१)

तत्राथ चित्रकुसुमस्तबकावतंसै-
रुद्यानशाखिभिरुपस्कृतदिग्विभागम् ।
श्रीमत्सशम्बरपदप्रथिताभिधानं
पुण्यं हरेर्नृपसुतः पुरमाससाद ॥ (१३-६२)

द्रुततरमवतीर्य तत्र यानाद्भुवनगुरुं शिरसा प्रणम्य शौरिम् ।
पुरमथ शतसोमनिर्मितं तत्स पुररिपोरभिराममाससाद ॥ (१३-६७)

यत्राग्रहर्म्यपरिलीननवाम्बुवाहविद्युल्लताकृतचलाचलचित्रलेखम् ।
विप्रोपहारविधितोषितचित्तवृत्तिः शश्वद्विमानमधितिष्ठति चन्द्रमौलिः॥ (१३-६८)

उद्घुष्यते भुवि जनेन विचक्षणेन
यत्रेप्सितानि ददति प्रविचक्षणेन ।
षट्कर्मिणा मुनिवरिष्ठसभा समेति
निश्शेषवेदमुखरेण समस्तशास्त्रम् ॥ (१३-६९)

वादोन्मुखेन कृतधर्मकथान्तरेण
..... ।
अद्धा सभा द्विजगणेन सदैव साक्षा-
दाभाति यत्र वचसामधिदेवतेव ॥ (१३-७०)

तत्र द्विजन्मतिलकैर्विहितस्समेत्य
तद्ग्रामरक्षणविधौ सदृशे स तिष्ठन् ।
तूर्णं नरेन्द्रतनयः परिजीर्णसन्धि-
भूयः परं पुररिपोर्घटयांबभूव ॥ (१३-७१)

अथ द्विजानां शिवशंसिनीभि-
राशीर्भिरुत्तेजितमङ्गलेन ।
भूयस्समासादि नृपात्मजेन
ग्रामादमुष्माद्गुरुपादमूलम् ॥ (१३-७२)

अथ यौवराज्यमनवद्यं
नृपतिवरलक्षणान्विते ।
नीतिनिपुणहृदयो वलभे
सचकार रामघटमूषिकेश्वरः१ ॥ (१४-१)

तमनल्पवित्तकुसुमाढ्य-
मुदितकरुणार्द्रपल्लवम् ।
कीर्तिपरिमलमुचं व्यलगन्
अलिनां क्षमारुहमिवार्थिनां गणाः ॥ (१४-४)

सुकुमारचित्तवपुषं त-
मभिजगुरनङ्गमङ्गनाः ।
क्रूरहृदयचरितं सुतरां
अपरं कृतान्तमरिपक्षयोषितः ॥ (१४-५)

वसुधाधिपहृदयेन य-
दभिलषितं क्षणेन सः ।
तत्तदकुरुत यथाभिमतं
पुरुषस्य काय इव पार्थिवात्मजः ॥ (१४-६)

अथ केरलं प्रति स चोल-
नृपतिमभियातुमुत्थितम् ।
साद्यकृतमतिरमुं वलभं
प्रजिघाय रामघटिमूषिकेश्वरः ॥ (१४-७)

प्रतिहत्य तं स घनरेणु-
निवहपिहितार्करोचिषा ।
तूर्यतुलितजलदध्वनिना
प्रययौ बलेन सह दक्षिणां दिशम् ॥ (१४-८)

द्विरदाश्वयानगतयश्च
कृतपरिकरैस्समं बलैः ।
राजतनयमथ भूमिभृतां
अनुससरुराशु तनयास्सहस्रशः ॥ (१४-१२)

(1) Metre Udgata.

समतीत्य मार्गमतिदीर्घ-
मनतिबहुभिः प्रयाणकैः ।
क्वापि नृपतितनयस्सहसा
विहितोपकार्यमथ स स्म वीक्षते ॥ (१४-१४)

निजमण्डल.....पवेष-
निगदितविपत्तिमागतम् ।
कृतनृपतितनयाय लघु
प्रतिहारिकाथ पुरुषं न्यवेदयत् ॥ (१४-१५)

विहितः प्रविश्य गळिताश्रु-
लुलितनयनः प्रणम्य सः ।
स्वर्गमुपगतममुष्य गुरुं
निजगाद रामघटमूषिकेश्वरम् ॥ (१४-१६)

उपकर्ण्य चैतदुरुसत्व-
विशदहृदयोऽपि तत्क्षणम् ।
अश्रुकलिलनयनाम्बुरुहो
निममज्ज भूयसि स शोकसागरे ॥ (१४-१७)

अथ विक्रमोपहितराम-
पदविरचिताह्वयं रिपुम् ।
प्राप्तमलभदभिवेश्य पुरः-
पदमाशु रामघटमूषिकाह्वयम् ॥ (१४-१८)

स्वकरं करेण स पिपेष
कुपितहृदयो मुहुर्मुहुः ।
हस्तगतमवनिपालसुतः
परिचूर्णयन्निव सपत्नमण्डलम् ॥

अथ तां विहाय गुरुवृत्तिं
अभिपतति मानसे रिपून् ।
तस्य तलमभिविसृज्य भुवनं
सहसैव दृष्टिरसियष्टिमस्पृशत् ॥ (१४-२२)

उदतिष्ठदाशु सबलेन
कृतपरिकरेण संवृतः ।
अर्थमथ तदभिवेदयितुं
विससर्ज दूतमभिकेरलेश्वरम् ॥ (१४-२३)

तुरगाकुलेन सह तूर्ण-
मथ निवृते बलेन सः ।
ग्राहनिवहगुरुणा पयसा
विनिवृत्तवेल इव यादसां पतिः ॥ (१४-२४)

उपसृत्य नित्यसुसमृद्ध-
विभवगुरुधर्मपारगम् ।
तत्र सुगतमतिकारुणिकं
शुचिमूलवासजुषमभ्यवन्दत ॥ (१४-२५)

प्रतिगृह्य च प्रवरजैन-
जनकृतजयाशिषः ।
कोपभरितहृदयस्सहसा
प्रययौ परैरपहृतं स्वमन्दिरम् ॥ (१४-२६)

विहिताभिषेकमथ तत्र
नरपतिविहारदुर्गमम् ।
प्राज्यबलमुपरुरोध बहि-
र्महता बलेन वलभस्समूषिकम् ॥ (१४-५०)

अगमत्क्षयं बलभसैन्य
जलधिविसरेण भूयसा ।
अथ समिति रिपुराजचमूः
पृतनेव पाण्डवबलेन कौरवी ॥ (१४-५१)

पृथिवीपतिः प्रकृतिभिस्स
निशि नयगतिं विबोधितः ।
भूरिबलमपहाय ययौ
प्रबले रिपौ गतिरियं हि भूभृताम् ॥

तीव्रप्रतापभरिताखिलदिग्विभागे
भूत्यै भुवः स्फुरति तत्र नरेन्द्रसूनौ ।
तत्याज मूषिकपतिस्स विहारदुर्गं
सूर्योदये तुहिनरश्मिरिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥ (१४-५५)

वध्यान्निहत्य वलभः प्रविहाय हेयान्
ग्राह्यान्प्रगृह्य परिपीड्य च पीडनीयान् ।
लक्ष्मीमथानुगुणयन्नयविक्रमाभ्यां
अह्वाय मूषिकभुवं स वशीचकार ॥ (१४-६०)

दृप्तारिकोपाशीखिना हृदि तप्तमूर्तेः
निर्वापणार्थमिव मङ्गलदेवतायाः ।
प्रावर्तत प्रकृतिपौरजनाभिरामः
पुण्ये विभोरहनि तस्य महाभिषेकः ॥ (१४-६१)

सांयात्रिकप्रहितपोतपथावतीर्ण-
द्वीपान्तरद्रविणसारवृतापणाढ्यं ।
किल्लासरिज्जलधिसङ्गमसन्निकृष्टं
माराहि नाम नगरं नृपतिश्चकार ॥ (१६-६६)

भूयश्चकार पृथुगोपुरभिन्नतुङ्ग-
प्राकारचित्रविहितातुलगुप्तिशोभम् ।
वर्धिष्णुखातसलिलं प्रथनातरङ्गैः
विभ्रत्सदा वलभपत्तनवृद्धिमुच्चैः ॥ (१४-६७)

शान्ते प्रशान्तविपदं शरणागतानां
चण्डेश्वरस्य वटुकेश्वरमन्दिरस्य ।
आखण्डलारिबलदुस्सहवीर्यमार्यं
भक्त्या सदेवमनयन्नृपतिः प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥ (१४-६८)

उत्तीर्णसागरजलेन कुलं रिपूणां
हत्वा बलेन हरिकुञ्जरभीषणेन ।
लङ्काह्वयं रघुपतिः परमेकमेव
द्वीपान्बहूनभृत रामघटेश्वरस्तु ॥ (१४-६९)

किरणेन शुभ्रगुणरत्नसंपदां
यशसा शिवेन दशदिग्विसर्पिणा ।
मुखरीचकार कविलोकमूर्जितं
वलभस्सरामघटमूषिकेश्वरः ॥ (१४-७१)

दृष्टान्तभूतचरितो महतां स राज्ञां
दिष्टान्तमेत्य गलिते वयसि क्षितीशः ।
अम्भोधिवीचिरशनां जगतीमनाथां
भूयश्चकार चपलां भुवि राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥ (१४-७२) ॥

पतित इव नगो हिमेतरांशौ
गलित इवापि च जीविते शरीरम् ।
अशिवमतितरामशेषमाप
धरणितलं रहितं नरेश्वरेण ॥ (१४-७४)

श्रीकण्ठ इत्यवरजोऽथ नृपस्य तस्य
श्रीकण्ठपादसरसीरुहराजहंसः ।
श्रीकण्ठनाथ इव शौर्यगुणेन हर्ष-
श्रीकण्ठसङ्ज्ञिनि भुजे भुवमाससर्ज ॥ (१५-१)

पीनोन्नतस्थिरतरांसतटं प्रलम्ब-
ज्याघातलाञ्छितंकठोरतरप्रकोष्ठम् ।
कौक्षेयकत्सरुकिणाङ्कतलाङ्गुलीकं
यद्बाहुदण्डमजितं भजते जयश्रीः ॥ (१५-२)

भर्ता फणीन्द्रशयनीयमिवेन्दिरायाः
क्रोडं पितामह इवादिसरोरुहस्य ।
कैलासशैलमिव च स्वयमेव देव-
श्चेतो यदीयमधितिष्ठति शूलपाणिः ॥ (१५-३)

क्रीडाचलान्क्षितिधरेष्ववलोकितेषु
जैत्रद्विपान्वनगजेन्द्रकदम्बकेषु
भ्रष्टास्स्वराज्यविभवाद्यदरातिनार्यः
स्रोतस्विनीषु च कृतास्सरितः स्मरन्ति ॥ (१५-८)

पुष्णाति यः प्रतिदिनं श्रियमाश्रितानां
पुष्णाति चैव विपदं प्रतिभूपतीनाम् ।
पाता भुवस्सकलसागरवारिसीम्नः
पाता च यस्सकलकाव्यकथामृतानाम् ॥ (१५-९)

धर्मानुकूलमसकृद्विदधाति योऽर्थं
धर्मार्थयोरनुगुणं च करोति कामम् ।
इत्येषु सन्निपतितेषु कृतात्मनां हि
वृत्तिर्बलाबलवशेन विचक्षणानाम् ॥ (१५-११)

सामादिभिः स्वविषयाचरितैरुपायैः
कार्याणि भूमिपतयः खलु साधयन्ति ।
सङ्कल्पमात्रघटितार्थविधिर्य एष
तिष्ठत्यचिन्त्यमहिमा भुवि कोऽपि देवः ॥ (१५-२३)

देवो मुकुन्द इव पन्नगवैरिलक्ष्मा
सोमान्वयप्रणयमीश इवादधानः ।
काले पितामह इवार्थितजन्यसर्गः
यश्शश्वदार्द्रसुमना मरुतामिवौघः ॥ (१५-२५)

प्रक्षीणशत्रुनिवहं परिवृद्धशक्ति-
षड्वर्गमोक्षचतुरं गजबन्धुयुक्तम् ।
एकातपत्रमथ नैकनरेन्द्रजुष्टं
यस्यास्तदोषमुदितार्धं विभाति राज्यम् ॥ (१५-३०)

स्वर्गं प्रदाय रिपेव धरणीं तदीयां
दत्वा वसु द्विजगणाय तदाशिषोऽपि ।
वक्षोमनोज्ञमपवर्ज्य विलासिनीभ्यो
गृह्णाति यः प्रतिदिनं हृदयानि तासाम् ॥ (१५-३४)

जीयाच्चिराय करवालसखेन दोष्णा
राजाऽयमप्रतिरथो भुवि राजवर्मा ।
पीत्वेति रक्तरसकं सह कामिनीभिः
नृत्यन्ति यस्य रणमूर्धनि यातुधानाः ॥ (१५-३५)

लक्ष्म्या प्रतीतयशसा भुवि कर्तृनाम्ना
भर्ताह्वयेन च दधद्वटुकेश्वराख्याम् ।
पुंसो वपुर्विधिरिवैष जरावतीर्णं
भूयो नवं व्यधित मन्दिरमिन्दुमौलेः ॥ (१५-३६)

यच्चास्तभोगविकलं पुर एव तत्र
ख्यातं गृहं खरवनाह्वयमीश्वरस्य ।
कालेन तद्विघटितं समधत्त भूयः
पक्षोपलक्ष्यमिव बिम्बमतिग्मरश्मेः ॥ (१५-३८)

यो हीरणेश्वर इति प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
सौधाग्ररुद्धहरिदश्वरथाश्वमार्गम् ।
जीर्णं कदाचिदवलोक्य तमेवदध्यौ
देवस्य मन्मथरिपोर्देयितं निवासम् ॥ (१५-३९)

यस्यैव मूर्तिमतुलां सचराचरस्य
वासं वदन्ति कृतिनो भुवनत्रयस्य ।
भग्नोऽयमस्य वसतिः परमेश्वरस्य
कष्टं भवेदिह जगत्यमुतः किमन्यत् ॥ (१५-४०)

विश्लिष्टसंचलमहोपलसन्धिबन्धं
भग्नेक....पतितजर्जरदारुखण्डम् ।
शम्भोरिहैव निलयं प्रविशीर्यमाणं
दृष्ट्वा ममाद्य झटिति स्फटतीव चेतः ॥ (१५-४१)

मूर्ध्नि च्युतावरणके मुहुरष्टमूर्तेः
पादेषु वासरपतेः स्फुटमापतत्सु ।
छायामिमां विदधता परितापहेतु-
मर्थो ममाद्य क इवातपवारणेन ॥ (१५-४५)

दाक्षायणीघटितवामभुजं वरेण्यं
भूयः करेण भुजगान्परिलालयन्तम् ।
अभ्यासभित्तिबिलकोटरवासिनोऽमी
सर्पास्त्यजन्ति न कृतज्ञतयेव शर्वम् ॥ (१५-४३)

शीतांशुखण्डतरले शिरसि स्मरारे-
र्यस्मिन्पपात सुरलोकसरित्प्रवाहः ।
प्रासादभङ्गगतयो घुणचूर्णमिश्राः
तस्मिन्पदं दधति संप्रति वृष्टिधाराः ॥ (१५-४६)

सञ्छिन्नपर्व...मिति सार्थितपुण्यकर्ता
.....भगवतस्त्रिपुरान्तकस्य ।
भूयश्चकार तदसौ प्रतिमावशेष-
मव्यक्तशेषमिव विष्टपमादिदेवः ॥ (१५-४७)

प्राप्ते पुनर्नवदशां वटुकेश्वरेऽस्मिन्
सोहीरणेश्वरपुरे खरकानने च ।
अर्थान्परैरपहृतानपरांश्च दत्वा
पूर्वोचितान्पुनरधत्त शिवोपहारान् ॥ (१५-४८)

रक्षोभुजाग्रतुलनच्युतसन्धिबन्धं
हित्वा गतास्तमिव राजतमद्रिराजम् ।
येष्वग्रचुम्बिततुषाररुचौ विमाने
वासं व्यधत्त भगवान् वृषराजकेतुः ॥ (१५-४९)

NO. 10.—MŪSHIKA VAMSA: A STUDY.

The name Mūshaka or Mūshika as applied to a country is met with in a hazy manner both in inscriptions and in literature. King Maṅgaḷēśa Raṇavikrānta of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi mentions the Mūshaka country among the countries conquered by him, *viz.*, the Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa and Chōḷiya countries. From the proximity of the above mentioned countries to the Mūshaka country, we are led to infer that it must be somewhere in the southern Presidency. The name occurs also in some *purāṇas* with those of other countries. The *Kēraḷōlpatti* mentions that Malaināḍu was divided into four parts, namely :

" (1) The Tuḷu kingdom extending from Gōkarṇam to Perumpuḷa, *i.e.*, the Canaras (north and south very nearly as at present defined ;

" (2) The Kūpaka kingdom extending from Perumpuḷa to Puduppaṭṭaṇam, the seat of the Tekkaṅkūṟ (Southern Regent) of the north Kōlāttiri dynasty situated on the Kōṭṭa river, *i.e.*, North Malabar as at present defined *less* the southern half of the Kuṟumbarnāḍu Tālūkā ;

" (3) the Kēraḷa kingdom extending from Puduppaṭṭaṇam to Kannetti, that is, South Malabar, including the southern half of the Kuṟumbarnādu Tālūkā ; and

" (4) the Mūshika kingdom extending from Kannetti to Cape Comorin, that is, South Travancore ". This division existed in so early a period as the reign of the first of the Perumāḷ kings, Kēya Perumāḷ and a subsequent Perumāḷ, by name Ārya Perumāḷ, also divided the Malaināḍu into the same four parts.

There is absolutely no mention in the Tamiḷ Nighaṇṭus both the earlier and the later ones, of any kingdom known as the Mūshaka kingdom.

The name of this kingdom occurs either as Mūshaka or Mūshika. Who the rulers of the Mūshaka kingdom were is not known from any source. Quite recently a manuscript containing a *kāvya* called the *Mūshikavaṁśam* was obtained and studied ; in the midst of a lot of legendary stories, we find a few grains of what appears to be real history, of which however epigraphy is utterly ignorant. If an analysis of its contents is published, it is hoped that it will help any one studying the history of the Mūshakavaṁśa from the epigraphical standpoint. An abstract of the *kāvya* is therefore given below. It will be found that the matter contained in the last *sargas* appear to be historical.

From the style of the composition, the *kāvya* seems to be a somewhat old one; at the end of the second *sarga* it is stated that it was written by one *Atula* (*Atula kritau*) ; who he was, and whatever other works he might have written cannot be found out at present.

Some portions of the first and subsequent *sargas* are left blank in the original—perhaps because the original was lost in those places, or the author had left them to be filled up subsequently ; the former is the more likely cause of the existence of such blanks ; however the following account is made out from the remaining portions of this *sarga*.

Sarga I.

While Paraśurāma was slaughtering the Kshatriyas, some one king was killed; his queen who was then carrying attempted to commit *sati*, but the *purōhita* of the family dissuaded her from her determination, took her with him from the south to the north and hid her in a cavern and began supplying her with fruits, roots, etc., for her food. During his absence one day a rat as big as an elephant entered the cavern and was going to devour the lady; when she cried aloud the *purōhita* came back; from the burning anger in the eyes of the queen, fire arose and burnt the rat down. The soul of the rat appeared immediately in the form of the Parvatarāja (as a mountain) with his attendants, the *Vanadēvatās* (forest deities, *i.e.*, a mountain appeared covered with forests). The Parvatarāja astonished at his own change, began to narrate to the queen and her *purōhita* his previous history as follows:—

"In this place, the *ṛishi* Kuśika was making penance, when I in the form of a rat happened to enjoy in his presence the company of my wife who had also assumed the form of a mountain rat and thereby offended him, he cursed me that I should become a rat and should not enjoy the company of my wife; but by the intercession of my wife, it pleased the *rishi* to declare that the effect of the curse would leave me soon enough. It is my good fortune that you came here to wipe off the curse I was suffering under." So saying the Parvatarāja disappeared, but the queen continued to live there till she was brought to bed of a male child.

Sarga II.

The *purōhita* performed all the *saṁskāras* for the child and gave him education in all branches of learning prescribed for Kshatriyas. Meanwhile the anger of Paraśurāma abated of its own accord; he repaired to this Mount Ēḷi and performed, with the aid of Vasishṭha and other *ṛishis*, several *yāgas* to wipe off the sin of slaughtering the Kshatriyas. In the middle of one of these *yāgas*, there came an occasion when a Kshatriya was required to do something connected with the *yāga;* Paraśurāma was despairing of getting a Kshatriya. To relieve the constraint in which the prince and his mother were living near the Mount Ēḷi, the Parvatarāja appeared before Paraśurāma, and informed him to his joy of the existence of a Kshatriya prince near by who, with his mother and *purōhita*, was hiding in Mount Ēḷi. With the permission of Paraśurāma, the child was brought before him and the ceremony connected with the *yaga* was finished. Pleased with the prince, he crowned him king of the country in which Ēḷi stood and performed the *paṭṭābhishēka* ceremony by pouring pots-full of consecrated water on his head. Because he was made the king of the Mūshaka country and because he was bathed with pots (*ghaṭa*) of water by Paraśurāma, he was given the name Mūshika-Rāmaghaṭa and became famous under this name. As soon as the news of subsidence of the anger of Paraśurāma spread everywhere, those kshatriyas who had escaped his wrath, returned to their respective kingdoms and ruled over them. Mūshika-Rāmaghaṭa chose for his minister, a native of Māhishmati, of the Vaiśya caste by name Māhānāvika and made Kōla the capital of his dynasty. After making sufficient internal arrangements, Rāmaghaṭa embarked upon the project of conquering other kings; before starting on this business, he desired to worship Paraśurāma on the Mount Ēḷi for which he left his capital Kōlam and reached a place resplendent with beautiful gardens where blew the wind from the river Vaprā laden with the scents of the lotus and *utpala* flowers. He then crossed the river Kiḷḷā and proceeding by the seacoast reached Mount Ēḷi; he circumambulated the hill with his armies.

Sarga III.

This chapter describes the hill in great detail in the fashion of *kāvyas* in general. Rāmaghaṭa ascended the hill and made obeisance to Paraśurāma.

Sargas IV, V and VI.

The king, without any pomp accompanied by his *purōhita* and a select few members of his army, ascended the hill, prostrated before Paraśurāma, obtained his blessing and a few arms which he was pleased to present, and started back to his capital. On the way he learnt that the king of Magadha, Mādhavavarman, had taken away Māhishmati, one of the towns belonging to himself: thereupon he consulted with Mahānāvika his minister whether it was not imperative that he should punish Mādhavavarman and then proceed on his *digvijaya*. The minister replied: "Sire, the news of your Majesty's tour of conquest must have necessarily reached the ears of the kings in the southern region and therefore it is rumoured that they have combined against you but are not yet ready to oppose you. If now we strike a blow at them, their countries will become ours. Then with the armies of the kings thus reduced to submission we may march against the Magadha king." The king took kindly to the advice offered by his minister, left a small contingent to protect his country which was naturally well guarded by the mountain fastnesses and started on an expedition against the kings of the Dakshiṇāpatha; one by one all the kings were either conquered and subjugated or they themselves joined his camp as allies. He marched with their armies along the eastern sea coast and reached the foot of the Vindhya mountain and encamped on the bank of the river Rēvā. Mādhavavarman collecting all the armies of his friends and subordinates of the Uttarāpatha, came to the very same spot where Rāmaghaṭa was camping. At first Rāmaghaṭa tried peaceful overtures through ambassadors with his opponent offering him many advantages if he submitted to his suzerainty without bloodshed. All his good counsels proved useless and a fierce battle was fought in which the king of Magadha was killed. Then Rāmaghaṭa took possession of Bhadrasēnā, the daughter of Mādhavavarman and married her. He also installed on the throne of Magadha the son of Mādhavavarman. While on his way back to his capital, he stopped for some days at Māhishmati, the capital of the Haihaya kingdom (which belonged to him).

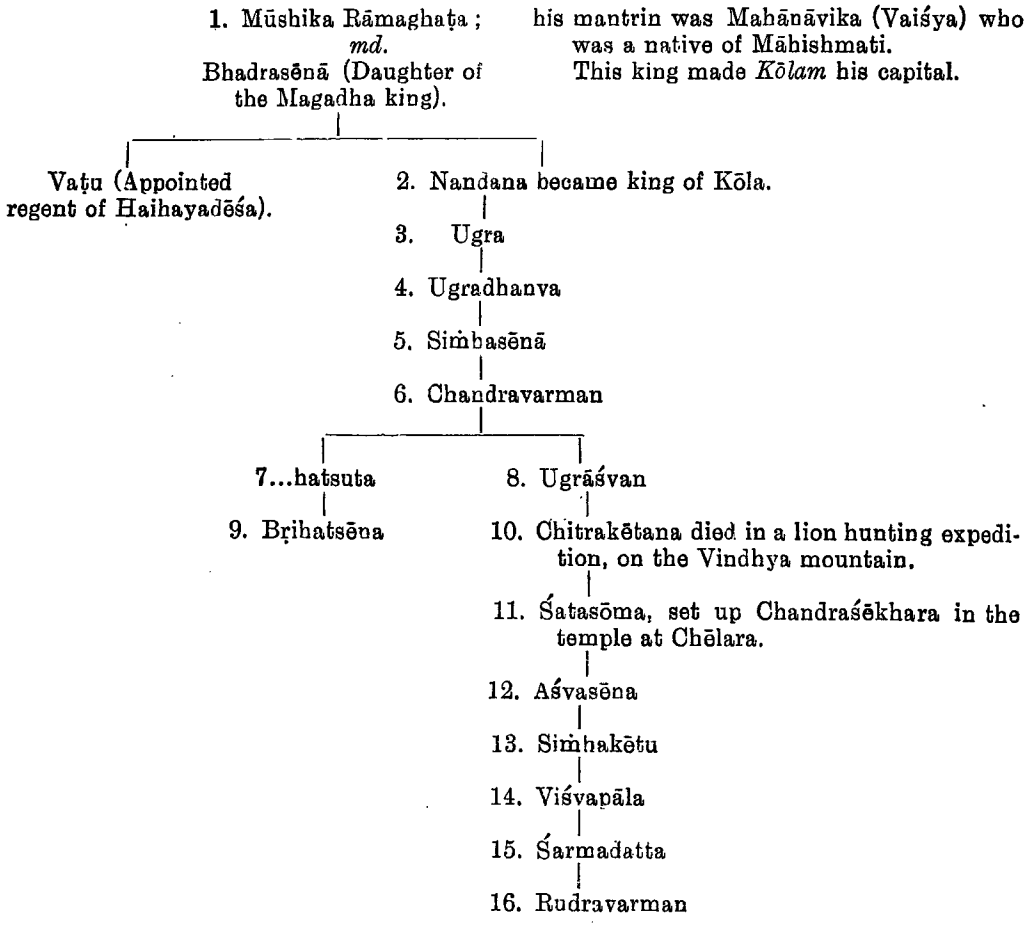
Two sons were born to him by Bhadrasēnā, named respectively Vaṭu and Nandana. Of these elder Vaṭu was made the king of Haihaya. On his return, the king Rāmaghaṭa performed several *yagas* and eventually, handing over charge of the government of the Kōla kingdom to his younger son Nandana, he retired to the forest, where he expired.

Sargas VII, VIII, IX and X.

Nandana was an indolent prince who resigned all the functions of the government in the hands of ministers, and gave himself up to carnal pleasures. This and the other *sargas* describe, in the usual manner of the *kāvyas*, the various enjoyments indulged in by Nandana.

Sarga XI.

The following legendary genealogy is given in this *sarga* :—


1. Mūshika Rāmaghaṭa ; his mantrin was Mahānāvika (Vaiśya) who was a native of Māhishmati. This king made Kōlam his capital.
md.
Bhadrasēnā (Daughter of the Magadha king).
Vaṭu (Appointed regent of Haihayadēśa).
2. Nandana became king of Kōla.
3. Ugra
4. Ugradhanva
5. Simhasēnā
6. Chandravarman
7...hatsuta
8. Ugrāśvan
9. Bṛihatsēna
10. Chitrakētana died in a lion hunting expedition, on the Vindhya mountain.
11. Śatasōma, set up Chandraśēkhara in the temple at Chēlara.
12. Aśvasēna
13. Simhakētu
14. Viśvapāla
15. Śarmadatta
16. Rudravarman

Here are mentioned the following rather long list of names of kings who are said to have succeeded to the throne :—Vyāghrasēna, Pṛithudyumna, Vajradhara, Palāhaka, Bhīmavarman, Bṛihatsēna, Daksha, Atula, Nayavardhana, Mitrasōma, Bhadra, Vīravarman, Amitakratu, Jagadaśva, Suradyumna, Arjunavarman, Ugrabāhu, Jayāditya, Vratasēna ; these nineteen kings obtained from Śiva the boon of being able to live as long as they pleased. After having ruled the country duly, each one departed to the other world. Then came the kings Utpalāksha, Mahākīrtti, Dēvadyumna, Bṛihaddyuti, Ugra, Manu and Bṛihat-grīva.

Bṛithatgrīva.

Vaṭukavarman, set up Vaṭukēśvara in Ālasuddhi.

Ahīraṇa, built a Śiva temple known as Ahīraṇēśvara on the west bank of the river Pratanā.

Raṇabhadra.

Āryagupta.

Achala, built the city of Achalappattana near the Mount Ēḷi.

Aśvasēna. Vikramasēna.

Vinayavarman.

Jayamāni, (obtained the aid of the Pāṇḍyas and regained his kingdom.) Rājavarman

Udayavarman.

Udayāditya.

Virōchana, killed the Pallava in battle and took his daughter (in marriage ?)

Dvirōchana. (?)

Kālasēna.

Vyāḷasēna.

In this family were born Śatruntapa, Bṛihadbāhu, Prithukīrti, Amitrajit and Dīpanika ;

Dīpanika.

Śaśidatta (*md.* a princess of Magadha). Janavrata.

These two quarrelled for the throne and killed each other.

After these the following princes ruled the kingdom, namely, Vajrasēna, Sura, Viśāla, Mahasvan, Ajila, Pushkala, Bahukirti, Sukētu, Vikaṭa, Sadhanva, Satyavrata, Chaturakētu, Svarbhānu, Uttamakala, Sakaḷa, Adrikētu, Kāmaprada, Nayadhana, Kavikarkaśa, Parjanya, Nipātavarman, Turasvan, Sumati, Amitrabhavichanda (?) Akshōbhya, Samarasaha and Mahōdaya ; the rest of the genealogy is as follows :—

Mahōdaya.

Śivacharita.

Īśāna.

It is from Kuñchivarman, the son of Īśāna the really historical portion of the genealogy begins.

Īśāna I.
|
Kuñchivarman.
|
Daughter *md.* to the Kēraḷarāja. | Īśānavarman (II).

Sarga XII.

Kuñchivarman died while his son was young. The time for the marriage of Īśānavarman II arrived; the minister suggested the following to his master: "The king of Chēdirājya, being ousted from his government and driven away lives *incognito* in the vicinity; he has got a daughter named Nandinī possessing all the desirable qualification for a queen." The prince accepted his proposal and married the daughter of the Chēdi king; Īśānavarma (II) the lord of Haihayadēśa, sent a large army and reinstated his father-in-law on his throne.

Meanwhile, the Kēraḷa king Raghupati *alias* Jayarāga had taken up arms against the Mūshaka king. This news enraged Īśānavarman so much that he marched his army to arrest the progress of the Kēraḷa forces. The two armies met on the bank of the river Parushṇi. The king Īśānavarman is known from now by the *biruda* Raṇamāni. In the thick of the battle which ensued, Gōda *alias* Kēraḷakētu, the son of the Raghupati Jayarāga, interceded between his father and his maternal uncle and stopped the fight and persuaded them to make peace with each other; thus was peace concluded. After this event, the Kēraḷa king having stayed for sometime in Kōla the capital of his brother-in-law, returned to his country.

Īśānavarman had no children by Nandinī, the Chēdi princess; so he married a daughter of the Chōḷa king; she bore him a son named Nṛiparāma. Nandinī feeling herself too small before her co-wife devoted herself to the worship of the goddess Chaṇḍikā. The goddess was pleased with her devotion and granted her a son who was named Pālaka, and a daughter. The grandfather of Pālaka desiring to see his grandson sent for the child to his capital and the lad stayed away there for a long time.

The king Īśānavarman set up the figure of Śiva in several temples. After the death of Īśānavarman the people went to Pālaka to request him to assume the sovereignty which he declined saying while the elder Nṛiparāma was there, he should not yield to their request. After Nṛiparāma had reigned for sometime he died leaving behind a baby son: his name was Chandravarman. He also died shortly after he became king. The country became subject to foreign invasion and the Mūshaka country could not think of any other to assume the sovereignty of their kingdom except Pālaka. The people despatched emissaries to bring Pālaka for the Chēdi country. He came, conquered the enemies and became the sovereign of the Kōlarājya. After him succeeded his nephew (sister's son) Validhara. This prince was attacked in his own place by the Gaṅga army which came from the foot of the Vindhya but was successfully repulsed by that of the Mūshaka king.

Ripurāma, the nephew of Validhara, succeeded him. After him came Vikramarāma, the son of Ripurāma. In the reign of this king, the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost

submerging the temple of *Jina*. By throwing large blocks of stone, he strengthened the shore and saved the temple from destruction. He was succeeded by Janamāni, Śaṅkhavarman and Jayamāni. When the poet refers to Kōla the capital of the kingdom, he describes it as situated on the bank of the river Prathanā and that it was surrounded by a powerful fort encircled by deep moats. It is stated that just as the proverb goes that in the *āsrama* of those great beings who have attained the *siddhis*, beasts naturally inimical to each other live in harmony, so in the country of Mūshaka religions with dreadfully opposed doctrines flourished harmoniously.

Sarga XIII.

Vaḷabha the powerful and eminent sovereign reigned next. Once upon a time the chief of Bhaṭasthali revolted against Vaḷabha; the latter marched against the chief of Bhaṭasthali and drove him out of his country and conferred it upon Nṛiparāma, a member of his family.

Kundavarman, the younger brother of Vaḷabha, succeeded his brother in the government of the Mūshika kingdom. He was renowned throughout the world as a wise and good sovereign and ruled his kingdom for a long time. He built the town named Nārāyaṇapura in honour of the god Vishṇu.

After Kundavarman died, his nephew (sister's son), Pālaka ascended the throne, but died after a short reign. His relation, Ripurāma, the governor of Bhaṭasthali, took up the government of the Mūshaka-rājya and ruled over it in a commendable manner. Ripurāma was succeeded by Gambhīra, the nephew of Pālaka. On one occasion, the chief of Marupura intercepted the despatches of Gambhīra, which, coming to the knowledge of the latter, so excited his wrath that he started forthwith to punish the offending prince, met him in battle defeated and killed him and also set fire to his town and burnt it completely.

Gambhīra was succeeded by his younger brother Jayamāni. Nothing noteworthy is recorded of him except that he reigned for a long time. His nephew, Vaḷabha, was appointed the *yuvarāja* of the Mūshaka-rājya. Vaḷabha had a younger brother named Rājadharmā. When he was young, Vaḷabha paid a visit to the flourishing brāhmaṇa village of Chellūra, which was retaining still the traits of a better age than the present Kaliyuga, where brāhmaṇas were learned in the Vēdas and were duly performing the various rites and ceremonies and where once lived the famous brāhmaṇas, Bhava and Nandi. When he approached Śambarapura, the suburb of Chellūra, the prince got down from his vehicle, walked to the famous temple of Vishṇu in that town and offered obeisance to that deity. Then he went to the temple of Śiva constructed by Śatasōma and worshipped the god, who is said to be pleased with those who please the brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas of that place requested him to have the temple repaired and this he ordered to be done immediately. Receiving the blessings of the brāhmaṇas of that village he returned to the capital where lived his uncle and other elders.

Sarga XIV.

Rāmaghaṭa, (this appears to be another name of Jayamāni) learnt that the king of Kēraḷa had started out to oppose the Chōḷa king who was invading his country and to assist the former he sent his nephew Vaḷabha. After making obeisance to his uncle and obtaining his permission, Vaḷabha proceeded southwards to join the king of Kēraḷa, with drums and bugles sounding. The journey was a long and tedious one and had to be done in several stages. One day, while camping

on his way, a messenger brought the sad news of the death of the king Rāmaghaṭa and the usurpation of the country by one Vikramarāma. The anger of Vaḷabha on hearing the latter news was even more than the sorrow for the death of his uncle. He proceeded straight against the usurper, after sending word to the king of Kēraḷa about the happenings in his country. On the way he paid a visit to the rich and flourishing temple of Sugata (Buddha) at the holy and righteous town of Mūlavāsa, worshipped the Lord of the temple, received the blessings of the Jaina (Bauddha ?) great men of that place and proceeded directly to the capital of his kingdom. As soon as he reached it, he laid siege to the fort in which Vikramarāma had taken his stand. Not being able to withstand the siege Vikramarāma secretly quitted the fort that night and escaped. Next morning Vaḷabha took possession of the fort and put to the sword such of the inmates as deserved capital punishment, drove away all useless men and took under his protection those that submitted to him peacefully, and assumed the sovereignty of his ancestral kingdom of Mūshaka. The priests performed the *abhishēka* (anointment) ceremony on an auspicious day by bathing him with sanctified water poured from golden vessels. The sight of this prince, covered with a coating of sandal paste and seated upon a golden throne resembled the elephant Airāvata standing upon the summit of the mount Mēru. As the fame of Vaḷabha began to spread the prosperity of other kings began to fall. He founded at the mouth of the river Kiḷḷā the port of Murāhi, which became replete with the articles of merchandize brought in ship from distant lands by foreign merchants. He also erected a fort with high walls, having loftly towers in them and surrounded by deep moats at Vaḷabhapaṭṭaṇam. He also set up with great piety the god Ārya (Śāstā), whose prowess is dreaded by the *asuras*. The great hero Rāma (of the *Rāmāyana*) crossed the sea and conquered only one island, Lanka, but Vaḷabha took several islands. No other king possessed to that degree enthusiasm, liberality, power and other good qualities as did Vaḷabha. He was a great patron of learning and was highly praised by the poets of his time.

Sarga XV.

After Vaḷabha, Śrīkaṇṭha (=Rājadharma ?), his brother, who was a devotee of Śrīkaṇṭha (=Śiva), ascended the throne. While referring to this king the poem distinctly states that he was living at the time of its composition. Throughout it employs the present tense in mentioning his qualities, which the poet describes in 36 verses and prays for his long life. It is stated that Śrīkaṇṭha was a very powerful king. He repaired the temples of Vaṭukēśvara and Ahīraṇēśvara; of these the latter was completely ruined and there remained only the image of the god Ahīraṇēśvara. He recovered all the lands belonging to the temples from those who had misappropriated them and himself granted to the temples more lands and riches. Thus gloriously was reigning the king Śrīkaṇṭha. (A large number of verses after this portion is left off in the only copy of the poem available to me). So far about the contents of the *kāvya*.

Let me now discuss a few points of historical interest in it in the next section.

(To be continued).

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TRAVANCORE

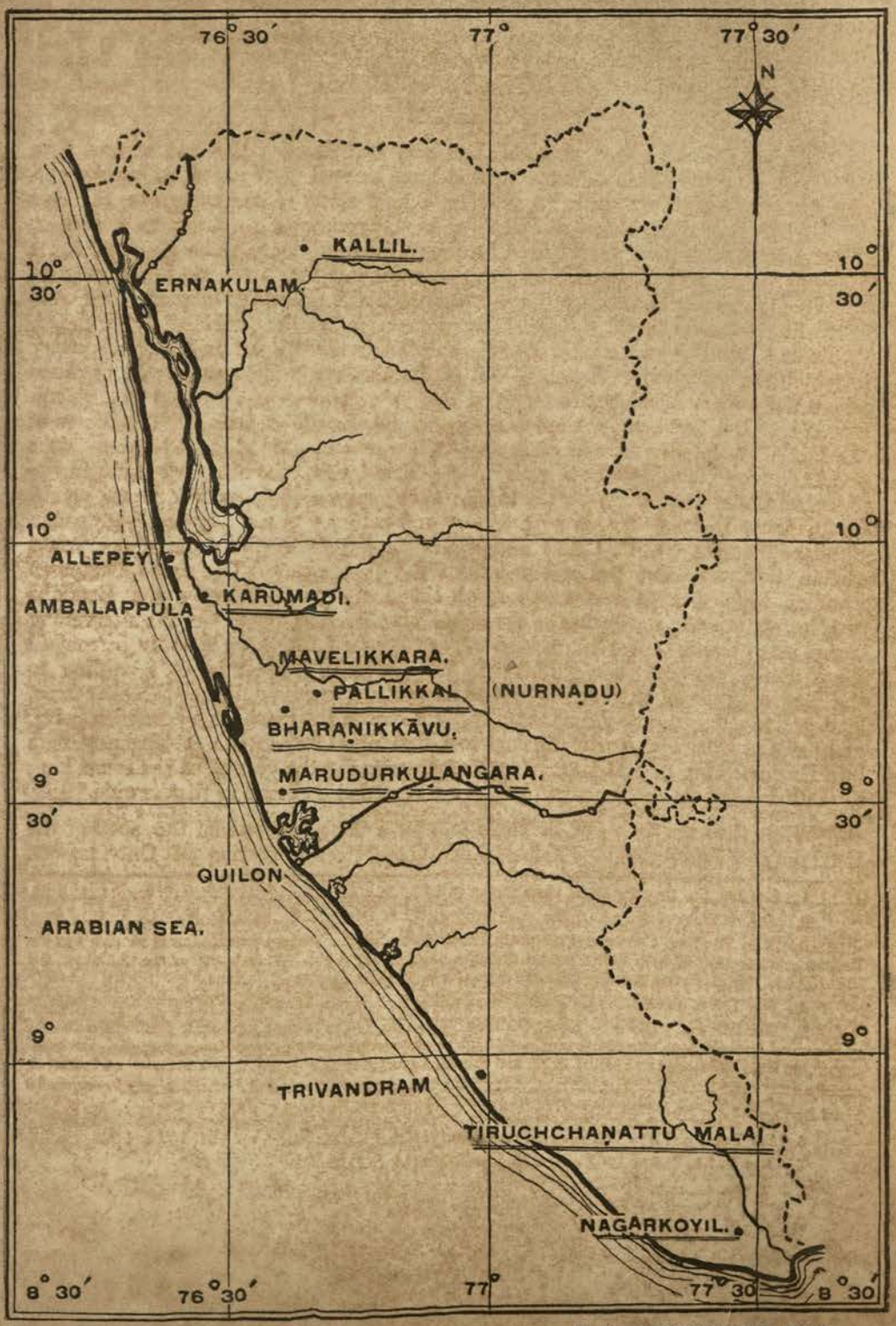
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Volume II, Part II.

JAINA AND BAUDDHA VESTIGES IN TRAVANCORE,

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

Map of Travancore showing the positions of the Bauddha and Jaina relics.



T. A. GOPINATHA RAO.

BAUDDHA AND JAINA VESTIGES IN TRAVANCORE.

It is a well-known fact that the Bauddha and Jaina faiths had at one time held sway over the whole of India and claimed several millions of followers and that the former died out entirely, leaving behind a few of its vestiges in the land of its birth, while the latter still lingers in a precarious condition as a sort of fugitive faith, profoundly influenced by Hindu surroundings. The glory of these religious faiths is today treasured in the monuments they have left in many parts of India. The earliest known period in which the Bauddha religion came into S. India appears to be when Aśōka's mission arrived in the courts of the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷaputra kingdoms. We have lithic records in the Pāṇḍya country in which the alphabet employed is that of the Aśōkan period, engraved in places where there were Bauddha fraternities living.[1] The Jainas are said to have migrated into the south under the leadership of Bhadrabāhusvāmin.[2] The kings of the Drāviḍa countries were in early times adherents of Bauddha and Jaina faiths and had done much for these religions.[3] The latest known record belonging to Buddhism was discovered by me in the Śiva temple at Tiruchchōpuram in the South Arcot District.[4] It is fragmentary and belongs to the reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A. D. 1251) and refers to a gift of which the donor was a certain Śārīputra Paṇḍita and mentions the Śaṅgattārs. The name Śārīputra Paṇḍita coupled with the mention of the Śaṅgattār, evidently the Bauddha Saṅgha, stamps the inscription as a genuine Bauddha document. In the intervening period many south Indian kings who were of Hindu faith, have liberally patronised these non-Vaidic religions. The early Pāṇḍya king, Rājasiṁha II, according to the larger Śiṉṉamaṉūr grant, is said to have given innumerable *paḷḷichchandams*, land-grants made to non-Vaidic temples.[5] Rājarāja the great, a very staunch Śaiva, granted the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam to a Bauddha *vihāra* built at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam by a Burmese king named Māravijayōttuṅgavarman;[6] the grants of the same king to the Jaina temple at Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai are recorded on stone in that temple.[7]

While thus the whole of S. India was for a long time under the spell of the Bauddha and Jaina religious faiths, Travancore, itself a portion of Drāviḍa, was

1. See *Ep. An. Rep.* for 1912, plate facing p. 57.

2. *Ins. at Śravana Belgoḷa*, Intro. p. 5

3. Kūṉ Pāṇḍya, the contemporary of Tirujñānasambandha was a staunch Jaina; so also was the Pallava contemporary of both Tirujñānasambandha and Apparsvāmigaḷ. Some kings of the Chālukya, the Rāshṭrakūṭa, the Kadamba and the Hoysaḷa dynasties were great patrons of Jainism.

4. No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphist's collection for the year 1904.

5. For instance, while referring to the king Rājasiṁha II the larger Śiṉṉamaṉūr grant states that he gave several *brahmadēyas*, *dēvadānas* and *paḷḷichchandas*, names denoting the lands granted to the brāhmaṇas, to the Hindu gods and to the Jaina and Bauddha temples. The passage reads thus:— நங்கோன் எண்ணிறந்த ப்ரஹ்மதெயமும் எண்ணிறந்த தெவதானமும் எண்ணிறந்த பள்ளிச்சந்தமும் எத்திசையுமினிதியற்றி &c.

6. See *Tamiḻ and Sāṅskṛit Inscriptions* by Burgess and Naṭēśa Śāstri, pp. 204, 207 and 208.

7. Nos. 381 to 385 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphist's Collection.

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equally, if not more, under their influence. The Bauddha faith was firmly established in the very centre of Malabar, in a place called Śrī Mūlavāsam, which is now under the sea. The large number of Bauddha images, photographs of which are reproduced hereunder, found in the Māvēlikkara, Kuṇṇattūr, Karunāgappaḷḷi and Ambalappuḷai Tālūkās, clearly indicate the prevalence of the faith of Śākya-siṁha in all these parts and very likely these images represent at least as many temples of Buddha in as many places. In the article on the *Mūshaka-Vaṁśa*, I have stated, on its authority, that in the reign of the king Vikramarāma "the sea began to encroach upon land and was almost submerging under it the temple of Jina (*i. e.* Buddha). By throwing large blocks of stone, he strengthened the shore and saved the temple from destruction." This temple is said to have been that of Buddha at Śrīmūlavāsam, which was visited by Vaḷabha, the nephew of Gambhīra, when he was on his way back to his capital from a campaign in the south against the Chōḷa. This temple is referred to in the *kāvya* thus:—

प्रथितमिह जिनस्य श्रीनिकेतं कदाचि-
न्मुषितजनविपत्तेरालयं मूलवासम् ।
पृथुचटुलतुरङ्गक्षुब्धवेलातटान्तः
कबलयितुमुदन्वानुद्धतं व्याजजृम्भे ॥ १२,९६ ॥
उपसृत्य नित्यसुसमृद्ध-
विभवगुरुधर्मपारगम् ।
तत्र सुगतमतिकारुणिकं
शुचिमूलवासजुषमभ्यवन्दत ॥ १४,२५ ॥

This important temple of Buddha was indeed in a flourishing condition in the reign of the Āy king Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, that is, in the third quarter of the ninth century A. D. This king had granted in his reign extensive landed property to the temple in the year A. D. 868.[1] He also figures as a donee to the equally famous Jaina temple of Chitarāl in the Viḷavaṅgōḍu tālūkā.[2] But by the time of the Mūshaka king Vaḷabha, the temple of Buddha at Śrīmūlavāsa was on the verge of ruin on account of the inroads of the sea. This must be ascribed to a time sufficiently posterior to A. D. 868; Vaḷabha is said to have marched south to join the army of the king of Kēraḷa who was attacked by the Chōḷa king. The earliest Chōḷa kings, so far as we know at present, who have attacked the Kēraḷa kings are Rājarāja I and his son Rājēndrachōḷa. The victorious campaigns of the former appear to have been limited to the extreme south of the Kēraḷa kingdom, whereas those of his illustrious son were directed against the Ilāmuri-dēśam (Sāmuri-dēśam?) and other parts of the Kēraḷa country. It is therefore more likely that the Chōḷa aggressor of the Kēraḷa king of the time of Vaḷabha was perhaps Rājēndrachōḷadēva I. The temple of Buddha at Mūlavāsam must have perished therefore in or about

1. The portion of the document referring to the grant reads thus:—மற்றுங்கோயிற்குரியதெல்லாமகப் படிருமூலவாதத்து படாரர்க்கட்டிக்குடுத்த[து].

2. See *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 193-195.

the first quarter of the 11th century, just about the time, when another famous temple of Buddha, namely, the Chūḍāmaṇivarma-Vihāra, came into existence on the opposite coast, at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam, on almost the same latitude as Mūlavāsam. It is interesting to note that Vikramāditya Varaguṇa who is the son of Kōkkarunandaḍakkaṉ, the builder of the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram, perhaps himself a staunch Hindu, begins his document with invocations to Buddha (Śauddhōdani), Dharma and Saṅgha.[1]

That Śrīmūlavāsam was of great celebrity in ancient times is proved by the discovery of an image of Lōkēśvara by M. Foucher in Gandhāra bearing the following short inscription on it:—

"दक्षिणापथे मूलवासलोकनाथ"[2]

The use of the term *Dakshiṅā-patha* removes all doubt about the situation of Śrīmūlavāsam. If a duplicate of the image of the Lōkēśvara was set up for worship even in such a distant country as Gandhāra, there is not the least doubt about the great sanctity with which the original was held by the Bauddhas all over the world. The presence of such an all important temple of Buddha must necessarily have induced people to erect more temples to this deity in all the adjacent parts, and this might account for a number of images all of which are found practically in one place, that is, near Śrīmūlavāsam.

There is a tradition in Malabar that the last of the Chēramān Perumāḷs became a Bauddha and went away somewhere in a ship leaving his kingdom to a number of his relations and dependents. It is believed by the word Bauddha, which is today applied in Malabar to all *avaidika* religions, is meant Muhammadanism and the land to which Chēramān Perumāḷ sailed away was Arabia. It is very likely that he actually became a Bauddha under the influence of the Bauddhist teachers at Mūlavāsam.

Again, a large portion of the flourishing trade of the Malabar Coast was in the hands of the Chinese before the advent of the Arabs. Marco Polo refers to the ships of Manzi, that is, China south of the Hwang-ho river, coming to Malabar Coast; says he, "Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi; coarse spices are exported both to Manzi and to the West."[3] Al Kaswin writing some time between A. D. 1263 to 1275 his account about India, which was gathered from the works of others, states curiously enough while writing about "Kulam, a large city in India" that, "when their king dies the

1. The following are the verses referred to above:—

यः कल्याणमयः स्वयं वितनुते यः कल्पकस्य स्थितिं यस्मादभ्युदितस्तमांसि हरते सद्धर्मघर्मद्युतिः ।
यत्पादाश्रयिणो भवन्ति सुखिनस्सर्वे गणाः प्राणिनान्धेयान्मेरुरिवापरस्त्रिजगतीं सर्वां स शौद्धोदनिः ॥ १ ॥
आत्माकारग्रहणविमुखावाहतापाङ्गलीलौ प्राप्तौ नित्यं श्रुतिमतितृषानेकरूपावबोधौ ।
देव्या भूमेर्निखिलकुमतिध्वान्तरोधान्विताया नेत्रायेतां जितकुवलयौ धर्मसंधौ चिराय ॥ २ ॥

2. *L'Iconographie Bouddhique* par A. Foucher, Part I, p. 105, Pl. iv, No. 5.

3. Logan's *Malabar*–p. 285.

people of the place choose another from China." If this were true, there might have been a colony of Chinese at Quilon as is surmised in a foot-note by Mr. Logan.[1] If there existed large colonies of Chinese in Malabar before the 13th century, there is no wonder in Buddhism having been a flourishing religion in that region.

The *Mānasāra* has the following concise description of the image of a Jaina Tīrthankara; for various reasons though the work appears to be of South Indian origin, the description given in it of the image of Jina is closely followed throughout India and other countries in sculpturing it:—

अथ स्थावरजङ्गमलक्षणं प्रारभ्यते—
स्थावरं जङ्गमं चैव लक्षणं वक्ष्यतेऽधुना ।
द्विभुजं च द्विनेत्रं च मुण्डतारं[2] च शीर्षकम् ॥
ऋजुस्थानकसंयुक्तं तथा चासनमेव च ।
समाङ्घ्रि.....[3]लम्बहस्तद्वयं तथा ॥
आसनं च द्विपादौ च पद्मासनं तु संयुतम् ।
ऋजुकं च ऋजोभावं योगान्तत्परमान्तकम्[4] ॥
सव्यासव्यहस्तं च मूलोर्ध्वोर्ध्वमुखं करो ।
स्थानकं चासनं वापि सिंहासनोपरि न्यसेत्॥
अपरे तु निव्यूहं कु[5].....।
नारदादिऋषिर्देवान् संगैस्सह देवते ॥
यक्षविद्याधराद्यैश्च चक्रमन्व्यादिभूपतिम् ।
नागेन्द्राय च[6] दिक्पालान् यक्षैश्च सह सेवितान् ।
यक्षयक्षेश्वरै पार्श्वे चामरौक्षतसेवितान् ॥
चतुक्रियान्तरिक्षे तु तस्योधोजनसेवितान्[7] ॥
स्फटिकश्वेतरक्तं च पीतश्यामनिभं तथा ।
सिद्धादिश्च सुगन्धश्च जनं चाहन्तु पार्श्वकम् ॥

1. Ibid. p. 282, also foot-note 6.
2. Read **मुण्डाकारं.**
3. The blank may be filled up with **स्थानकं कुर्यात्.**
4. Could the reading be **योगतत्परमानसम्?**
5. **अपरे तु मुनि?**
6. Could it be **नागेन्द्रारूढ?**
7. **जिन?**

एतत्पञ्चपरमेष्ठिपञ्चवेरं यथाक्रमम् ।
उत्तमंदशतालेन देवाङ्गैस्सह मानयेत् ॥
चतुर्विंशतितीर्थानां दशतालेन कारयेत् ।
नीराहरणसर्वांगं[1] निरस्तांगं मनोहरम् ॥
सव्यवक्षस्स्थले हेमवर्णं श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनम् ।
द्वारे चण्डं महाचण्डं कुर्यात्सव्यापसव्यके ॥
एवं तु शिरमित्युक्तं[2] शेषमागमकोक्तवत् ।

Chap. 55.

That is,

The image of Jina should have only two arms, two eyes and a cropped head, either standing with legs kept straight or in the *ābhaṅga* manner; or it may be seated in the *padmāsana* posture, wherein also the body must be kept erect. The figure should be so sculptured as to indicate deep contemplation; the right palm should be kept facing upwards upon the left palm held in the same manner (and both of them resting upon the crossed legs). On the *simhāsana* on which the image of Jina is seated (and round the *prabhāvaḷi*) should be shown the figures of Nārada and other *ṛishis*, hosts of gods (and goddesses), Vidhyādharas, the Dikpālas seated upon elephants, Yakshas and Yakshēśvaras and others, as either seated or standing in the air and offering worship to the Jina.

Below the *simhāsana* must be the figures of (other) Jinas in a worshipping attitude; these are the *Siddhas* (or *ādiśiddhas*?), the *Sugandhas* (*Sugatas*?), *Chāhantu* (*chārhantas*, i. e., Arhats?), *Jana* (Jina?) and *Pārśvakas;* these five classes are known by the name of *Pañcha-paramēshṭins.* The complexion of these are respectively that of the *sphaṭika* (crystal), white, red, black and yellow. The central Jina figure should be shaped according to the *uttama-daśa-tāla* measure, whereas those of the *dēvatās* and the 24 *Tīrthaṅkaras* surrounding him in the other (*madhyama* and *adhama*) *daśa-tāla* measure. The body should be perfectly free from ornaments, but on the right side of the chest (a little over the nipple) there should be the *Śrīvatsa* mark of golden colour.

On the right and left of the gate of the temple of Jina there should be the *Dvārapālakas* named Chaṇḍa and Mahāchaṇḍa respectively.

The *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā* devotes a verse each to the description of the images of Jina and Buddha and they are as follows:—

पद्माङ्कितकरचरणः प्रसन्नमूर्त्तिः सुनीचकेशश्च ।
पद्मासनोपविष्टः पितेव जगतो भवति बुद्धः ॥

1. Read either **निरावरणं** or **निराभरणं.**
2. Read **जिनमित्युक्तं.**

आजानुलम्बबाहुः श्रीवत्साङ्कः प्रशान्तमूर्तिश्च ।
दिग्वासास्तरुणो रूपवांश्च कार्योऽर्हतां देवः ॥

Bṛihat-Saṁhitā, Chap. *Pratimā-lakshaṇam*, vv. 44 & 45.

The description of the image of Buddha is given in the *Mānasāra* thus:—

बौद्धस्य लक्षणं वक्ष्ये सम्यक् च विधिनाधुना ।
जनदेवास्थिरं[1] युक्तं स्थानकं च विशेषतः ॥
स्थानकं चासनं वापि सिंहासनादिसंयुतम् ।
अत्यर्थवृक्षसंयुक्तं[2] कल्पवृक्षं नयान्न्यसेत् ॥
शुद्धं तु श्वेतवर्णं स्यात् विशालाननसंयुतम् ।
लम्बकर्णायताक्षं स्यात् तुङ्गघोणं स्थिताननम् ॥
दीर्घबाहुं विशालाक्षं वक्षस्स्थलं च सुन्दरम् ।
मांसलाङ्गं सुसंपूर्णं लम्बोदरपूर्णकृतिः ॥
समपादस्थानकं कुर्याल्लम्बहस्तं सुखासनम् ।
द्विभुजं च द्विनेत्रं च उष्णीषोज्ज्वलमौलिकम् ॥
एवं तु स्थानकं कुर्यादासनादि यथोक्तवत् ।
पीताम्बरधरं कुर्यात्स्थानके चासनेपि च ॥
पीतं वामभुजे चोर्ध्वे सार्धकं सदना.....।
.....वापि दारुशैलं च लोहजम् ॥
चित्रं वा सा(?प्य)र्धचित्रं वा चित्राभासमथापि वा ।
पीठे वा भित्तिके वापि कुर्यात्कीर्तिं च शर्करा ॥
उत्तमंदशतालेन.....त्वङ्गमानकम् ।
शेषं प्रागुक्तवत् कुर्यात्तत्तदागमवद् बुधः ॥

Chap. 56, *Bauddha-lakshaṇa-vidhānam.*

That is,

The image of Buddha may be sculptured either as standing or seated upon a *siṁhāsana* or other seats; when shown as seated upon a *siṁhāsana* there should be, in addition to the *kalpaka* tree,[3] the peepal (*aśvattha*) tree shown in the sculpture.

---

1. Read **जिनदेवा**°.

2. Read **अश्वत्थ**°.

3. The *kalpaka* tree should always be shown behind the *siṁhāsana;* see *siṁhāsana-lakshaṇa* in my article on "*Kings Crowns* and *Thrones*" in the *Modern Review* for 1917.

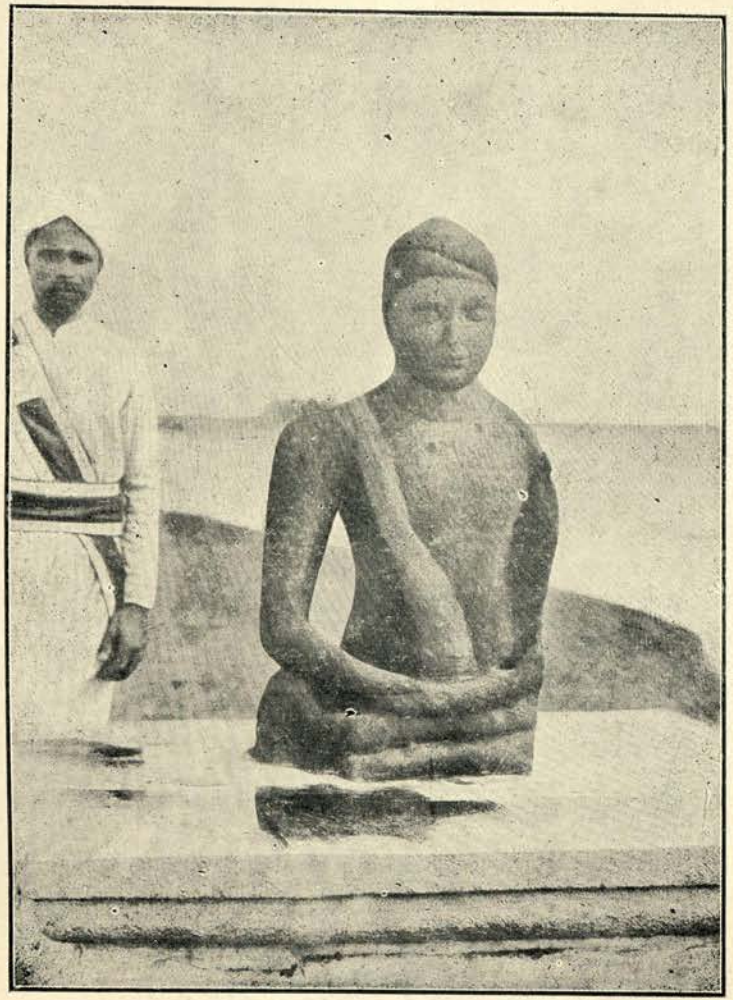


Fig. 1. Karumadi Kuttan. Height about 3 ft.

Photo by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

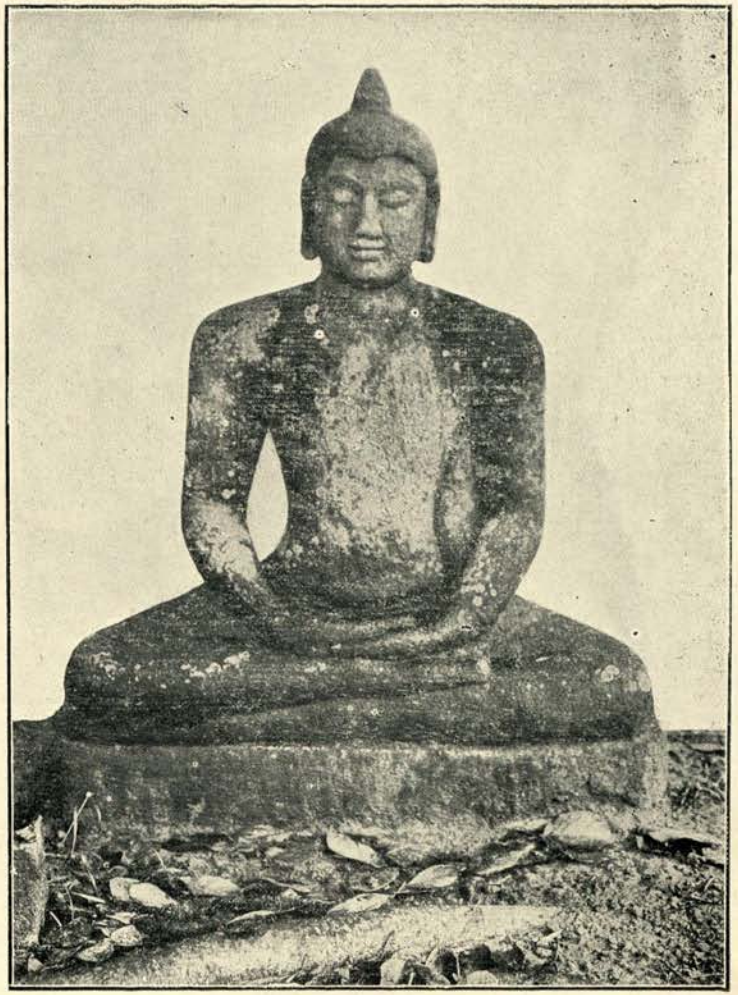


Fig. 2. Mavelikkarai Buddha. Height about 2′ 6″.

Half-Tone block by the Calcutta Phototype Co.

The figure of Buddha should be of white colour, with a broad smiling face, the ear-lobes (which are to be pierced) hanging, having broad and long eyes, prominent nose, long arms, beautiful chest, slightly fatty limbs and a somewhat hanging belly. The image of Buddha should have only two eyes and a pair of arms; its head should possess the *ushṇīsha* (the hair on the scalp) which should be done up in the shape of a *kiriṭa*. In the case of the standing image, the legs must be placed straight (without bends, such as are seen in the case of *ābhaṅga* images, about which, see my "*Elements of Hindu Iconography*", Vol. I, Appendix B.). Whether seated or standing, the image must be clothed in yellow robes. The figure of Buddha may be made of wood, stone or metal; it may be carved in the round, in half-relief or may be painted on the wall; and it must be sculptured according to the *daśa-tāla* measure.

Dr. Ānandakumārasvāmi has given in his excellent book, the *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, on the authority of a Ceylonese *Śilpa-śāstra* called the *Śāriputra*, iconometric measurements of the image of Buddha. The most interesting point to be noted in these measurements is the proportion of the distance between the knee and its opposite shoulder e. g., between the left knee and the right shoulder to its total height, which is a practical test for assuring oneself if the image is sculptured in accordance with the *śāstra* (*śāstrōkta*), or not.

I have been able to discover no less than five images of Buddha in Central Travancore. The first is so well-known to the Travancoreans as the Kuṭṭaṉ of the village of Karumāḍi. By the side of the public canal to the west of the Kāmapuram temple, near Karumāḍi, there is seated the image of Kuṭṭaṉ made of black stone. Its left hand is broken and lost. Local tradition says that it was one of the many minor deities sent out from Cheṅgaṉṉūr for the destruction of Dēvanārāyaṇa, the brāhmaṇa king of Ambalappuḷai and that the presiding deity of Kāmapuram caught hold of one of them and petrified and fixed him there. Another story regarding this image is that when the Vilvamaṅgala Svāmiyār was passing along, a Pulayaṉ (the lowest caste man) polluted him by approaching him and the sage, in anger, is said to have cursed him to become a stone.

The neighbours propitiate the image by offerings whenever their cattle or children get ill. People passing along in boats also make offerings of cocoanuts &c. to it.

That Karumāḍi Kuṭṭaṉ is a Bauddha and not a Jaina image becomes patent from the *Ushṇīsha* and the *Jvālā* on its head and traces of the upper cloth passing over the chest. It is almost three feet in height and is seated in the *Yōgāsana* posture. It was recently removed from the canal, where it lay in water for several years, and set upon a masonry pedestal on dry ground by the enlightened Chief Engineer of the State, Mr. A. H. Bastow, M. A., M. C. E., M. I. C. E. (Pl I, fig 1).

The second image of Buddha was discovered in the compound attached to a house near the Traveller's Bungalow at Māvēlikkara. It is nearly three feet in height, including the pedestal upon which it is seated. It is in a very good state of preservation. The owner of the house states as an objection to its removal to the Napier Museum at Trivandrum that at times it is worshipped by some people by

lighting a lamp near it and offering cocoanuts etc, and its removal will therefore be regarded as sacreligious by them. The *ushṇīsha*, *jvālā* and the uppercloth could be very well noticed in photograph of the figure reproduced below. The uppercloth which is worn in the *upavīta* fashion comes benind the body and the left arm; therefore it is that the sculptor in this and other instances has left the stone uncut, while in the corresponding interspace between the right arm and the body it is cut (See fig. 2 Pl. I and figs. 1 and 2 Pl. II).

The third illustration is the reproduction of the photograph of the image of Buddha at Bharaṇikkāvu, a suburb of that Paḷḷikkal which is near Māvēlikkarai, and is situated at a distance of five miles to the north-west of Māvēlikkara. It is very elegantly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation; its total height including the pedestal is about two feet. The upper cloth, more especially the many-folded piece passing over the left shoulder and lying flat on the chest, has come out very well in the photograph. The usual *ushṇīsha* and the *jvālā* on the head distinguish it from the images of the Jaina Tīrthankaras, which do not have these characteristics peculiar to the Buddha images. (Pl. II, fig. 1).

The fourth illustration comes from another village named Paḷḷikkal, but which belongs to the Kuṇṇattūr Tālūkā; it is situated at a distance of $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Aḍūr, the head quarters of the Kuṇṇattūr Tālūkā and has no roads within three miles from it.[1] In a plot of land belonging to a Malayāḷi there is a portion left covered by jungle, in the middle of which was seated mortised on a pedestal consisting of a separate slab of stone, a headless image of Buddha, which is almost of the same size and shape as the Bharaṇikkāvu image. Search was made in vain for the detached head. The owner of the plot of ground was under the impression that this strange deity, locally known as Puttarachchaṉ, was causing illness to the inmates of his house. He was glad to part with it to me for a small consideration, if only I dared to remove it myself from its situation. I consented to bear the sin or virtue of removing it and bought it from him at my cost for presenting it to the Museum at Trivandram. He was pleased to get rid of it, because he could clear the jungle and reclaim the land for cultivation. The mortice under the *padmāsana* of the image was cut off and the image removed with some difficulty to the Trivandram Museum, where it is placed in the Archaeological Section.

In this image, which is not dissimilar to the Bharaṇikkāvu one, the characteristic feature is, the *padmāsana* upon which it is seated. The petals of the lotus are sculptured in low relief (both the *adhahpadma* and the *ūrdhvapadma*). The cloth worn by it is shown running over the two ankles, the chest and the shoulder; the folded portion of the cloth is thrown on the left shoulder and descends down the chest. (See fig. 2, Pl. II).

The fifth image of Buddha, whose photograph is reproduced below, was discovered in the village of Marudūrkuḷaṅgara in the Karunāgappaḷḷi Tālūkā of the

1. It is interesting to note that at this place there is a plot of ground, very near the site at which this image was found, known locally as the Puttarkāḍu and a tank near the same which is called the Puttarkuḷam. Be it also noted that all the places called Paḷḷikkal seem to be associated with the Buddha worship.

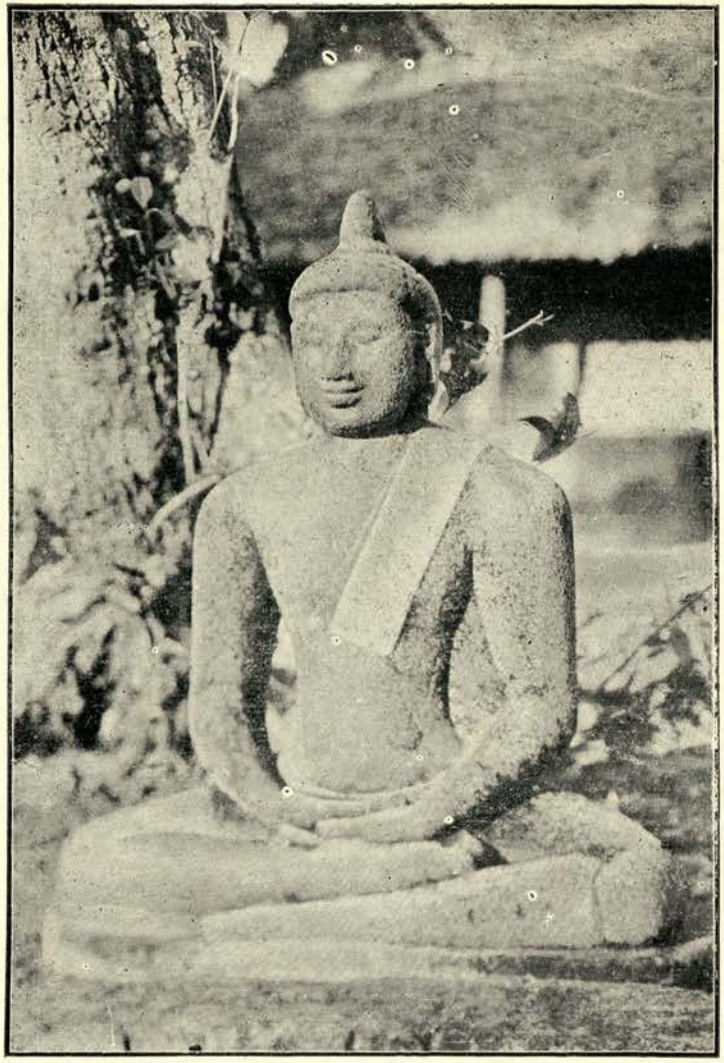


Fig. 1. Bharanikkavu Buddha. Height about 2 ft.

Photo by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

Fig. 2. Palikkal Buddha. Height about 2 ft.

Half-Tone block by the Calcutta Phototype Co.

Image of Buddha found at Marudurkulangarai near Karunagappalli.

Quilon Division. It was seated on the bank of a tank locally known by the name of the Paḷḷikkal-kuḷam, opposite a Nāyar house known as the Paḷḷikkal house. The image, as might be seen in the photograph, is in a good state of preservation; the *padmāsana* on which it must have originally been seated is now lost. Arrangements have been made to remove it to the Napier Museum for preservation in the Archaeological Section of it.

Some scholars have taken objection to my naming my work "*The Elements of Hindu Iconography*", while I had, as they observed, actually described only South Indian images and they proposed to me that the name "*Elements of South Indian Iconography*" would be better suited for it. This suggestion of theirs is based upon their conception that the *āgamic* descriptions were meant for application only to South Indian images; they did not perceive that the descriptions were closely followed in the making of North Indian images also; in other words, the descriptions are of universal application, whether the images were found in the south or the north portion of India, in Burma, Siam, China, Japan, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon or Turkistan. The only differences noticeable in the images of various countries are their facial appearance and their costume. The above observation is exemplified in the description of an image of Buddha found in western China: "The niche is rectangular and measures 2m 70cm in width and 2m 75cm high. The walls are carved sufficiently coarsely; but the personage whom it shelters, very nearly detached from the rock, is of surpassing elegance; it has a supple body, fine (slender) waist, seated upon a ledge of the wall, highly bending upon the river, the right leg crossed horizontally upon the other. The attachment of the hands (which are wanting) is very strongly joined. The trunk is bare under a scarf thrown upon the left shoulder. A clothed tunic covers the belly and models the thighs and legs, the head-gear is big and richly ornamented. The visage is destroyed by voluntary (wanton) mutilation. But two beautiful twisted curls of hair encircle still."[1]

From the map of Travancore given at the beginning of this article, it will be observed that all the places where images of Buddha were discovered are within half a minute of the latitude and longitude of the earth; while the Jaina centres of worship are on the extreme north and south of the State. From the fact that all the Buddha images are found in Central Travancore, I am inclined to think that the famous Buddha temple of Śrīmūlavāsam must also have been situated on the sea-coast very near these places, say near Tirukkuṇṇappuḷai or Ambalappuḷai. From an inscription found in the Vishṇu temple adjoining the temple of Śāsta at Tirukkuṇṇappuḷai we learn that the structure of the temple originally stood on the sea-coast and that finding that it was in danger of being washed away by the sea, an ancestor of the Iḍappaḷḷi Rājā dismantled it and reconstructed it in the place where it is now found. This statement clearly shows that even within recent times the sea had been encroching upon land near Tirukkuṇṇappuḷai, and that it must have swallowed the Śrīmūlavāsam Bauddha temple some centuries ago.

The belief among the teachers of history in our schools and colleges is that Buddhism died in the land of its birth not long after its birth, and that the Brāhmaṇas killed it and drove away all its followers. From what we have said above, it would

1. May-June 1916, Premier Exposition of Archaeological results obtained in Western China by the Mission Gilbert de Voisins, Jean Lartigue and Victor Segalen (1914), Review Asiatique.

be patent that in Southern India Buddhism flourished till about the end, at least, of the 13th century A. D. I should direct the attention of the readers to my article on the "*Bauddha Vestiges in Kāñchīpura*", wherein would be found some more interesting information regarding Buddhism in Southern India. The article is published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV. Since the publication of this article, I have discovered seven more Buddha images in and near Ēkāmranāthasvāmi temple at that place. Dr. Kern, the eminent authority on Buddhism, is of opinion, I believe a very correct one also, that the downfall of Buddhism is due to Muhammadans. Mr. Nāgēndranāth Vāsu has traced Buddhism in modern India in his interesting book entitled "*Modern Buddhism*" which must be studied carefully by every student of Buddhism, as it contains much valuable information.

The village of Cheṭṭikkuḷaṅgarai, situated at a distance of about two miles from Māvēlikkarai, has a temple of Bhagavatī, who is held in great veneration by the Hindus living round it. A grand festival is celebrated to the goddess in the month of Kumbham (February) when the surrounding villagers (*karaikkārs*) exhibit twelve or thirteen elegantly constructed cars. This exhibition is locally known as *Kaṭṭukāḻchchai*. These are erected with upright poles to which are tied cross pieces and the whole covered with white cloths and ornamented with others of different colours. These temporary structures are mounted upon wheels and dragged in front of the temple. It might be noticed from the photograph (Pl. IV) that there are two varieties of cars, one a slender, tall and graceful sort (situated on the left) and another which resembles almost exactly a Nepalese wooden temple (and which is seen on the right of the photograph). The former is somehow curiously called a *kudirai* (a horse) and the latter a *tēr* (a car). The *kudirai* has five tiers at the bottom and seven members in the crowning piece. The latter might correspond to the seven umbrellas, sacred to Buddha and is generally seen surmounting *dagobas*. In the *tēr* (car) are generally three storeys. No one of the local men is able to explain the origin and nature of this most extraordinary custom, which prevails there, in Quilon and in one or two places only. To me it appears to be a relic of the Buddha festivals in which were actually employed a number of cars. I give below the car festival noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian "at Patna on the eighth day of the fourth moon of the month of Āshāḍha, which in the Court Almanac of Pekin is called "the holy birthday of Buddha". Regarding it he says, "every year in celebration of the eighth day of the moon Mao, they prepare four-wheeled cars on which they erect bamboo stages, supported by spears, so that they form a pillar two *chang* high, having the appearance of a tower. They cover it with a carpet of white felt, upon which they place the images of all the celestial divinities, which they decorate with gold and silver and coloured glass. Above they spread an awning of embroidered work; at the four corners are little chapels, having each a Buddha seated, with Bōdhisatvas standing beside him. There may be about twenty cars, all differing from each other in their ornament and importance. On this day all the streets are thronged with the assembled population. Theatrical representations are exhibited, gymnastic sports and concerts of music."[1]

1. Laidlay's a *Fa Hian* p. 235, quoted by Dr. Rājēndralāla Mitra in his *Antiquities* of *Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 135.

I have already stated that somewhere about Māvēlikkarai or Ambalappuḷai, there existed on the seacoast the celebrated village of Śrīmūlavāsam, containing a very important Bauddha temple. There must have been held in this and, following its example, in all other Bauddha temples on the West Coast, car festivals similar to that witnessed by Fa Hian and the *Kaṭṭukkāḷchchai* of Cheṭṭikkuḷaṅgarai is but a reminiscence of this ancient and time honoured institution which has now lost its significance. I was pained to hear that attempts were made by a local officer to discourage this exhibition for reasons best known to himself. It is not a costly pastime, nor a pleasure which the villagers grudge paying for; on the other hand they have such strong faith that the dedication annually of a *kudirai* or *tēr* at a cost of about Rs. 25 each obtains for them the grace of the goddess which wards off dire diseases such as small-pox etc. It would be a thousand pities if, by the misdirected enthusiasm for reform of the said officer, the villagers gave up entirely the *kaṭṭukkāḷchchai.*

The history of Jainism on the West Coast is still more interesting, because it has lived there till very recently, especially in Southern Travancore. In my article on three inscriptions of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. pp. 193-94), I have given a brief description of the temple of the so-called Bhagavatī on the Tiruchchāṇattumalai near Chitarāl. On the side of the overhanging rock which forms the natural cave, are found sculptured a number of figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras, votive images carved by visitors to this holy shrine from distant places. There are the figures of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra and other Tīrthaṅkaras and of Padmāvatīdēvī. Therein I have stated my belief that even before A. D. 1250 (Ko. 425) the temple on the Tiruchchāṇattumalai had become a Hindu temple. I now think that it is a mistake, into which I was led by the name of a donor Nārāyaṇaṉ..... .Tamiḻappallavaraiyaṉ. This man who bears a Hindu name might as well have made gifts to a Jaina Bhagavatī, that is, to the Padmāvatīdēvī's temple, as did, several centuries before him, the king Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, a Hindu sovereign.[1] "The place seems to have been sufficiently famous in earlier times so as to attract Jainas from such distant places as Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai, in the Tirukkōyilūr Tālūkā of the South Arcot District, Kuḍavāśal, in the Tanjore District &c."[2] The votive figures have all engraved below their seats short inscriptions in archaic Vaṭṭeḻuttu script, mentioning the names &c., of the persons who got them carved there. A few of them are given below as samples:—

1. This inscription was edited in Vol. I. *Trav. Arch. Series*, pp. 193-195. A facsimile of the record which did not accompany the article on it then, is reproduced now; a more complete reading of the same is given below:—

1. வ்ஷ்ஸ்ரீ ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கோவிக்கிரமாத்தவரகு-
2. ணர்க்குச்செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு [இ]-
3. ருபத்தெட்டு [॥*] இவ்வாண்டு பேரயக்கு-
4. டி அரட்டகேமிபடார மணக்கிகள் குண-
5. ந்தாங்கிக் குரத்திகள் திருச்சார[ண*]த்துப்ப-
6. டாரியார்க்கு [அரவி]க்கட்டப்பொர்(ற்)க்கட்டி-
7. னகழஞ்சு பத்து[॥*] பொற்பட்டமும பொற்-
8. ப்பூவுமா[வை]ங்கழஞ்சு [॥°] கழஞ்சின்
9. பொலிகொண்டு அரவிக்[க]ட்ட இட்டது [॥*]

2. *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. P. 194.

I. ஸ்ரீ அச்சணந்தி
செய்வித்த
திருமேனி

(This is) the figure got sculptured by Achchaṇandi.

II. ஸ்ரீமேனி செய்வித்தா[ர்]
திருநெடும்பறைக்-
காட்டாம்பள்ளி[ல்]
த்தணந்தி அடிகள்.

Uttaṇandi Aḍigaḷ of the Kāṭṭāmbaḷḷi (temple) at Tiruneḍumbuṟai got sculptured (this) image.

III. ஸ்ரீ திருச்சாரணத்துப் பட்டி-
னிபடாரர் ச[ட்]டன் வர[கு]-
[ண]ந் செய்வித்த ஸ்ரீமேனி ॥—

Prosperity! (This is) the image got sculptured by Varuguṇaṇ, the disciple of Paṭṭiṇibhaṭārar of Tiruchchāraṇam.

IV. ஸ்ரீமேனி திருந ுங்கொ-
ண்டை மேலைப்பள்ளி
[வீ]ரநந்தி அடிகள்
செய்வித்தவ[வை]

(These are) the images got sculptured by Vīranandi Aḍigaḷ of the Mēlaippaḷḷi (temple) at Tirunaṟuṅgoṇḍai.

I have already given a description of the site of this once famous Jaina temple in my article on the *Chitarāl Inscription of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa* on pp. 193-194 of Vol. I, *Travancore Archaeological Series.* I reproduce now the enlarged photographs of some of the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras and of Padmāvatīdēvī on Plate V. The attention of the reader is drawn to the striking adherence of the features of the images with the description given in the *Mānasāra.* The cropped head, hanging ear lobes, the complete nudity of the figures, the contemplative mood, the *yogic padmāsana* posture, the *simhāsana* with the figures of *chauri* bearing Yakshas and Vidyādharas and other *dēvatās,*——all these are noteworthy.

Fig. 1, Pl. V shows a group of Jaina figures carved on the overhanging rock of the Bhagavatī temple on the Tiruchchāṇattumalai. The second figure from the left, a seated Tīrthaṅkara has a triple umbrella, one of the characteristic features of Jaina iconography; this feature is noticeable in all other images also of this place. It is seated in the *yōgic padmāsana* posture on a *padmāsana* seat, whose lotus petals are faintly visible in the photograph. On either side is a Yaksha or Vidyādhara carrying a *chāmara* each. Above the head of the left Yaksha is a *dēva,* sculptured as flying in the air, offering worship to the Tīrthaṅkara below.

Next to this figure and on its left stands one of Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara. This tall, graceful figure is seen standing, as required by the *Mānasāra,* perfectly straight and completely free from clothing, stark naked. Its eyes indicate a deep contemplative trance. The head is covered by a three-headed cobra, an animal

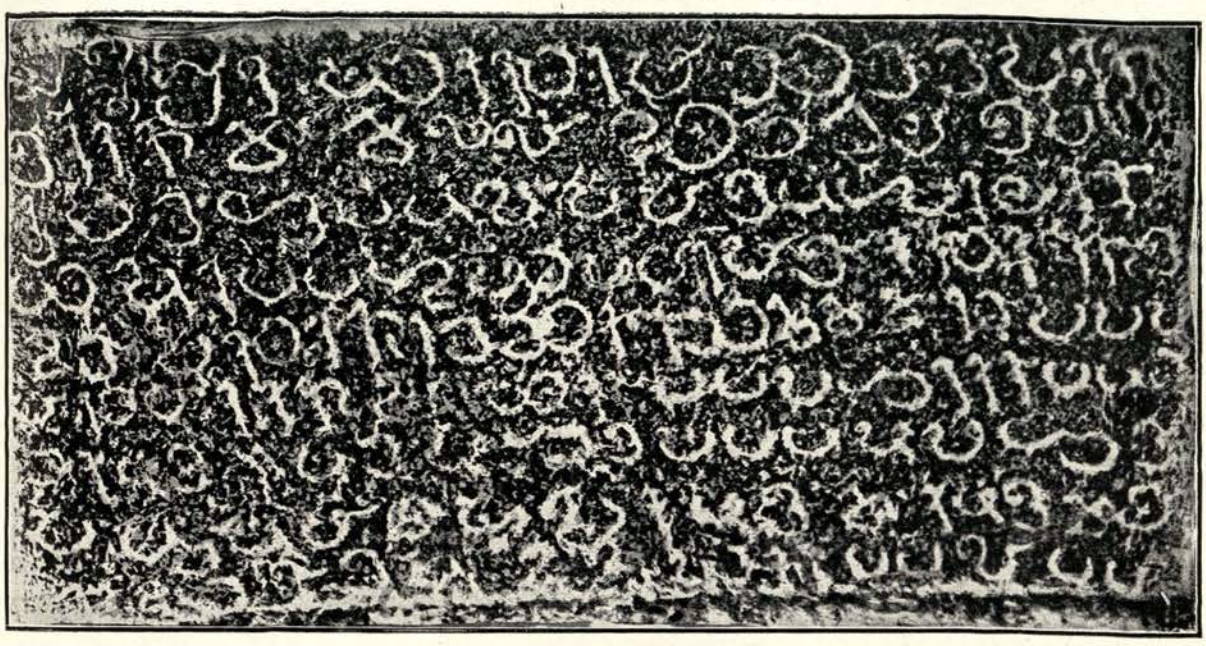
Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

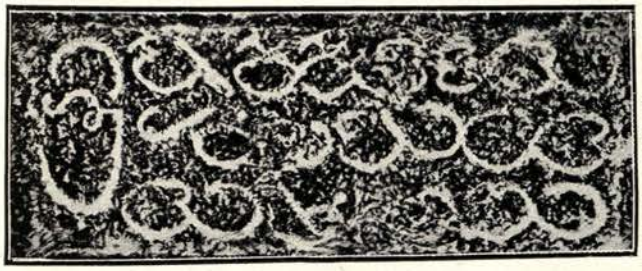
Fig. 3.

The image of Mahavira Tirthankara kept in puja in one of three central shrines in the temple on the Tiruchchanattumalai.

Jaina Images at Chitaral.

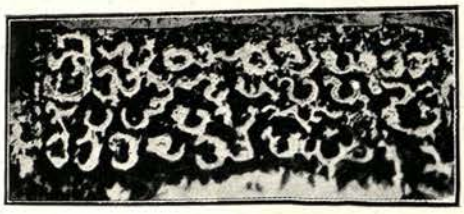


No. 1. Inscription of Vikramaditya Varaguna at Chitaral Hill.

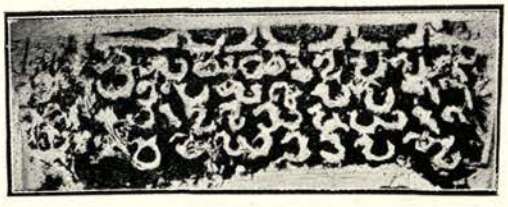


No. 2. Below the figure of Padmavatidevi.

No. 3. Below the image of the seated figure near that of Parsvanatha.



No. 4. Below the image next to that belonging to Inscription No. 3.



No. 5. Below the image next to that belonging to Inscription No. 4.

Scale 0·16.

Photo by T. A. Gopinatha Rao.

Half-Tone block by the Calcutta Phototype Co.

which is the peculiar totem of this Tīrthaṅkara. Near it, on its left, stands Padmāvatīdēvī, who wears a *makuṭa* on her head and two big *kuṇḍalas* in the ear-lobes. Her right hand is lifted up as if it is so kept to hold a flower in it and the left one rests on the hip. She is clothed from the waist. (Compare fig. 1. Pl. XLI, Burgess' *Elura Cave Temples.*)

The seated figure on the left of the above described image has a lampstand one on the right and the other on the left; also two *chāmaras* similarly disposed of immediately above the lampstands. These two objects belong to the *aṣhṭa-māṅgalyas* or the eight auspicious articles.[1] The figure above this is stated in the inscription engraved below it to have been carved at the instance of a Varaguṇa, who was a disciple of Paṭṭini-bhaṭārar (the fasting saint) of the Tiruchchāraṇattu hill. We cannot be sure if the Varaguṇa mentioned here is a royal personage or a commoner and if the former, if he is the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa or the Āy chief Vikramāditya-Varaguṇa. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu script employed would suit the age of either of these kings.

The image on the right, fig. 2, on the same plate is seated upon a *siṁhāsana*, the back of which ends on either side of the figure; the ends have each a rearing lion, indicating that it is a *siṁhāsana* and no other. On the right and the left are the usual Yakshas bearing *chauris* in their hands. Over their heads are some gods holding their hands in a supplicating posture. The face of the Tīrthaṅkara is peculiarly calm and peaceful.

The figure of Padmāvatidēvī on the left of this is standing upon a *padmāsana*. Like the Hindu *śakti*, Durgā, she has also a lion, her vehicle, on her right, at the top corner. (Compare the drawing of the figure of this *dēvī*, fig. 2, Pl. XL in Burgess' *Elura Cave* Temples). On the right stands a female dwarfish figure, an attendant carrying something in a bowl which she keeps in her left hand. On the left of the Dēvī stand two short male figures in a reverent attitude; it is not easy to guess whom these figures represent. The Dēvī keeps her right arm bent and lifted up and on it she has a parrot. It might be remarked here that the sculpturing of the figure of *Dēvīs* of all the religions of India, Hindu, Jaina or Bauddha is always exactly similar; that is, the figure of a goddess must be generally standing; in this posture, she must have her right arm bent and lifted up up to the breast and carrying in it a flower, a parrot or a mirror. The left arm must be hanging by the side of the body, (which may have a few bends in it *ābhaṅga*), or this hand may rest upon the hip (*kaṭyavalambita hasta*). The head should be adorned with a *karaṇḍa makuṭa* and the other limbs with their appropriate ornaments. Since all *dēvīs* are sculptured exactly in the same manner, it is impossible to assert in any case whether a Dēvī figure belongs to the Hindu, the Jaina or the Bauddha religion,—a difficulty which will confront every one who is engaged in arranging Indian Art collections.

The next most important Jaina temple in Travancore is that of Nāgarāja in the town of Nāgarkōyil. It continued to be a Jaina temple till at least Ko. 697, during which and the succeeding years it has received donations from the Travancore king Bhūtalavīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman. The officiating priests of this temple bore

1. The other objects being the umbrella, a conch, the *svastika*, a pitcher filled with water (*pūrṇa-kumbha*), a mirror and the *śrīvatsa*.

the characteristic Jaina names Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita and Guṇavīra Paṇḍita.[1] The lands granted by Udayamārttaṇḍavarman are all uniformly said to be *paḷḷichchandams*—a term applied only to lands belonging to the Jaina and Bauddha temples. Subsequent to the reign of this king the temple seems to have become definitely Hindu in its nature and worship. A shrine of Ananta was erected in it[2] and worship by Pōtti Brāhmaṇas (Tuḷuvas) was established. The *Sthānīkaship* of this and the Bhagavatī temple at Tiruchchāṇattumalai was held, I was told, by "a sort of Brāhmaṇa who might eat in the houses of other Brāhmaṇas, but the other Brāhmaṇas should not eat in his." There were till lately two Jaina houses situated to the south of the temple belonging to the *sthānīkas* mentioned above. They might perhaps be the remnants of a large colony of Jainas which might have once existed in Nāgarkōyil. The male members of the two houses referred to above having died, the other members of these houses left the place and went away to where they had their relatives. Their houses have recently been assumed by the Government and new houses erected in their stead which are set apart for the residence of the officiating *Pōtti* priests of the Nāgarāja temple.

On a careful examination of this Nāga temple, I was able to find out six Jaina images; three of which are seated figures of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara, one a seated

---

1. The earlier portion of the inscription reads thus:—

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] அருளிச்செயல் [।*] கோட்டாறானமு-
ம்முடிசோழபுரத்து நித்தல் மாபூசைகொண்-
டு எழுந்தருளி இருந்தருளும் நாகர்கோயிலிற் ப-
ள்ளி உடைய குணவீர பண்டிதனும் கமலவா-
கன பண்டிதனும் வசம்.....
.....
வீரமாத்தாண்டன் சந்தி உச்சிப்பூசை நடக்கக் கற்பித்
தவிடைக்கு.....

Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal command. For the performance of the midday service named the Vīramārttaṇḍaṉ-sandi to the (god) Nāgar at Kōṭṭāṟu, who is receiving daily the great *pūjās* and is pleased to be seated in the temple, (the king Bhūtalavīra Udayamārttāṇḍavarman gave) in the hands of Guṇavīra Paṇḍita, and Kamalavāhana Paṇḍita the managers of the temple (certain pieces of lands).....

Again,

.....நந்தா வி-
ளக்கு இரண்டாகவும் நடத்திக்கொண்டுபோ-
தும்படி கற்பித்து தொண்ணூற்று ஆறுமாண்-
டு கார்முதலுக்குப் பள்ளிச்சந்தமாக விட்டுக்-
குடுத்த நிலமாவது.....

".....Having ordered also that two perpetual lamps be burnt, the following land was given as *paḷḷichchandam* from the rainy season (*kār*) of the year '96 (= M. E. 696 = A. D. 1521)....."

Again,

நாகர்கோவிலில் பள்ளி உடைய
நாராயணன் நயினான் குணவீரபண்டிதனும்
சீவகருடையான் கமலவாகன பண்டிதனும்.....

"The managers of the temple of Nāgar, Nārāyaṇaṉ Nayiṉāṉ *alias* Guṇavīra Paṇḍitaṉ and Jīvakar-uḍaiyāṉ *alias* Kamalavāhana Paṇḍitaṉ....."

Here particular attention must be drawn to the word *paḷḷi*, the Tamil word for an *avaidika* place of worship and to the term *paḷḷichchandam*, the land granted to Jaina and Bauddha temples.

2. The inscription on the central shrine of Kṛishṇa reads thus:—

கொல்லம் எஎசுஉசஹூ பங்குனி [மாதம்]
௰௫௳ பூறுவபக்ஷசத்து (பக்ஷத்து) பஞ்சமியும்

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4

Jaina Images in the Nagarajasvami temple at Nagarkoyil.

Fig. 1. The brass images in the Nagarajasvami temple at Nagarkoyil.

Fig. 2. The gate way of the Nagarajasvamin temple at Nagarkoyil.

figure of Pārśvanātha and another of Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara standing and the sixth of Padmāvatīdēvī. One of the Mahāvīra images is carved on a pillar in the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine and two others on the central shrine itself. The images of Pārśvanātha and Padmāvatīdēvī are sculptured on pillars standing in the same *maṇḍapa* also. Photographs of the two seated images in the *maṇḍapa* and a drawing of the figure of Pārśvanātha are reproduced on Plate VII. The five-hooded cobra sheltering the head of the standing figure is, as is wellknown to students of Jaina iconography, the characteristic *lāñchchhana* of Pārśvanātha. It must be also noted that the standing and seated figures are perfectly erect as required by the *Mānasāra*. The standing figure is seen keeping its arms hanging down and the feet close together. The head is not surmounted, as in the case of the Bauddha images, with the *ushṇīsha* and the *jvālā*. The *śrīvatsa* mark is generally indicated by an equilateral triangle, with its apex at the top, engraved on the right side of the chest, just above the nipple. But it is not found in any one of the figures whose photographs are reproduced here. The Yakshas carrying *chāmaras* are shown on the *prabhāvali* surrounding the seated figures. The *simha lāñchchhana* (lion totem) peculiar to Mahāvīra Tirthaṅkara is seen below the *simhāsana* of all seated images.

That the seated figure, fig. 2 Pl. VII., is Pārśvanātha and not Mahāvīra may be inferred from the five-headed hood of the cobra that is shown immediately below the triple umbrella. The other seated figure, fig. 4 on the same plate, is no doubt of Mahāvīra, for, at the bottom of the seat are seen sculptured figures of lions, which are, however, not reproduced in the photograph.

Of the brass images of the Nāgarāja temple, (fig 1, Pl.VIII), the male one is standing with a few gentle bends in its body; its right hand is held in the *abhaya* pose and the left hand rests on the hip (*kaṭyavalambita hasta*). It has on its head a *kirīṭa makuṭa* and over it is a five-headed cobra's hood. The ears are ornamented with *makarakuṇḍalas;* there are the other ornaments, the *hāras*, the *udarabandha*, the *kaṭakas* and *kaṅkaṇas*. The lower part of the body is draped in clothes which have the conventional parallel folds descending obliquely on the legs. It is standing on a *padma-piṭha* which itself is on a *bhadra-piṭha*. The female figure is a *tribhaṅga* image holding in its right hand a *utpala* flower; the left arm is hanging parallel to the body. This figure has the *chhannavīra* ornament in addition to those worn by

புதஞட்சையும் பெற்ற உ-
ரோகணி நாள் கோட்டாற்று கயி-
ஞர் நாகர் திருவனந்தாழ்-
வார் பூசைக்கு கருங்குளவளஞட்டு-
க்கும்பிகுளத்துத் திருக்குருந்தப் [பெருமான்]
தன்மமாக நாகரும் எழுந்தருளிவித்துப் பூசை-
க்கு நாளொன்றுக்கு அரிசி... ... ...

"In the Kollam year 764, on the 15th of the month Paṅguṇi which corresponded with a Wednesday, the fifth *tithi* in the bright fortnight and the Rōhiṇi nakshatra,—on this date Tirukkurundap-perumāḷ of Kumbikuḷam in the Karuṅguḷa-vaḷanāḍu having set up the god Nāgar-Tiruvanantāḻvāṉ (that is, the nāga Ananta of Vishṇu) at Kōṭṭāṟu made provision for the *pūjās* by giving a daily allowance of a certain quantity of rice.....".

It is to be noted here that the deity Pārśvanātha perhaps becomes at a later period the Nāgar Tiruvanantāḻvāṉ, Ādiśēsha of Vishṇu.

the male one. It has over its head a three-headed cobra's hood. There is nothing peculiarly Hindu in them; they may as well be Jaina as Hindu deities.

The gateway, fig. 2 on the same plate, locally known as the mahāmēru-māḷigai is one of the prettiest structures of the Malabar style of architecture and is urgently in need of repairs. It is hoped that the Government would take early steps to put it in thorough repairs and include it in the list of protected buildings of the State.

The third important place where Jainism seems to have flourished is Kallil, a place some 8 miles away from Perumbāvūr in north Travancore. It also contains a natural rock-cave in which are set up the Pārśvanātha and the Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkaras and Padmāvatīdēvī. On the facade of the cave and on the front of the overhanging rock is also a figure of Mahāvīra carved but not completed. People there believe that the heavenly sculptors of these holy images visit the place nightly to perfect this one. The *pūjās* in this temple are being conducted by a Nambūrī brāhmaṇa employed by the rich gentleman of Kallil belonging to the Pishāraḍi caste to whom the temple at present belongs. The Baṇiya merchants from Cochin pay their homage to this temple, well knowing that they are worshipping Jaina gods and not Hindu ones, but strangely enough the *pūjāri* receives gifts of money from these people also.

The image of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara, reproduced as fig. 2 Plate IX, which is carved in half-relief on the rock forming the back wall of the natural cave, is seated upon a *simhāsana* in the usual *yōgāsana* posture. In the front middle portion of the seat is carved the figure of *simha* (a lion), the totem peculiar to this Tīrthaṅkara; over the head of this deity is the triple umbrella; and on either side at the back stands in reverential attitude the figure of a *gandharva* holding a *chauri* in its hand. Near Mahāvīra, on the right, is the stone figure of Padmāvatīdēvī which is now covered with a metallic mask. This goddess is at present the principal deity of the temple.

On the left of Mahāvīra Tīrthaṅkara is situated the figure of Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara. It is kept with its back turned towards the south wall; only a side-view of it is available to the visitor and therefore it is not easy to find out whether it is exactly Pārśvanātha or any other Tīrthaṅkara. The *pūjāri* was unable to furnish me with the exact appearance of the totem; I believe, however, that it is perhaps not Pārśvanātha, but only a replica of Mahāvīra; for, it has over its head the triple umbrella and not a hood of the cobra, which distinguishes Pārśvanātha from the other Tīrthaṅkaras. (See fig. 3. Pl. IX).

The figure of the Tīrthaṅkara, carved on the overhanging rock forming the facade of the shrine, is reproduced as figure 1, Plate IX.

For purposes of comparison I have added two more photographs taken at the Jaina Tirumalai near Pōḷūr in the South Arcot district, on Pls. X & XI. Of these, the one on plate X is of a Tīrthankara (who he is cannot be ascertained as the totem characteristic of him is not visible any where in the photograph). The figures and emblems on Pl. XI, are metallic images and *yantras* and a few stone images kept in *pūjā* in the temple.

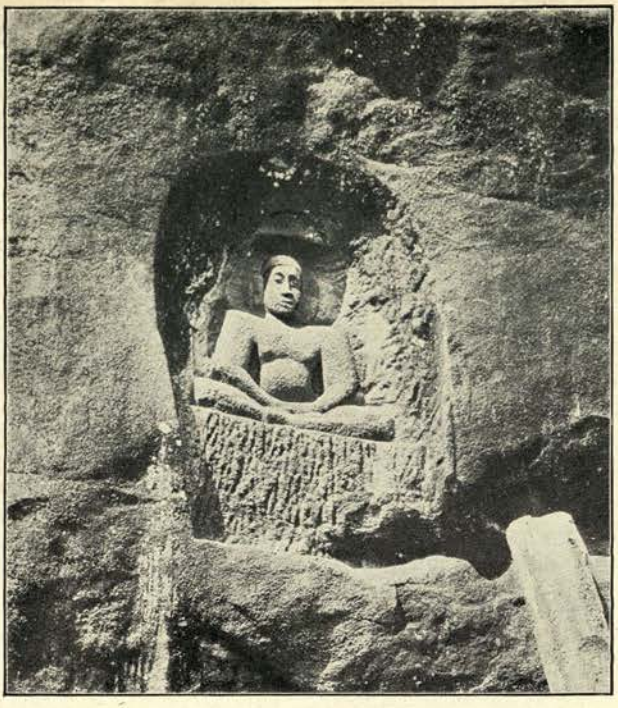
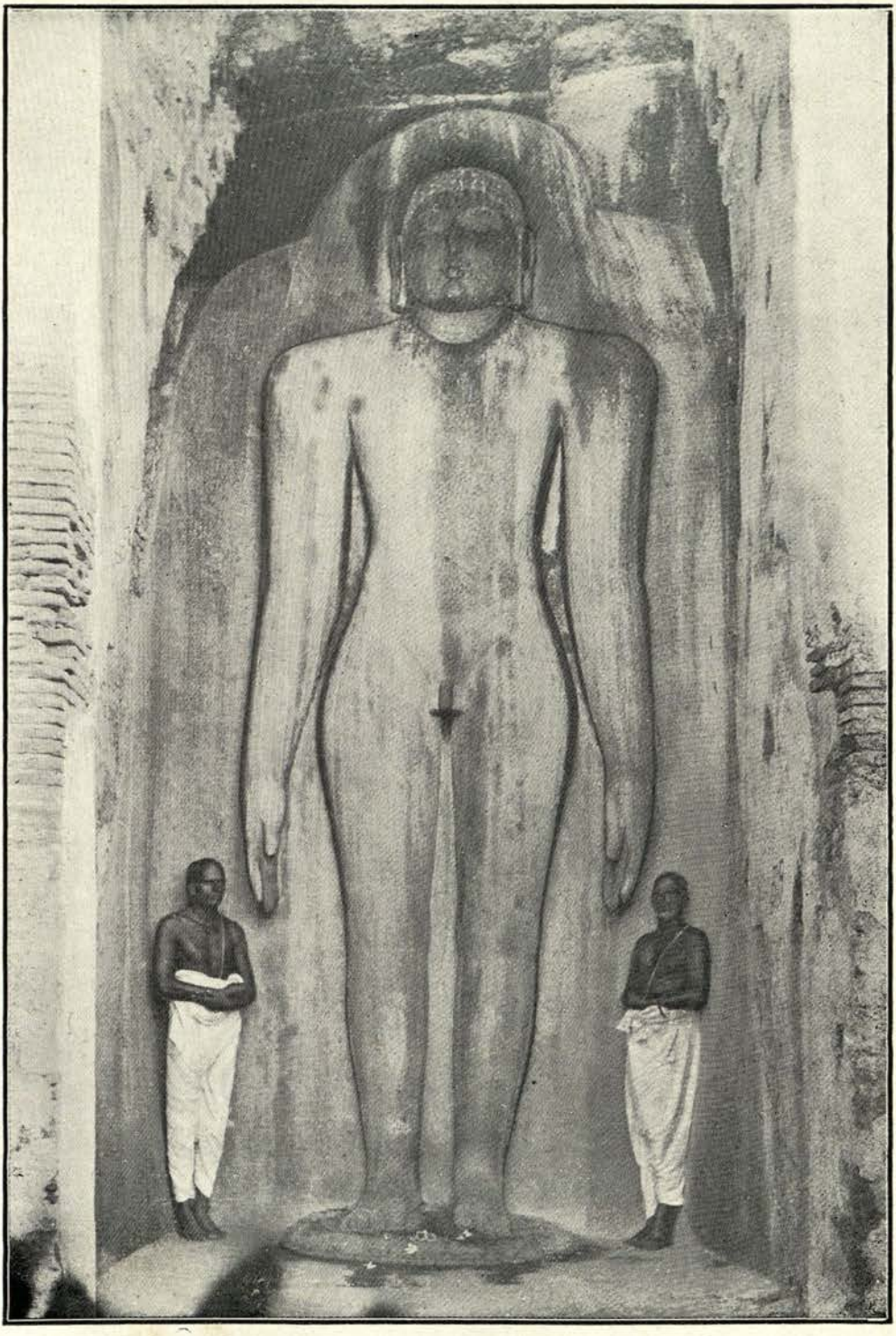


Fig.1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Jaina images at Kallil.



Megalithic image of a Tirthankara in the Jaina Temple at Tirumalai near Polur, South Arcot District.

A group of metallic Jaina Images and Yantras kept in *puja* in the Jaina temple at Tirumalai near Polur, South Arcot District.

Vol. II. Part III.

TRAVANCORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SERIES

Published under the orders of the Government of Travancore.

The Huzur Treasury Plates belonging to the Vishnu Temple at Tiruvalla (with 6 plates)

BY

T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A.,

including

Title page, Table of contents, List of Plates, Addenda and Corrigenda and Index.

BY

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Archaeological Superintendent, Travancore State

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Volume II, Part III.

HUZUR PLATES OF TIRUVALLA (WITH 6 ILLUSTRATIONS).

AND

TITLE PAGE, TABLE OF CONTENTS, LIST OF PLATES, ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA AND INDEX.

THE HUZUR TREASURY PLATES BELONGING TO THE VISHNU TEMPLE AT TIRUVALLA.

The inscription which is edited below is engraved upon a set of copper-plates, which must originally have consisted of no less than forty-four plates, each measuring eighteen inches in length and three and three fourth inches in breadth. It is quite probable that the set was not bound by a ring, for, the ring-holes of the plates are so small that a sufficiently strong ring, necessary for binding this very heavy set of copper-plates, could not be passed through them. Again, the holes do not show signs of crushing and deformation generally met with in copper-plate grants which are bound together by means of a ring. The plates were left unbound, perhaps because the temple authorities intended to add to the set more plates from time to time. In this set, the plates numbered 1, 4, 6, 7, 16, 32, 34 and 41, and very likely, some more at the end are missing. The preservation of the inscription is excellent and the engraving has been executed by a master hand. There are practically no errors due to omissions or other causes. In point of the largeness of the number of plates, their total weight, the beauty of the engraving and in the preservation of the writing, this set of copper-plates is certainly a very remarkable one.

From this inscription we learn that this set of copper-plates belonged to the Vishṇu temple at Tiruvallavāḷ, one of the thirteen *divya-dēśams*[1] in the Malaināḍu, praised by the Śrīvaishṇava saints, Nammāḻvār and Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār. It was preserved in the Huzur Treasury for a long time and my attention was drawn to it by Mr. T. Lakshmaṇa Piḷḷai, B. A., the then Treasury Officer. It has since been removed to the Napier Museum, where it is kept in safe custody in the Archæological section. Tiruvallavāḷ or Tiruvallah, as it is called at the present day, is the head-quarters of the *Taluk* of the same name and is one of the most densely populated towns in the Travancore State. It is also an influential Christian centre. But the chief feature of the town is the large pagoda dedicated to Vishṇu, locally known by the name Tiruvallāy-appaṉ (more correctly, Tiruvallavāḷ-appaṉ), to which, as we have already mentioned, the set of copper-plates under consideration once belonged.

Nothing is known about the history of these plates, how and when they came into the treasury and what became of the few plates that are now missing. Perhaps, the required information could be obtained if an earnest search is made in the records of the Huzur Office; if any information regarding these are available in the Huzur Office, we may obtain a clue as to the proper place to look for, or to trace the person who might be in possession of, the lost plates.

The alphabet of the record is Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the so-called vertical variety and is of the same type as that found in the grants of Bhāskara Ravivarman and the

1. The other twelve places are:—Tiruvaṇpariśāram, Tiruvāṭṭāṟu, Tiruvānandapuram, Tiruchcheṅguṉṟūr, Tiruppuliyūr, Tiruvaṇvaṇḍūr, Tirukkaḍittānam, Tiruvāraṇviḷai, Tirukkāṭkarai, Tirumūḻikkaḷam, Tiruṉāvāy and Tiruvittuvakkōḍu:—K. V. S.

inscriptions at Kaṇḍiyūr. The most remarkable feature of this inscription is that it supplies almost all the letters of the Tamiḻ alphabet, even such rare ones as *ṅo*, *ṅu* and *ṅai*. No distinction is noticeable between the secondary long *ī*, *ē* and *ō* and the secondary short *i*, *e* and *o*, except in the case of *po* and *pō*. Three different forms of the letter *ṇai* occur. The table appended herewith contains all the letters and numerical symbols. Though a large number of such tables of Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet have been already published by me, my justification for presenting this one again is that it is more complete than any hitherto drawn up. There are also a few Grantha letters scattered here and there in this record, with reference to whose state of evolution the age of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the present document might be fixed. The plates are numbered consecutively and the numerical symbols are engraved on the right margin of the first side of each plate. A number of Grantha letters are seen engraved on the left margin, which also mark the order of the pages. They consist of five groups which are as follows:—

I. —, *nna*, *nya*, —, *jhra*, —, —, *pra* and *dre*.

II. *ma*, *mna*, *mnna*, *mnya*, *mshka*, *mjhra*, —, *mgra*, *mpra* and *mdre*.

III. *tha*, *thna*, *thnna*, *thnya*, *thshka*, *thjhra*, *thhā*, *thgra*, *thpra*, and *thdre*.

IV. *la*, *lna*, —, *lnya*, —, *ljhra*, *lha*, *lgra*, *lpra and ldre*.

V. *pta*, —, *ptnna*, *ptnya*, —, —, —, —, —, —.

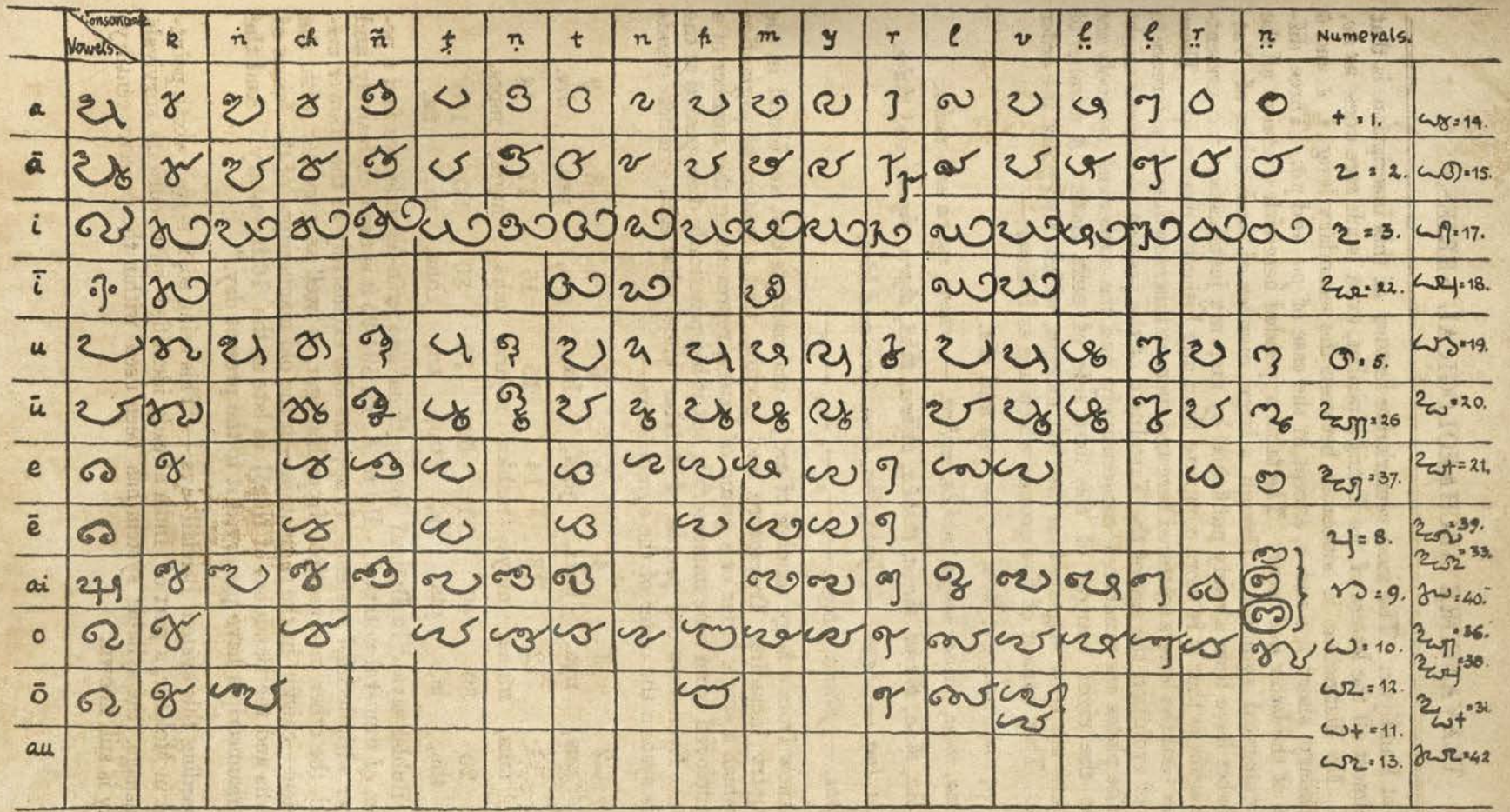
We know from a large number of cadjan manuscripts that are found in the Malabar country including Travancore and Cochin, that a system of pagination existed, in which a single letter or a group of letters, representing the number of a page, was employed from time immemorial, but it has practically disappeared at the present time. Even now old people of Malabar know what each symbol stands for. In this system the order of the symbols are:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
na,	nna,	nya,	shka,	jhra,	hā,	gra,	pra,	dre.
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
ma,	mna,	mnna,	mnya,	mshka,	mjhra,	mhā,	mgra,	mpra,
19	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
mdre,	tha,	la,	pta,	ba,	tra,	tri,	chha,	ṇa,	ña,

Dr. Buhler says "In Brāhmī inscriptions and coin-legends we find a peculiar system of numeral notation. Up to A. D. 594-95 it is used exclusively, and later together with decimal system. It appears also exclusively in the Bower manuscript and the other manuscripts from Kashgar, as well as together with the decimal system—chiefly in the pagination—in the old manuscripts of the Jainas of Western India and the Bauddhas of Nēpāḷ as late as the 16th century. And the Malayāḷam manuscripts have preserved it to the present day."

Regarding this system Bendall says:—"This being so, it is well worth pointing out that in Malabar, a part of India already identified with curious survivals of ancient usuage, the syllabic system has been used within the present century, and possibly is still known.

Table showing the letters of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu Alphabet in the Huzūr Treasury Plates.


Vowels. Consonants.
k ṅ ch ñ ṭ ṇ t n ṉ p m y r l v ḷ ḻ ṟ ṉ
Numerals.
a ā i ī u ū e ē ai o ō au
+ = 1. ചു = 14.
2 = 2. ചാ = 15.
2 = 3. ചി = 17.
2ൽ = 22. ചീ = 18.
ഒ. 5. ചു = 19.
2ൂ = 26 ചൂ = 20.
2ൻ = 37. ചെ = 21.
2ൺ = 39.
2ൾ = 33.
ച = 8.
ഗ = 9. ചൈ = 40.
ധ = 10. 2ൻ = 36.
2ൾ = 38.
ൺ = 12. ചൊ = 31.
ൽ = 11.
ൾ = 13. ചൌ = 42

ṟakshā-pōkam = രക്ഷാപോകം. ṟakshissu = രക്ഷിസ്സു. snapanam = സ്നപനം. sva = സ്വ. ḷna = ള്ന.
Vishvasēnanu = വിശ്വസേനനു. vaiśvadēvattinu = വൈശ്വദേവത്തിനു. ḻhōkam = ള്ഹോകം. ḻpra = ള്പ്ര.
Svasti = സ്വസ്തി. pañcha-mā[hā*]-śabdam = പഞ്ചമാ[ഹാ*]ശബ്ദം. śrī-bali = ശ്രീബലി. ṉna = ന്ന. ñya = ഞ്യ.
ghra = ഘ്ര. pra = പ്ര. dre = ദ്രെ. ma = മ. mna = മ്ന. mnna = മ്ന്ന. mnya = മ്ന്യ. mkha = മ്ഖ. mjhra = മ്ഝ്ര. mgra = മ്ഗ്ര.
mpra = മ്പ്ര. mdre = മ്ദ്രെ. tha = ത. thna = ത്ന. thnna = ത്ന്ന. thnya = ത്ന്യ. thkha = ത്ഖ. thjhra = ത്ഝ്ര. thkā = ത്കാ. thgra = ത്ഗ്ര.

TABLE OF NUMERICAL SYMBOLS OF DIFFERENT AGES.

[To Face p. 133].

Numeral	Aśōka.	Nāsik Cave.	Jagga-yapēṭā.	Vālābhi.	Bower Ms.	Tiruvalla-vāḷ Plates.	Numeral.	Aśōka.	Nāsik Cave.	Jagga-yapēṭa.	Vālābhi.	Bower Ms.	Tiruvalla-vāḷ Plates.	Remarks.	Tiruvāḷ-aṅgāḍu Plates.
1							20								
2							30								
3							40								
4							50								
5							60								
6							70								
7							80								
8							90								
9							100								
10							1000								

Line block.

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In the *Grammar of the Malayāḷam Language*, by H. Gundert (2nd Ed. 1868), written for native students in Malayāḷam, with section headings only in English, the following list is given (148 a, pp. 41-42):—

1. na, 2. nna, 3. nya, 4. shka, 5. jhra, 6. hā, 7. gra, 8. pra, and 9. dre.

"The forms 1 to 3 (*na, nna, nya*) are peculiar to this system. They are not, however, borrowed from the ordinary decimal figures.

"4 is not *ṅka*, but *shkra*. Compare Bhagavānlal Indrāji in *Indian Autiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 44, col. 9, and p. 46 (shka). There is perhaps an *r* sign in Buhler's Tafel IX, col. 9, No. 4.

"For 5 = *jhra*, a curious combination, it is not easy to find a parallel, owing to the rarity of *jha* even as a simple letter. The resemblance between some of the Kshatrapa forms of 5 and the contemporary forms of *jha* (Buhler's Tafel II, i. 14) is enough to account for the confusion or misreading.

"For 6 = *hā* (Gundert) our manuscript has simply *ha*. Both are doubtless derived from *pha*, the characters of these letters being very similar in Malayāḷam (ഫ *pha*, ഹ ha).

"7 = *gra* agrees with the results given by Buhler p. 75.

"8 = *pra*. Here is doubtless a misreading for *hra*. In many of the early alphabets the resemblance between *pā* and *ha* is considerable.

"9 I take as an old form *O*, though at present it looks like *dre*. I am not sure that some of the Nepalese forms of 9 given in my Cambridge Catalogue (Table of letter Numerals) do not show an analogous corruption."

A table of numerical symbols of different ages is added herewith for enabling students of palaeography to trace the evolution of the system of numerals used in the pagination of cadjan manuscripts in the Malabar Coast.

The language of the inscription is distinctly Tamiḷ for the following reasons:—

1. It obeys the laws of Tamiḷ Grammar in all its details:—

(*a*) Declensional endings such as *aṇ*, *āṇ*, *ar*, *ār*., &c., are added to finite verbs, unlike as in modern Malayāḷam; *e. g. peṟār* (*ll.* 29,343), *vaichchār*, *Kuḍuttāṇ* (*ll.* 333, 356), *kuḍuttār* (*ll.* 349, 360), *amaichchāṇ* (*ll.* 351 and 352).

(*b*) Foreign words beginning with *r*, when adopted in Tamiḷ, take before them one of the three vowels *a*, *i*, or *u*; and similarly words beginning with *y* take before them *i*, *e. g. Iravi* for Ravi (*ll.* 51, 331), *Irāyaśēkharaṇ* for Rājaśēkhara (*l.* 101), *Iyakkaṇ* for Yakshaṇ (*ll.* 267, 346), *Urōyaṇi* for Rōhiṇī (*ll.* 268, 319), *Irāmaṇ* for Rāmaṇ (*ll.* 533, 538), etc.

(*c*) Obeys the rules of *sandhi*:— *e. g.*
kiḻakkiṇ + tiruvaḍi = kiḻakkiṇṟiruvaḍi (*l.* 8); talai + oḍi = talaiyoḍi (*l.* 3);

śāttirar + amirdušeyya = śāttiraramirdušeyya; puṉam + um = puṉamum (which in modern Malayāḷam would become puṉavum) (*l.* 45);

puṟattāḷ + śellum = puṟattāṟchellum (*l.* 62); maṉṉiṉ + tōḍu = maṉṉiṉṟōḍu (*l.* 65);

Viḷakku + iraṇḍu = viḷakkiraṇḍu (*l.* 69)
kaṉṉaṉ + nāḍu = kaṉṉaṉāḍu (*l.* 107)
uḷ + paḍa = uṭpaḍa (*l.* 119)
śiṟumai + oḍi = śiṟṟoḍi (*l.* 131).
Vēṇāḍu + aḍigaḷ = Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ (*ll.* 200-201)
mūṉṟu + kaḷañju = mukkaḷañju (*l.* 215)
etc. etc. etc.

2. And its vocabulary is wholly Tamiḻ. But there are many instances in which the rules of Grammar are set at nought by this inscription: *e. g.* piḷaikkil + śāntiyaḍigaḷ = piḷaikkilchchāndiyaḍigal (*l.* 19), koṭṭigaḷ + ku = koṭṭigaḷkku, instead of koṭṭigaṭku (*l.* 33).
uḷ + pagarchchai = uḷpagarchchai, instead of utpa° (*l.* 73).

Such disobedience to the rules of grammar is a common feature of all inscriptions and need not deter us from identifying the language with Tamiḻ.

No doubt there are some forms which are peculiar to the modern dialect, the Malayāḷam, employed in this inscription: *e. g.* (*l.* 19) *ari* for *ariśi*, *ariyi*, *ari* (*l.* 20), *taḷḷai* for mother (*l.* 30), *śelaviṉoḷḷa* for *śelavukkuḷḷa* or *śelaviṉuḷḷa* (*l.* 34), *śelaviṉu* for śelavukku (*l.* 32), *paḍiñāyiṟu* (*l.* 11), *tuḍaṅṅi* for tuḍaṅgi (*l.* 17), *Kaḍammaṉ* for Kaḍambaṉ (*l.* 61), *pūmiyāvo* for pūmiyāvadu (*l.* 63) *naṅṅai* for *naṅgai* (*l.* 123), *tattai* for parrot (*l.* 630), etc. These are only dialectic differences and some of them, such as *taḷḷai* and *tattai* are mentioned in Tamiḻ grammars as peculiar to Malai-nāḍu.

The early Tamil grammars, such as the *Tolkāppiyam*, in defining the boundaries of the Tamiḻ-speaking country mention the Tirupati hills as its northern boundary, Kumari as the southern, and the two seas as the eastern and western ones. Hence, Malai-nāḍu is certainly included in the country thus defined. The customs, manners, habits, and the institutions of this land are the same as those of the ancient Tamiḻ country. In course of time, due to entire isolation, Malai-nāḍu, by retaining several ancient words and forms and by mutation of of certain sounds and by entire negligence of idiom (*marabu*) and latterly of the dropping of certain endings, has developed a dialect of its own. The early literature of even this later dialect is full of Tamiḻ idioms, forms &c. No better example of this class of literature could be given than the *Rāmacharitam* and the *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*. It is only in very late productions we see the Sanskṛit element swamping the native language. It was at this stage, the Malayāḷam language severed its allegiance to the rules of the Tamiḻ grammars and went on its career, rudderless, till Dr. Gundert gave it a new-made grammar. Since then and even now the Malayāḷis assert they have no standard grammar.

Below is given a list of archaic words and phrases, the meaning of some of which alone is found in Tamiḻ and the Malayāḷam lexicons:—

Word or Phrase.	
புரூய்	
ஓடி-	
கரி	
உபாயத்தூக்கு	
நீராட்டுப்பள்ளி	
ஓலகுகச்சையிட்டு	
அகத்தருதாகில்	
மண்டபத்தருதாகில்	
தொலியமலைக்குறவுதீர்த்து	
அஞ்சொன்று மேலோடிகொண்டு	
முதை	
திருவிளக்கிலுள்ளோ	
வளால்	
வாளகமும் பெண்டாளும்	
உள்பகர்ச்சை	
வாழ்பகர்ச்சை	
வாழக்கைக்காராண்மை	
காராண்மைக்கூறு	
அள்ளல்ப் பயின்களம்	
மிளா	
உரிப்பு or முரிப்பு	
ஈரை	
அந்நிலம்கயிற்றுநிலம்போ	
பகர்ந்து படுவிது	
குடா	
அதிகரிக்கின்ற	
வாழ்கின்ற	
வரிசை	
வல்லம்	
பூவரி	
இரவு	

This voluminous document is of interest in more ways than one. Firstly, in containing a very large number of archaic terms, some of which are intelligible and others not. Secondly, it contains mention of several institutions, customs &c., which are of great importance to Sociology. Thirdly, mention is made of a large number of persons and places and lastly it contains astronomical details necessary for the calculation of the date or dates in which the entire document or portions of it were drawn up respectively.

Let us now examine the inscription, section by section, giving an abstract of contents and a comment on noteworthy facts found in each section.

Section 1: (*ll.* 1 to 36).

Certain lands were allotted, with their incomes fixed, for offerings to be made at the *pandīraḍi pūjā*, for a lamp, for sandal and incense and for flower-garlands, all to be dedicated to the deity at the *pandīraḍi* time of the day. This section refers to two principal deities, one of which was set up in the eastern and the other in the western quarter of the temple. It also refers to Vishvaksēna. The rice offered to the eastern deity at the time of the *pandīraḍi* is required to be thrown away in water. Of the remaining rice, one portion might be taken by the temple people and the other reserved for feeding three *chhātras* (students). As soon as the offerings were made to the deity set up in the east, the same should be given to the *chhātras:* the *chhātras* should be supplied with one and a half cocoa-nuts, nine *kaḷañju* of tamarind and one *uḷakku* of salt. The *pandīraḍi pūjā* should be begun at five *nāḻigai* after day-dawn and should be finished within three more *nāḻigai*. For bathing the image, twelve pots of water should be supplied. If the above mentioned duties were not attended to in the proper time allotted for each, the chief *śāntiyaḍigaḷ* (*i. e.* the *pūjāri*) should be made liable to a fine of twelve *nāḻi* of rice, if the remissness were on his part: the fine paid under the circumstances by the *śāntiyaḍigaḷ* should be appropriated by the *paḷārar-tiruvaḍi* (the *sannyāsi* who generally has some rights and duties in the temple); if, however, the mistake is due to the *kīḻ-śānti* (the assistant *pūjāri*), the same amount of fine should be paid by them also. The fines collected from the other temple servants should be taken by the *śāntiyaḍigaḷ*. Five drummers should play upon their musical instruments at the time of bathing the image. Something more is said of these which is unintelligible. If any one of these absents himself, he should pay a fine of a quarter *kāṇam* of gold. Fines collected from the drummers shall go to the credit of the *kīḻ-śānti*. If this *pandīraḍi pūjā* suffered non-performance for a second day also, the various subordinates of the temple should be obliged to pay double the fines mentioned above. It is the duty of the *samañjitaṇ* to see that the expenses met, are according to the prescribed scale. In his absence, the *śāntiyaḍigaḷ* should do it. Something is recorded about the rice offering. The peculiar language in which it is expressed is not quite intelligible. The *ūrāḷar* were forbidden from finding fault with this item of expenditure and thereby attempting to stop it. He who does so should be considered as having killed his own father and married his own mother. He who helps him also should be classed with him. If any *ūrāḷaṇ* did, however, do so in violation of the rules, the people of the town should meet and take away his lands and house and credit them to the account of the god Tiruvallavāḻappaṇ for the expenses of the *pandīraḍi pūjā*. The following was the scale of pay sanctioned for the servants of the temple:—

(*a*) to the *śāntiyaḍigaḷ*, 200 *nāḻi* (of paddy) as measured by the *iḍangāḻi*;

(*b*) to the *kīḻ-śānti*, also 200 *nāḻi*;

(*c*) to the supplier of the flower-garlands, 18½ *paṟai*;

and (*d*) to the drummers, 100 *paṟai* measured by the 10 *nāḻi* measure.

If those people who had taken out the perpetual service lease of the lands (*kārāṇmai*) failed to provide for the expenses in due time, they should be made liable to pay a fine of double the amount due from them if remissness were to be of one to three days, duration. If, however, it continued for ten days, they would

be subjected to some heavier punishment (here the plate ends and the two subsequent plates are lost) in addition to the doubling of the amount. So much is contained in this section of the inscription. Let us now proceed to comment upon some of the noteworthy features of interest.

(i) *Pandīraḍi.* This word literally means *twelve. feet.* But this is the name given in the Malabar Coast to the *pūjā* which is conducted at that time of the day when the sun stands at such an attitude in the sky as to throw the shadow of a man to a length of twelve feet as measured by his own foot. The time will then be $5\frac{5}{9}$ *nāḻigai* after sunrise or in other words very near quarter past eight in the morning.

That this is the time of the day for the performance of the *pandīraḍi-pūjā*, is distinctly mentioned a little further on in this section. We have seen it stated that this *pūjā* should begin at 5 *nāḻigai* after mean sunrise and should be finished before three more *nāḻigai* expired; in other words, the *pūjā* should not take for its performance less than a *muhūrtta* and more than three *nāḻigai.*

(ii) The ordinary *pūjās*, such as at the *pandīraḍi* consisted of *abhishēka* (or bathing of the image), burning a light, application of sandal-paste on the body of this image, decorating it with flower-garlands, offering incense, waving of lighted camphor and offering of food. This is the procedure laid down in the Āgamas for *nityōtsava* or the daily *pūjā.*[1]

(iii) From the mention of the fact that the food offered to the deity in the eastern shrine of the temple should be thrown into the water, it becomes patent that the deity is Śiva. It is a well-known fact that food offerings made to Śiva should not be partaken by any one. At the time the document under consideration was drawn up, there might have existed a shrine for Śiva in the eastern part of the temple. It might be observed here that in all important temples either of Śiva or of Vishṇu, there is generally attached to the chief shrine of Śiva or of Vishṇu that of Vishṇu or Śiva respectively and it is usually situated in the same temple. The position for the shrine of Śiva is always the east and that of Vishṇu is the west. In inscriptions, reference is made to the Vishṇu shrine as the *mēlai-śrīkōyil*, the western shrine. In this section of the inscription, we see arrangements made for feeding three *chhātras.* The word *chhātra* means a student and occurs largely in inscriptions. The way in which they are required to be treated shows

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1 शयनाधिवासनं कृत्वा द्वारादियजनं चरेत् ।
कुम्भमण्डलकं पूज्य बिम्बे स्नपनमाचरेत् ॥
* * * * * * *
पञ्चविंशद्घटैर्वापि यद्वा सप्तदशैर्घटैः ॥
* * * * * * * *
नीराजनं ततः कुर्यान्मण्डपासनमानयेत् ।
अलङ्कृत्य यथान्यायं नैवेद्यान्तं समर्चयेत् ॥

Aniruddha-Saṁhita.

the high regard paid by the donees to students. Since these students would get only cooked rice, offered to the deity, arrangements are made for supplying them with condiments, for which half a cocoanut, three *kaḷañju* weight of tamarind and a third of a *uḷakku* of salt is provided for each student. No mention is made of vegetables or of pulses of any kind; how they were managing with only the tamarind, salt and cocoanut given them, or, if they went without vegetables, pulses, etc., is hard to guess.

(iv) In this connection it may be noted that some of the temples served as schools and colleges and that students were given boarding and lodging in them.

In the *Karaṇāgamma* it is stated that the school for teaching the alphabets and elementary knowledge is to be situated on the north and northwest corners of the temple; the schools teaching the various philosophies and those for learning the *Vēdas* were also situated in the temples. For example there was a boarding house for 95 students studying the Taittirīya, Taḷavakāra and Paviḷiya *charaṇas* of the Vēdas, started and maintained in the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram by the Āy chief, Karunandaḍakkaṉ (*Tr. Ar. Se.* Vol. I). Again, there was a similar institution at Kanyākumari, known by the name Śrīvallabhapperuñjālai or the great school set up by Śrīvallabha, perhaps the Pāṇḍya (or the Āy) king of that name who lived about the ninth century A. D. *Vyākaraṇa* and *Sōmasidhānta* were taught, it is said, in the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. The most remarkable epigraphical evidence on the subject is found in an inscription discovered at Tirumukkūḍal. "In this Jananātha-maṇḍapa were located a school for the study of the Vēdas, Śāstras, Grammar, Rūpāvatāra etc., a hostel for students and a hospital (ஆதுலசாலை). The students (சாத்திரர்) were provided with food, bathing-oil on Saturdays and with oil for lamps." Bhārata and other Purāṇas were recited in the temples for the edification of the people and often the place of the Paurāṇika was held by eminent men. The Paurāṇika-sthāna in the great temple at Śrīraṅgam was held by the illustrious Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the successor of Rāmānuja. Even at the present time, Sanskṛit schools teaching several subjects are held in temples as for instance, in the Ċhennakēśavasvāmin temple at Bēlūr; and in many an important temple at the present time there is at least a *Vēdic* school. It is an *āgamic* rule that at the time of the Dīpārādhana or the waving in front of the image the burning camphor, all Śāstras, even such as *Vyākaraṇa*, have to be read before the image and at the present day this custom is restricted to the recitation of small bits from the Vēdas and Prabandhas.

(v) Every temple employs one or more Mēl-śāntikkārs and Kīḻ-śāntikkārs. The former are known as the *archakas* and the latter as parichārakas in the East Coast and the duty of the latter is to assist the Mēl-śāntikkār with water for bathing the image, handing over to him the vessel containing the live charcoal on which incense is burnt, the one on which burning camphor is placed and waved before the image &c. The Mēl-śāntikkār is to do the *pūjā* and every other duty pertaining directly to the image and in the central shrine.

(vi) The extract of the *Āgama* quoted in the foot note to p. 7, states that the number of pots of water required for bathing the image should be seventeen at least; whereas, our document rests satisfied with twelve, five less than the least number laid down in that *Āgama*.

(vii). The system of fine called *muṭṭ-iraṭṭi*, that is double the amount, was in vogue till very recently in Malabar. According to this system, the person who does not fulfil his duty and causes thereby a certain amount of loss is obliged to make it good by paying a penalty of double the amount.

(viii) Many an important temple had, attached to it, some *sannyāsis* who were either *maṭhādhipatis* or common *sannyāsis*. They had sometimes the supervision of the conduct of the temple business, of offering *pushpāñjali* (worship with flowers) and perhaps also they participated in the teaching of the student-boarders of the temple; these *sannyāsis* are referred to in the West Coast as *Bhaṭāra-tiruvaḍi*, *paḷāra-tiruvaḍi*[1] *&c.*

(ix) *Nīrāṭṭuppaḷḷi*: this word occurs in other inscriptions of Travancore in the sense of *abhishēka* or bathing of the image of a temple.

(x) *Samañjitan* appears to be the accountant of a village or the *Sabhā*. In this sense it occurs in two inscriptions of the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum thus:—

1. *Tiruvanantapurattu sabhaiyuñjamañjitaṉum Pada? rāma-bhaḷāra-tiruvaḍiyuṅ-gūḍi.* (No 40 of 84).

2. *Tiruvanantapurattu-sabhaiyum tamañjitaṉum Tiruvāṉbāḍi śrīmuka-maṇḍapattil Prajñādhyaksha-paḷārar taṉṉadiyil.* (No. 42 of 1084).

(xi) *Ūrāḷar* literally means the rulers of the village, i. e., the head-men, the city-fathers. These were rich *Jenmies* (landlords) and as such were perhaps entrusted also with the general management of the temples in the village. They seem to have been claiming often more power than they actually were endowed with; for, we see in many inscriptions that they were forbidden from doing this or that act. All the vigilance of the *sabhā* or the village was of no avail; for in the long run these *ūrāḷars* as hereditary trustees of temples, became really the owners of temples and more especially so of their landed property; at the present day they actually pass for the real proprietors of the temples which are under their supervision.

(xii) The word *kārāṇmai* indicated, as it does at present, a perpetual lease by which lands are made over by the trustees or managers of temples to those who are employed for the performance of certain duties therein. The lands so granted yielded very much more income than was required for the performance of the duty; the excess income was meant for the sustenance of the tenant and his family in return for the services he rendered to the temple.

Section 2; (*ll.* 37-48).

A number of plots of land, with their various incomes specified, are allotted for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas (*agram*); out of this twenty-five Brāhmaṇa

1 Compare, மித்திராநந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ஸ்ரீஹ்மஸ்ரீஜ்ஞாஹழாரர் திருவடி இருந்நருளியயெடத்து" No. 44 of 1084 of the Colln. of Travancore inscriptions.

"கண்டியூர் [யாத]வேந்திரானுபூதிப்பழாரர் திருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்தில் ஶிஷ்யன்". No. 45 of 1084. Ibid.

"திருவல்லத்து தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் இருந்நருளிய ஸ்ரீமுகுந்தானந்த பழாரதிருவடி தன்னதியில் கூடிஇருக்க." No. 49 of 1084, Ibid.

Śrī-vaishṇavas are required to be fed. Mention is made next of a number of plots together with their income, which are dedicated in various parts of the country for the same purpose, namely, feeding of the Brāhmaṇas. A person named Nayatoṅgappallavaraiyaṉ is said to have taken the lease of the *agraśālā* lands situated in the southern district (*teṉṉāṭṭu-agrattiṉuḷḷa-būmi*). The name of one of the donees of lands for this purpose is Vikrama-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Māṇikkamaṅgalam.

(i) It is worthy of note that an arrangement was made for feeding daily over twenty-five Brāhmaṇa Śrīvaishṇavas in the temple at Tiruvallavāḻ. In this connection it may be noted that a temple served in olden days as a boarding house for travellers; and provision was made, not only by kings but also by private gentlemen and ladies for feeding some specified Brāhmaṇas before or after the offerings were made to the god. An instance of such a feeding occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III, Part. I. p. 3 and Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II, p. 47.

(ii) Nayatoṅgappallavaraiyaṉ mentioned in this section appears to be a high placed citizen, most probably a chieftain under the king. It is said that he was entrusted with all the *agraśālā* lands belonging to the Tiruvallavāḻ temple. We meet with a number of chieftains or officials who bore the title of Pallavaraiyan in an inscription at Kanyākumari (Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. I. p. 165 f).

(iii) The names such as Vikrama-Nārāyaṇaṉ are known as *iṟṭai-ppēr*. *Vīraśōḻiyam*, an old Tamiḻ grammar, says about the significance of such combinations as follows:—

Iṉi vēṟṟumaich-chārvāgiya śoṟkaḷum aḻindu togumāṟu: Śaṅkaraṇukku magaṉāyuḷḷa Śāttaṉ Saṅkaraṉ-Śāttaṉ: 'hereafter, instances of words which drop their suffixes in connection with the case-ending, thus: Śāttaṉ, the son of Śaṅkaraṉ is Śaṅkaraṉ-Śāttaṉ'. This explains the exact nature of the *iraṭṭai-pēr*. In the Malai-nāḍu it is adopted by both the *makkattāyis* (those who follow the patriarchal law of inheritance), like the Nambūdiris, and the *maṟumakkttāyis* (followers of the matriarchal law), like the Nāyars. In the case of the former, the first part of the compound name is that of the father, whereas in that of the latter, it is generally the name of the maternal uncle (*kāraṇavaṉ*).

Section 3; (*ll.* 48-54).

On the day of the Saṅkrānti, when Jupiter stood in Kaṉṉi and the sun was entering Dhanus, the worthies (*ūrār* and *tiruvaḍimār*) of the town met in the *yāga-maṇḍapa*, situated in front of the temple of the god Tiruvallavāḻ-appaṉ; and Iravi-Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ, the governor of Veṇboli-nāḍu, gave to the temple an *aṭṭi-pēṟu* of his land named Muṭṭāṟu, which yielded 3500 *kalam* of paddy *per annum*, and which he paid for and purchased. This land was to be under the management (*kārāṇmai*) of the descendents of Iravi Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ, who were obliged to give ten *nāḻi*.....measured by the *iḍaṅgāḻi*. (After this, plates VI and VII are lost).

(i) *Tiruvaḍimār.* This honorific title is found in connection with the names of rulers of countries, high placed Brāhmaṇas, holding important offices, such as the headship of *maṭhas*, those that are conducting *pūjā* in temples &c.

(ii) One of the common phrases found in the inscriptions of Malai-nāḍu is *avirōdhamāy-kkūḍi*, 'having met with unanimous good feeling or without any ill-feeling among them.'

(iii) *Veṇpoli-nāḍu.* This name occurs also in the Cochin plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol, III. pp. 68-69), where, however, it is engraved, as Vēṇāpali-nāḍu. In the Cochin grant another king of Veṇpoli-nāḍu whose name is similar to the one of our grant, namely, Kōdai Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ occurs. From the former halves of the *irraṭṭaippēr*, it is evident that they are different from each other. The name Veṇpoli-nāḍu was, in later times, rendered into Sanskṛit as Bimbali-dēśa and its king was consequently styled the Bimbalīśa. The later Bimbalīśas were known in the vernacular as the Tekkiṇkūṟu-ṟājas. The large back-water known as the Vēmbanāḍukāyal, lying between Alleppey and Cochin, also derives its name from *Vemboli-nāḍu.* It has nothing to do with Vēmbanāḍu, a sub-division of the Pāṇḍya kingdom, as I once mistook it.

Section 4; (*ll.* 55-189).

In this section reference is made to a number of perpetual lamps set up by various persons and to the lands which were granted by each for this purpose. Some of these were situated in a place called Cheṉṉittalai. There is a village bearing this name near Māvēlikarai in Central Travancore. From the details given, we are able to infer that the cost of maintaining one perpetual lamp was 150 *paṟai* of pady, a *paṟai* being in this particular case a measure of 8 *nāḻi*. Some of those who set up the perpetual lamps are the Perumāḷ, the Nambirāṭṭiyār, the Dēviyār, Kuṉṟamuḍaiyār, Vīraśōḻar, Chennittalai-Aḍigaḷ Irāyaśēgaraṇ, Kumaraḍi of the Muttūṟṟu-mūlai, Kiḻānaḍigaḷ, Irāyakēśavaṇ, the Uvachchaṇ (the drummer) of Tiruvallavāḻ, Pattiraśāraṇigaḷ (?), Ēṟaṇ Śaṅgaraṇ, the governor of Purākiḻā-nāḍu, Nambukāḻiyār, Yakkan-Kōdai of Peruvayalūr, the Nāyar of Kōmākāḍu, and Iraṇyagarbha-Vikraman of Magiḻañjēri.

Perumāḷ is the common name by which a king is referred to; compare, Perumāḷ Kulaśēkharadēva, which occurs in later Pāṇḍya inscriptions.[1] The word *nambirāṭṭiyār* occurring in the inscriptions of the Chōḻa and Pāṇḍya countries refers to the queens, that is, the wives of kings: but in the Malai-nāḍu inscriptions the word seems to refer to the Rāṇis, the sisters and other females, such as the mother, maternal aunt &c., of the royal family.[2] The word *Dēviyār* occurring in the Malabar inscriptions seems to mean the consorts of the king, who in the Malai-nāḍu are *not* the Rāṇis and whose children have no claim to the throne.[3] The names Vīraśōḻar and Kiḻānaḍigaḷ are definitely known to be those of Parāntaka-Chōḻa I and his queen, the mother of Rājāditya, respectively. We know

1 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. I. p. 265.

2 See Travancore Arachaeological Series, Vol. I. pp. 175 and 177.

3 *Ibid.*

from the Aṉbil plates of Rājakēsarivarman Sundara-Chōḷa (or Parāntaka II), that Parāntaka-Chōḷa I, or Vīra-Chōḷa as he is called therein, married the daughter of the Kēraḷa king Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar. Kō-kKiḻānaḍigaḷ is distinctly mentioned to be the mother of Rājāditya in one of the inscriptions of Tirunāmanallūr.[1] Śeṉṉit-talai-Aḍigaḷ Irāyaśēgaraṉ is the next important name. It is not certain whether it refers to a person living at the time of the drawing up of this document or to a past donor. Anyhow, we know of a king of the Chēra country, called Rājaēśkhara, whose inscription is edited in this Volume.[2]

Section 5: (*ll.* 189-199).

This portion of the inscription enumerates the *Vṛiśchika-viḷakku* that were provided for by a number of persons, of whom one was the Sōmāśiyār (Sōmayāji) of Neḍuvēḷi.

The solar month *Vṛiśchika* is the same as the Kārttigai month, a month peculiarly sacred for burning a number of lamps in each house and in all temples; it is in this month that the *dīpōtsva* takes place in all Hindu temples.[3]

Section 6: (*ll.* 199-215).

This section mentions the sources of income for the sandal-paste and incense required for the use of the temple. Among those who had bound themselves to supply sandalwood were Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ *i e.*, the governor of Vēṇāḍu, and Dharaṇivarmmar of (Tuḍandalaikkāl ?). A temple named Kāpālīśvaram is mentioned to have existed in Vēḷūr.

Section 7: (*ll.* 216-329).

In this section are enumerated the plots of land given by a number of people for the offering of *naivēdya* or *tiruvamudu* (food offering) to the temple at Tiruvallavāḻ. One noticeable fact is that these plots of lands yielded mostly one hundred and fifty *paṟai* of paddy. From their income, four *nāḻi* of rice were required to be cooked and offered to the deity every day. It is only in a very few instances, the donors have given lands which produced more than 150 *paṟai* of paddy or less. One piece of land included in this section was also intended for bathing the image with ghee (*neyyāḍuvān*). The deities other than the chief ones for whom rice offerings had to be made are said to be Tiruvāyambāḍiy-appaṉ (*i e.*, Kṛishṇa) and Varāhappaṉ. One Poṉṉiyakka-Nāyaṉ of Kiḍaṅguparāl made a gift of land yielding annually 75 *paṟai* which were to be spent for offering *akkāraḍalai* (sugared-rice) to the deity and for meeting the expenses of a *kūttu* (dance or drama to be enacted probably in the *kūttu-maṇḍapam* of the temple).

1 See p. 133, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII.

2 Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II. pp. 8 ff.

3 कृत्तिकासु च कार्त्तिक्यां पौर्णमास्यां मधुद्विषः ।
दिक्षु सर्वासु सर्वत्र तथा चावरणेषु च ॥
कूटाकाराः कल्पनीयास्तेषु स्युर्दीपमालिकाः ।
प्राकारभित्तिषु तथा मण्डपे गोपुरेषु च ॥
वह्निभिर्दीपमालाभिर्भाव्यं सर्वासु पद्मज ! ।

Padma-Saṁhitā.

The articles given are:— 12 *nāḻi* of rice, two *nāḻi* of ghee measured by the *nārāya* - (that is *nārāśa*) *nāḻi*, four *nāḻi* of milk, four cocoanuts, eight ripe plantain fruits and two *nāḻi* of sugarcane-juice. From the list of materials given, one can easily see that they are meant for making *akkāraḍalai*. It is said that Kāḻiyāṅga-*kūttu* was to be performed on the day of the Rōhiṇī-nakshatra that comes off in the month of Vṛiśchika. Perhaps Rōhiṇi was the natal star of the donor and Vṛiśchika was the month in which he was born. By kāḻiyāṅga-kūttu is probably meant the dance performed by Śrī-Kṛishṇa on the hood of the serpent Kāḻīya. The honorarium to be paid to the persons who staged the *kūttu* was fixed at twenty-five *paṟai* of paddy.

In this connection it is interesting to note that temples were provided with theatre halls, known in inscriptions under the name of *kūttambalam* or *āṭṭattu-maṇḍapam*. Dramatic performances took place in these, mostly during festival occasions, as they still take place in the Malaināḍu. Special plays were composed for each festival by eminent paṇḍits and sometimes even by the kings. We know that king Ravivarma Saṅgrāmadhīra of Jayatuṅganāḍu composed his *Pradyumnābhyudaya* to be enacted in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum during the *Yātrōtsava* festival.[1]

The dramas *Tapatīsamvaraṇa* and *Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya* of Kulaśēkhara might also have been composed for being boarded during temple festivals. Again, the play called *Adbhuta-pañjaram* was written under the patronage of the Mahratta king Sahajirāja of Tanjore to be enacted in the temple of Kumbhīśvara at Kumbhakōṇam on the occasion of the *mahāmaghōtsva* celebrated annually in that temple[2]:—

The section continues to enumerate the donations made to the temple for food offering. Some of the names of persons that occur in this part of the section are:—the Achchiyār of Kuḻakkāḍu, Achchutaṉ Śēḍuppirāṉ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Maṇukulādichchadēvar (Manukulādityadēva), Dēviyār, Naṅṅaiyār of Iḷaṅguṉṟa-nāḍu, the Piḷḷaimārs of Paḍatalaitturutti and Nārāyaṇaṉ Śēndaṉ of Vēḷakkāḍu.

The most important of these names is that of Manukulādityadēva. He is said to have granted land when he was still a *yuvarāja* (*iḷaṅgō-pparuvattu*). Evidently, therefore, at the time when his grant was recorded, he had either become a king or was dead. This Manukulādityadēva is mentioned in an inscription of Bhāskara Ravivarman found in Tirumūḻikkaḷam as a donor to that

1 सूत्रधारः—आर्ये! समादिष्टोऽस्मि ..... कोलम्बपुरपरिष्कारस्य देवस्य रविवर्मणः पादपद्मोपजीविन्या राजपरिषदा, यथा अद्य .....
.....केरळदेशसुकृतपरिणतेः यादवकुलनृपदैवतस्य भगवतः श्रीपद्मनाभस्य यात्रोत्सवे किमपि रूपकमभिनवमभिनयता वयं विनोदनीयाः इति ॥

2 सूत्रधारः। सहर्षं। आदिष्टोऽस्मि समस्तसुरासुरप्रमुखचराचरस्तोमवन्दितचरणारविन्दस्य मङ्गलनायिकाकुचकुम्भपरिरम्भसुभगंभावुकस्य भगवतः कुम्भीश्वरस्य महामघोत्सवप्रसङ्गेन संगतैर्महानुभावैः सहजिराजविद्वत्पुरोगमैः सामाजिकैः ॥

temple.[1] It is ascertained that Bhāskara Ravivarman ascended the throne in A. D. 978 and the date of the inscription referred to above is the 49th year of his reign (A. D. 1027). Therefore, Manukulādityadēva should have ruled over Kēraḷa at or before this date; if before, how long before, it is difficult to say from the epigraphical evidences available at present.

In his *Saṁkshēpa-Śārīraka*, Sarvajñātman, states that he was the contemporary of a king named Manukulādityadēva. The verse mentioning this king runs as follows:—

श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपङ्कजरजस्संपर्कपूताशयः
सर्वज्ञात्मगिराङ्कितो मुनिवरः संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।
चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्द्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

This verse has been noticed by Dr. Sir. R. G. Bhandarkar in his *History of Dekkan*, Vol. I, part II. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*. He remarks that "the Dēvēśvara spoken of in the first line is Surēśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkarāchārya", and takes Manukulāditya as "Āditya (sun) of the race of Manu, the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race" and attempts to identify him with the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II.

In the latest issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of England*, Mr. S. V. Venkatesvara Ayyar also notices this verse referring to Manukulāditya; he also takes the name as a periphrastic one, applied to Āditya-Chōḷa I of the race of Manu, that is, of the solar race. He personally does not find any difficulty in making this identification. But the truth seems to be quite otherwise. Let us proceed with the study of the life and times of Sarvajñātman from all available sources, in the following paragraph.

In the *Gururatnamālikā*, a work giving the list of succession of the *āchāryas* of the Kāmakōṭi-pīṭha or the Kumbhakōṇam Śaṅkarāchāryas, composed by Sadāśivabrahmēndra who is said to have lived in A. D. 1508-1560, there occurs the statement that Sarvajñātman vanquished the Jainas. Ātmabōdhēndrasarasvati (Ś. 1642) the author of Sushumā, the commentary on the *Gururatnamālikā* gives more information about the life of Sarvajñātman. He writes that Sarvajñātman was a native of an *agrahāra* named *Brahmadēśam* on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī river. His father's name was Varddhana. When Śaṅkarāchārya went round on a tour of religious wrangle, Varddhana and his disciples were defeated; but Varddhana's son Mahādēva, who was only seven years old at the time, held up the philosophical discussion for three days longer and on the fourth yielded to the great Advaita philosopher. Then he expressed his intense desire to become a *sannyāsin*. Śaṅkarāchārya conferred upon him the holy order, and after giving him spiritual initiation (*tatvōpadēśa*) bestowed the name Sarvajñātman and placed him on the pontifical seat as his future successor. He became

1 Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II. p. 46.

later on famous as the author of the *Saṁkshēpa-Śārīraka* and other works. He is said to have adorned the pontifical seat for 70 years along with Surēśvarāchārya and then himself for 42 years. He passed away in Kali 2737 on the *chaturdaśī* of the dark half of the Vaiśākha month of the year Anala. So far, Sadāśivabrahmēndra's statement. Like Dr. Bhandarkar, the commentator seems to have taken the compound word Dēvēśvara, to be equivalent to Surēśvara and from this identification, made the next guess, namely, Dēvēśvara *alias* Surēśvara must be the same as the disciple of Śaṅkarāchārya. The steps, by which the conclusion is arrived at, appear to be satisfactory, but, the colophon of the work called *Pramāṇalakshaṇam*, also said to have been written by Sarvajñātman, runs as follows:—

श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपद्मरजसा सद्यः पवित्रीकृतः
सर्वज्ञात्ममहामुनिः प्रकरणं चक्रे त्रिकाण्डीगतम् ।
यस्त्वेतत्पुरुषोऽवगच्छति स वै भूमण्डले पण्डितः
तद्वत्तार्किकदुर्विदग्धदमने दक्षो मुमुक्षुर्भवेत् ॥

And the list of succession is given there as follows:—

Śrī Śrēshṭhānanda Pāda

(his disciple)

Śrī Dēvānanda Pāda

(his disciple)

Śrī Dēvēśvara Pāda

(his disciple)

Śrī Sarvajñātma Pāda.

From the marked resemblance between the wording of the two colophons, namely, those of the *Saṁkshēpa-Śārīraka* and the *Pramāṇalakshaṇa*, it seems more than probable that the two works were written by the same author; but, the pedigree of this author as given in the latter work does not disclose any relationship with Śaṅkarāchārya and his maṭha. Wherefrom Ātmabōdhēndrasarasvati got the detailed history of Sarvajñātman is not patent and in the absence of this information we have to take his statement *cum grano salis*. But one thing is certain, namely, that Sarvajñātman was a contemporary of Manukulāditya, who lived, as we have mentioned before, at or some time prior to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman, that is, in or before 978 A. D. His connection with the Kēraḷa country

might perhaps be inferred from his verses in the *Saṁkshēpa-Śārīraka* praising the god Padmanābha,[1] at Trivandrum.

There is thus no doubt that Sarvajñātman lived at least six generations after Śaṅkarāchārya, if we take that the latter flourished in the first part of the 9th century. He could not have been Śaṅkarāchārya's disciple's disciple as it is attempted to be made out by Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Venkatesvara Ayyar.

That the name Manukulāditya should not be divided so as to mean Āditya of the race of Manu is patent from the fact that it occurs in that form even in ordinary prose inscriptions, as opposed to poetic compositions. Again one of the suburbs of Trivandrum is still known by the name Manukulādichchamaṅgalam, a fact which clearly corroborates the view stated above.

Section 8: (*ll.* 329-345).

When Jupiter stood in Mithuna and the sun in Mēsha, the following business was transacted by the townsmen of Tiruvallavaḷ, who had met unanimously in the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-Appaṇ:— Ravi Śrīkaṇṭaṇ, the governor of Veṇpoli-nāḍu, gave to the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-appaṇ the village of Kuḍavūr which belonged to him, together with the eighteen *variśai* (taxes?) which accrued from it and the *aṅṅāḍi* (is it *aṅgāḍippāṭṭam* that is meant here?). It was granted as a *kīḻīḍu*, for which he bound himself, to pay eighteen *kaḻañju* of gold and 360 *paṟai* of paddy which were received as the *rakshābhōgam* and the *śūḍumurai* (?). It is said that commencing from the year following the date mentioned above, the gold and the paddy due from the officers of the village of Kuḍavūr, should be delivered over in the hands of the Samaṅjitan annually on the day of Viśākhā in the month of Vaiśākha.

From the eighteen *kaḻañju* of gold thus collected, the two *mēl-śānti* were allowed to take fifteen *kāṇam* and the *kiḻ-śānti* another fifteen. The balance of fifteen *kaḻañju* was set apart for performing five *snapanas*. If, by their remissness, they did not collect the sum as it fell due (*amaiñjakālattu*), Ravi Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ would not be liable to pay the usual penalty of double the amount. Though he is thus exempt from the penalty, he is still bound to give the fixed amount. *Rakshābhōgam* shall be obtained and the property secured against the wrath of the king and the *sāmantas*.[2] The *kīḻīḍu* of Kuḍvūr shall be subject to the decision of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam. We learn incidentally that a *kaḻañju* was equal to ten *kāṇam*.

1 अविरलपदपङ्क्तिः पद्मनाभस्य पुण्या
चरणकमलधूलिग्राहिणी भारतीयम् ।
घनतरमुपघातं श्रेयसः श्रोतृसङ्घात्
सुरसरिदिव सद्यो मार्ष्टु माङ्गल्यहेतुः ॥

भुजङ्गमाङ्गशायिने विहङ्गमाङ्ग गामिने
तुरङ्गमाङ्ग भेदिने नमो रथाङ्ग धारिणे ।

2 After this occurs a passage which may be rendered thus:—

The *ūrāḷar* shall not enter into the transaction, prevent the payment or receive the dues. Such of them as act against it, shall be deprived of their *ūrāṇmai* (*i. e.* their offical position), and their place in the assembly (*paraḍai*). [K. V. S.]

Section 9: (*ll.* 345-349).

Kumaraṇ Iyakkaṇ, the governor of Tekkiṅkūṟu in Veṇpoli-nāḍu gave land for offering and a lamp; some portion of the paddy required for these, seems to have been derived from the village of Muṭṭāṟu. He also gave a silver salver and a *kaṇḍi* (kaṇṭhi, a necklace) set with rubies.[1]

From the above, it is clear that Veṇpoli-nāḍu had, at the time of this document, been divided into Tekkiṅkūṟu, and Vaḍakkiṅkūṟu. The governor of the former was Kumaraṇ Iyakkaṇ while that of the latter Iravi Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ.

Section 10: (*ll.* 349-360).

On the day of Viśākhā which corresponded to a Wednesday, in the solar month Makara, when Jupiter stood in Tulā, Kaṇḍaṇ Kumaraṇ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṇ of Kīḻumalai made arrangements for the *pañchamahāśabdas* to be sounded on the occasion of offering śrībali in the temple of Tiruvallavāḻ-Appaṇ. Śrībali offerings are made thrice a day. During each one of these three occasions, there should be four *śeṇḍai*, one *timilai*, one *śēyaṇḍi*, one pair of cymbals and two *kāyaḷam*, to produce the five great sounds (*pañchamahāśabda*). For any remissness on their part the persons appointed for the purpose, shall be subjected to the prescribed fines which are not defined here. For the maintenance of the nine persons thus appointed, the donor allotted the village named Neḍumbalā-nāḍu which belonged to him. From this land, thirty *kalam* of paddy, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* should be collected annually and delivered into the temple granary on the day of Rōhiṇī in the month of Kumbham. If it is not remitted within the said date, the *Poḍuvāḻ*[2] should cause the villagers to make good the paddy. The meaning of the phrase *ūr taḍuttu vaichchukoḷḷakkaḍavar* is not quite clear.[3] A similar phrase occurs also in line 46 of the Kōṭṭayam Syrian Christian plates No. II.[4] This gift was caused to be made by Iyakkaṇ Gōvindaṇ of Kōḍikkaḷam, the two officers (of the temple) and the 'Six hundred'.[5]

Section 11: (*ll.* 360-391).

In connection with the oil required for the temple, the following arrangement was made by the assembly of Dvādaśi-gaṇattār which met with an unanimous mind in the temple (*mukkālvaṭṭom*) of Tiruvallavāḻappaṇ The persons who had bound themselves to supply the oil should be divided into twenty divisions (*paḍayāram*) and each division further subdivided into eighteen share-holders (*paṅgu*) making a total of 360 *paṅgu* (that is, a *paṅgu* for one day in the year) and each one of the share-holders should be obliged to measure out the stipulated oil *per diem* in turn, beginning from the next ensuing Chitrai-Vishu. The

1 *Kaṇḍi* may also be taken to mean 'a drinking vessel with spout'.

2 It would appear that the name *Poḍuvāḻ* was originally applied to the *Mūttaḍu* attached to temples.

3 The meaning of the passage seems to be that if the payment is not made on the prescribed date *i. e.*, on the day of Rōhiṇī in the month of Kumbham of each year, the *poḍuvāḻ* shall have the right to eject the owner (who in this case is Kaṇḍaṇ Kumaraṇ) and to have the village in their possession. [K. V. S.]

4 Travancore Archaeological Series, Vol. II p. 82.

5 Regarding the "Six hundred", see the Travancore Archaeological Series Vol. II. pp. 73-74.

twenty divisions mentioned above are: Muṇḍaippaḷḷi, Magaḷañjēri, Tāmaraikuḷam Teṅgamaṇ belonging to Mīkuṇṇam, Dēvarpaḷḷi, Puṇṇaichēri, Kāṭṭūr, Teṅgamaṇ, Neḍuvēli, Maṅgalachchēri, Māṇikkamaṅgalam and Iḷamaṇ,—in all twelve villages, —and these shall constitute the first group (*vaṭṭam*). The villages of Māḍamaṇ, Magaḷañjēri of Peruṅgoḷam (or Periṅgoḷam and Magiḷañjēri), Teṅgamaṇ of Kariyaṇāḍu, Iḍaichchēri, Cheṇṇaṟṟurutti, Muṇḍaippaḷḷi, Kuṟichchi, Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, Puñjaippaḍagāram and Paṟambūr shall constitute the second group (*vaṭṭam*).[1] (In the first half of the year), the first group shall supply[2] the oil and the second group shall receive it; and (in the second half of the year), the second group shall supply it and the first group shall receive it. The person who delivers the oil for any day shall do so before the 'five-feet' time of the forenoon (that is, when a man's shadow measures five feet). If he fails to bring it within the fixed time (of day), he shall be subjected to the fine of supplying double the quantity. The man who brings the oil to the temple, shall be given one *nāḻi* of rice. If the person who has to supply the oil fails to do so, for one or two days, he shall be subjected to give the double of what is due from him, and if the remissness extends to three days, he shall, in addition to the doubling of his dues, be obliged to pay a fine of 10 *kāṇam* of gold. If, however, he does not give oil for all the eighteen days to which he has bound himself, he should pay a fine of 6 *kaḻañju* of gold. If the number of days during which he fails to discharge his duty falls between three and eighteen, he is to become liable to a fine of three *kaḻañju* of gold, as also double the quantity of oil. He should not be allowed to begin to supply oil after a period of remissness, unless he had already paid down the fine for those days. He that fails to supply the oil for the total period of eighteen days, shall not, unless he pays all the fines and dues, be eligible to mess in the temple, (*ūṭṭu*), associate with others (*?kūṭṭam*) and hold the land-tenure (*pāṭṭam*). During the days of remissness of such a person, the persons belonging to the remaining divisions shall assume his right and begin to provide the temple with oil. The share-holders are not allowed to sell or mortgage among themselves the lands held in tenure by them. One of the conditions imposed on the *iḍaiyīḍaṇ* and the *ūrāḻaṇ* was that they should not give permission to plough or lease out the land. Adducing any sort of cause, no one shall stop the supply of oil, misuse the land set apart for it, advise others to do so, embezzle the income from the lands or cease to pay such income. He that does not do as described above shall be subjected to a fine of fifty *kaḻañju* of gold to the temple, another fine of twenty-five *kaḻañju* to the *sabhā* and a third fine of fifteen *kaḻañiu* to the then *Koyiladhikāri* and shall be treated as one who has wronged against the decrees of Mūḻikkaḻam (*Mūḻikkaḻakkachcham*). May this arrangement continue for several hundred-thousand years.

Section 12: (*ll.* 391-403).

In this section are mentioned the donations made for supplying oil required for the two *ayanas* of the year. They are as follow:—

1. It is noted that the villages of the first and second *vaṭṭam* together number more than twenty.

2. The word used is *āttuvidu* and it is taken to be another from of *aṭṭuvidu*.

Two *tulām*	of oil by the people of Māḍamaṇ, from (the income of) Erumaittānam and Veṇpālaichchāṉṟār-kāḍu.
One *tulām*	„ by Ālañjēri-Aḍigaḷ.
Do.	„ from the garden attached to Tiladamaṅgalam.
Do.	„ „ of Pokkaṇḍanār of Neḷiṅṅāḍu.
Do.	„ by Śāraṅgapāṇi Kēśavaṉ Tāyaṉ of Neydaṟchēri in Mānnāmaṅgalam, from (the income of) Neḍuntāṟu.
Four *tulām*	„ by Iḍaichchēriyavaṉ, from the (income of) Vaḷavaṉār-oḍi and Maṇaluḍaiyāṉ-kari. Two *tulāms* of this are for the two *ayanas* and the remaining two *tulām* for the two Vishus.

The oil from the income of Veṭṭittuṟai-iṟai.

Section 13: (*ll.* 403-438).

The following is the schedule of expenditure to be incurred during the festival of Ōṇam in the month of Āvaṇi:—The income for this item of expenditure is eighty *paṟai* of paddy from a portion of the land called Veḷiyaṇārkāḍu belonging to Śēndaṉ Kēśavaṉ of Iḍaichchēri and a hundred and twenty-five *paṟai* of paddy from the plot of land known as the Tiruvōṇakkari in Muṉṉi-nāḍu. The following is the expenditure for the paddy thus obtained:—

For burning one lamp that day—one *uri* of ghee.

For 5 *kāṇam* of camphor—40 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For 10 *kāṇam* of sandal-paste—5 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For 10 *kāṇam* of *agil* for burning incense—10 *nāḻi*.

Two garlands.

Seven hundred *nāḻi* of rice, as measured by the *nāḻi* measure kept in the temple kitchen, should be cooked and offered to the gods in the eastern and western shrines: out of this rice one half shall be given to students. Over and above the seven hundred *nāḻi* of rice, four *nāḻi* of rice shall be cooked and offered to the god Varāhappaṉ; four *nāḻi* to (the god Kṛishṇa of) Tiruvāyambāḍi; four *nāḻi* for the hospital (*ātira-śālai*) four *nāḻi* for the god Ayyappaṉ (Ārya, or Śāsta); twelve *nāḻi* for the bhūta-bali; sixteen *nāḻi* for the Mahāyakshī (*māyiyakki*), Kuravaṉ and Āmandaiyūr; twenty *nāḻi* for two *mēl-emberumakkaḷ* (the modern Embrāṉ) who are the chief *śāntikkār* (mēl-śānti) and fifty *nāḻi* for five assistants (*i. e.*, *kīḻ-śāntikkār*): four *nāḻi* to *bhaṭṭars;* four *nāḻi* to Ayyappaṉ Emberumāṉ; four *nāḻi* to the *kīḻ-samañjitaṉ;* twenty *nāḻi* to five *bhaṇḍāris* (*paṇḍāri*); four *nāḻi* to the person who supplies leaves; four *nāḻi* to him who keeps guard: for the drummers who beat the drums

during the offering of the *śrībali* and for those that discharge the duties of *Veḷichchappāḍu* (? *Viḷikkum-avargaḷ*) who total thirty-three persons, each to get three *nāḻi* of rice.

Ghee, eight *nāḻi* — as measured by the *iḍaṅyaḻi*.

Five *nāḻi* — of oil, as measured by the *iḍaṅyaḻi* to be supplied to those who desire for it for their oil-bath, the cost of the ghee and oil being twenty-six *paṟai* of paddy.

Pepper — one *nāḻi*, as measured by the *iḍaṅyaḻi*: cost of the same, 10 *nāḻi* of paddy.

Cumin — one *nāḻi*, as measured by the *uḻakku*, cost being 10 *nāḻi* of paddy.

Asafaetida — one *palam;* cost two *paṟai* of paddy.

Cocoanuts — sixty.

Ripe plantains — six bunches.

Unripe plantains — seven bunches; in each of the bunches there should be, on an average, sixty. The paddy required to purchase the ripe and unripe plantains is hundred *nāḻi*.

Green gram — 10 *nāḻi*, as measured by the *iḍaṅyaḻi*.

Betel leaves — 10,000 and proportionate quantity of arecanuts: fifteen *paṟai* of paddy for this item.

For four persons who sweep the inner portions of the temple, 8 *nāḻi* of rice.

For the person who supplies firewood, 20 *nāḻi* of rice.

For the potter who supplies the temple with earthenware vessels for cooking, 20 *nāḻi*.

For *aḍaiyamirdu*,[1] four *nāḻi*.

For him who keeps account of the expenditure for the day and reads it (publicly) afterwards, 5 *nāḻi*

For four persons who knit flower-garlands, 8 *nāḻi* of rice.

For those who sweep the outer portions of the temple, 8 *nāḻi*.

For those who sweep the temple premises outside the enclosure wall (*madiṟ-puṟam*), 4 *nāḻi*.

For salt, tamarind and cocoanuts, 8 *paṟai* of paddy.

For green gram, two *paṟai* and a half.

Vāgai-ppoḍi, two *nāḻi*.

Twenty five *paṟai* of rice from seed paddy (are set apart) from Tombūr-kari for the early morning offering on the day of Ōṇam. From them 200 *nāḻi* of sacred offerings shall be made. Besides this the additional paddy to be paid from the *kari* are:—

200 *nāḻi* of rice for the sacred offerings to the god.

1 It may mean either the cake called *aḍai* or betel leaves.

5 *nāḻi* of rice to each of the bhaṭṭas who discourse on the Śāstras.

3 *nāḻi* (of rice) for him who presents the hand-lamp and supplies arecanuts and betel-leaves.

12 *nāḻi* (of rice) for four dancing girls.

And 40 *paṟai* of paddy, at the rate of six *nāḻi* of paddy (each), for those who had to sound the beating instruments.

Section 14: (*ll.* 438-468).

The following are the items of income of rice for offerings to be made to the god Tiruvallavāḻappaṉ as soon as He is roused from sleep (early in the morning):—two hundred *nāḻi* from Kāraikkāl; one hundred *nāḻi* from the plot of land known as Valiyavēli in Ñeḻiñṉāḍu; two hundred *nāḻi* from the land called Vāḻagattār-ōḍi set apart by Kuṉṟan Iravi of Paḷḷam; one hundred *nāḻi* from the land, Aññaṇachchiṟai and the garden attached to it; forty *nāḻi* from the garden called Paḻavirukkai; ten *paṟai*, as measured by the *paṟai* measure of eight *nāḻi* capacity, from the garden belonging to Kiriṭṭaṉ (Kṛishṇaṉ) of Kaṟpuḻai, which has been taken on mortgage by Yakkaṉ (or Yachchaṉ) Kōdai; forty *nāḻi* of seed from the garden of Kōdai Gōvindaṉār of Kaṟpuḻai-parāl; fifty *nāḻi* of seed from the land called Tāmarainallūr-kkari; one hundred *nāḻi* of rice from the garden called Kāraṇikāḍar-puraiyiḍam; forty *nāḻi* of rice from the garden Kūpakattu-puraiyiḍam; one hundred *nāḻi* of seed from the ōḍi of Koṟṟaṅkaṇṇār of Kaidai-pparāl; fifty *nāḻi* of seed from Tāṟṟuvaḻi in the Kaidaip-parāl-uḷnāḍu; fifty *nāḻi* of seed from the land (*kari*) of Mānnaṉ of Puṇṇaikkuṇṟam; fifty *nāḻi* of rice from Śiṟumaṇpuraiyiḍam; forty *nāḻi* of rice from Maṇiyirukkum-puraiyiḍam; Amirdamaṅgalattavaṉ made arrangements for the supply of one hundred *nāḻi* of rice and one *nāḻi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, for the early morning offering (after the awakening of the god) from the *rakshābhōgam* on his *iḍaiyīḍu* lands; this item has to be collected from the *chērikkal* called Eḷunīṟṟūr; on the day the god goes to sleep,[1] shall be collected from the produce of the garden on the hill in Mānnamaṅgalam 24 *nāḻi* of rice and one *nāḻi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*; fifty *nāḻi* of riee from Mūlērppaḍuvattu Vāraṅgāḍar-puraiyiḍam; one *nāḻi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, from the garden of Gōvindanār of Śālappuḻai; one *nāḻi* of ghee, measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, from Kuṉṟakkāṭṭu-puraiḍam east of Muñjippaṟai; one hundred *nāḻi* of rice from the lands of Ayakaṉ for the penalty that he became subject to. The following are the money income for the *dānam* to be made on the occasion of the god's going into sleep:—ten *kāṇam* of gold given by Kuṉṟaṉ Iravi of Paḷḷam on one hundred *kalam* of paddy produced in the Vāḻagattārōḍi; ten *kāṇam* of gold by Yakkiyammai of his family raised on the same property; ten *kāṇam* of gold by Kuṉṟan Gōvindaṉ of Paḷḷam from the garden Ñeḻiñṉāṭṭu-ppuraiyiḍam; ten *kāṇam* of gold on Tāṟaṇparāl; two and a half *kāṇam* of gold by Kaṇḍaṉ of Marudañchēri from his garden Śiṟṟōḍi; five *kāṇam* of gold from Śeṇbagachchēri-puraiyiḍam; two *kaḻañju* of gold to be paid by the farmers of Śēnnaṉ-kari; two *kaḻañju* of gold from the *kārāṇmai* portion of Paḍaināyarmāḍattāññini and Kūṇaṇvāḻkkai both in Śiṟukaḍaitturutti,

1. The god Vishṇu is said to go to sleep on the *Ēkādaśi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvaṇa and awake on the *Ekādaśi* of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika; this period of four months is observed as the *châturmāsyavrata* by the Brāhmaṇa Sannyasins and under the name of *vassa* by the *Bauddhas*.

which are taken in mortgage for this purpose; one *kāṇam* of gold from Aṇukkaṇ-vāḷkkai; ten *kāṇam* from Taṭṭam-pāṟai-vāḷkkai and Kūṭṭumēl. The plots of land allotted for the seven days' festival to be celebrated soon after the awakening of the god are:—(Here plate 32 is lost).

Section 15: (*ll.* 469-479).

This section is only a copy of the latter portion of section 8.

Section 16: (*ll.* 479-486).

The plots of lands set apart for feeding Brāhmaṇas (*tiruvakkiram*) are:—

Makku-tiṭṭai; Mayilaṇ-ōḍi in Ādaṇturutti; Gōvindanārkari on the south of the river, leased out for seventy five *paṟai* of paddy; Irāyiṅgattāṇ-vēli (Rājaśiṅ-gattān-vēli) in Vāḷaippaḷḷi Pudukkari in Paruḍaittiṭṭai near the river, yielding 75 *paṟai* of paddy, as measured by the *paṟai* of nine *nāḻi* capacity; Kurukkulaiyūr-Maṅṅāḍu; Kāñjirakkāḍu in the Neḍungāli-nāḍu; Kuruvēli, the waste land and channel belonging to it situated in the Tāmaṟṟa-nāḍu; Śīrvīḍu in Īśānamaṅgalam; Muḍālam in Tekkāṇam; Kumāṇkari and Karaippuraiyiḍam farmed by those who live in Āṭṭūṭṭippaṟambu; Āṇaiyaḍi..... (Here plate 34 is lost).

Section: 17 (*ll.* 487-531).

The commencement of this section, which should have contained the object of the grant, is lost in the missing plate. Two *paṟai* from one *tuḍavai;* the income from Kāṭṭumaṇ which is under the cultivation of the people of Pūndōṭṭam; the garden called Nāgamaṅgala-ppuraiyiḍam in Irupaḷḷi-ppuraiyiḍam and one half of Irupaḷḷi-ppuraiyiḍam itself; four *paṟai* of paddy from the Kuṟṟūrār-karumbu; Śālaiyārkuḷi; the income from Śampakakkōṭṭam; Puṇṇaikkuḷam; Śuḍukaṇḍalk-kari in Puṟaṅṅoli-nāḍu; the garden of Mābaliyār; the garden called Pūndōṭṭam; the garden named Pōral near (or outside of) the temple (or palace, *kōyil*); Pālaip-paḷañjiyār-ōḍi, yielding 75 *paṟai;* the income of two hundred *kalam*, as measured by the ten-*nāḻi* measure, from a portion of Kaḷḷakkari whose sowing capacity is 60 *paṟai;* thirty *paṟai* of paddy, as measured by the ten *nāḻi* measure, from Poṇkoḍuttān-śālā on the way to Maṇṇintōḍu; the rent on Kaḍamaṇkari in Nīraṇam whose sowing capacity is sixty *paṟai;* the rent on Śēriyuḍaiyārkāḍu the sowing capacity of 25 *paṟai;* the rent of 75 *paṟai* on Kuṇṟattārvaḷāl; the rent on Neṭṭāḷi in Turutti with the sowing capacity of 15 *paṟai;* Puḷivēlipuṇam; Nāṟuvāvaḷi Paṇaimaṇ; Kuḷappaḷḷivaḷāl; the rent of four *paṟai* of paddy on Kāñjirappaḍuvam; Kaḍaippaṇaiṅṅāḍu and the people dwelling in it; hundred *nāḻi*, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, from Turuttikkarai-ppuraiyiḍam; Tuḷatturai-Ērimaṇ, twenty five *paṟai* from Puṇṇaivēli; Pāchchiṇappāy; one fourth of the income from Kōḍaikari, (one) hundred *kalam;* 15 *paṟai* from the garden called Maṇḍapam; Kalvēli, 15 *paṟai*, in Puṇṇaikkuṇṟam; Peruṅgalvēli, one hunrded *paṟai;* Śirukalvēli, thirty *paṟai;* Kaidaikkōḍu, fifty *paṟai;* Pūppaḍuvattōḍi, fifty *paṟai*; Paḷḷōvēli, 20 *paṟai;* Vēḷakkāḍu near the Ālaikkāl bridge; Āttiraiy-arkāḍu, 40 *paṟai*, assigned by the Adhikāri; a portion of Ādaṇṟurutti-vaḷāl in Śirumudaimaṟṟa-maṇḍayam, seven and a half *paṟai;* Puduvāyvaḷāl; Pulaiyaṇ-mudai; Siṟukōl-muṟṟam; Kaṇṇaṇāḍu; thirty *paṟai* from Kamuginpuṟaiyāṟu, for cocoanuts and tamarind; Śēlai; Māñṅaṇavaḍuvam, thirty *paṟai;* Neṇmali, fifty *paṟai*; the tax of sixty *nāḻi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, from Neṇmali; forty *nāḻi*

from Tiruchchērppattōḍi; forty *nāḻi* from the *ōḍi* belonging to the god at Tuḷaturai; sixty *nāḻi* from Neṇmali belonging to the man at Māṇikkamaṅgalam; this tax is (? உபாயத்துக்கு) on Kaṇṇaṇāḍu; the rent on Kōḍaikaṇṇār-kāḍu, 75 *paṟai;* the land given by Dēvaṇ Śēṇḍaṇ of Māḍamaṇ is Nāyittikkari, fifty *kalam;* one and a half *ōḍi* in Kumāṇpaḍuvam; the same is also applicable to Kōragai; the rent on Kōḷagam, 75 *paṟai*, in the division (*kōṇam*) of Kaḍittāṇam, assigned by Nambu Nāraṇaṇ of Puligai; the income from the two fields *viz.*, one third of ōroḍi, which is under the cultivation of the people of Orupuṟakkāḍu and Kaṭṭaikkālvēli, together 15 *paṟai.*

The following are the plots of land assigned by Nāyattiyār of Mūlaiyil for feeding students (*chhātras*): the rent on Neṭṭōḍi and Dēvarvēli in Śennittalai of the sowing capacity of 60 *paṟai* of paddy: for this, there is to be *upāyattūkku* (?); Vaḷachcharāvēli in Muttāṟu-Tūppaḍu-vam; and Kaṇḍaṅkari, 120 *paṟai.*

The following are the plots of lands assigned by Nīlakaṇḍaṇ Yakkarāvaṇ of Vaḍaiśēri for food offering to the god:—the rent on Kaḍāvēli, 40 *paṟai*, belonging to Iḷiññiṇam; the rent on Iḷavāṇoḷukkam, 100 *nāḻi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, belonging to Veṇpālaivayal; the income of one in three from Iḍaiyāḍi, 75 *kalam;* the rent on Iḷavaḍaiśērippurāy, 100 *nāḻi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, belonging to Veṇpālaivayal; the income of 12 *kalam* from Paṟappu; Kiḻimāṇūr, four *kalam*: Kōṭṭuttalai, four *kalam*; Dēvartuḍavai in Paḷḷippuram, two *tūṇi* as measured by the double *tūṇi* measure; Avarāṇimangalam, 4 *kalam*, together with Karaippuraiyiḍam and Paḷḷōppaḷḷi-Kōṭṭarai; the paddy equivalent of the gold that is due as rent on Ayōkamaṇṇūr is 608 *paṟai* and a half of seed paddy; also the gold that is paid by the same, as such, is 33 *kaḻañju*, which has to be paid in the (temple) treasury. Kiruṭṭaṇ (Kṛishṇaṇ) Dēvaṇ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam shall give, on the day of Ōṇam in the month of Āvaṇi to the god Tiruvallavāḻappaṇ, 50 *nāḻi* of rice, as measured by the *nāḻi* preserved in the temple kitchen, being the income arising from his garden in Kāṭṭūr.

Section 18: (*ll.* 532-537).

At the time when Jupiter stood in Mēsha and the sun in Karkaṭaka, Rāmaṇ Kōdaivarmaṇ of Muññi-nāḍu granted,—together with the *rakshābhōga* of 200 *paṟai* of paddy, as measured by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*,—his *vāḻagam*, *muṭṭam*, *karai* and *vayal*, in the presence of the members of the Dvādaśīgaṇa who had met, without any dissensions among them, in the temple (at Tiruvallavāḻ) for the requirements of oil. This shall be collected and paid on the Svāti nakshatra day in the month of Vaiyyāśi. If the *iḍaiyīḍar* cause any damage at Śērikkal, they shall be liable to a fine of one *taḍam* of oil.

Section 19: (*ll.* 537-542).

At the time when Jupiter stood in Kanni and the sun in Dhanus, Rāmaṇmādēvī of Muññināḍu gave as *kīḻīḍu* her lands named Iñjaitturutti and Kuḻikkāḍu together with their tenants to the god Tiruvallavāḻappaṇ. With the income accruing from these lands, a food offering of 4 *nāḻi* shall be made to the god. The *emberumakkaḷ* and the *poduvāḷ* shall be paid one hundred *nāḻi* of paddy, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*. The grant was made inclusive of Kākkai-iravam.

Section 20: (*ll.* 542-543).

The land named Vaḍatalai-vāḻkkai, given by Muñjimārāyar as fine for having caused damage to Perugūr (?) was assigned for sacred offering.

Section 21: (*ll.* 544-561).

Śēndaṇ Kumaraṇ and his nephews of Kōyiṟpuram, made arrangements for 24 *nāḻi* of *akkāraḍalai* from their land in the Teṅgavēli-kōṇam. Sixty-two *paṟai* of seed (paddy) shall be received (as income) from Vēḻanilai adjoining the land Kūḍavāḻagam in Uḻnāḍar-iḍaikkāḍu, assigned by Kumaraṇ Iyakkaṇ of Pāgaivirutti. Aiyaṇ Kōdaivarman of Poṉikkarai shall measure and give 90 *paṟai* of seed-paddy, as measured by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*, from the land called Śiṟukaḍuppu, 200 *kalam*. Nārāyaṇaṇ Hṛishīkēśaṇ of Puñjaippaḍagāram made arrangements for one *kalam* (*i. e.*, one meal) for feeding a Brāhmaṇa (*tiruvakkiram*), and assigned two-fifths of the produce of 100 *kalam* from the land called Maṇalūrōḍi in Viḻāmuḍakku. Gōvindaṇ Achyutaṇ and his nephews (sister's sons) gave with libation of water to the god Tiruvallavāḻappaṇ one fourth of fourth thousand *kalam* of paddy which is the yield of the land called Paṇichchavirutti. Dāmōdaraṇ Kōdai of Paḻḻivirutti gave, with libation of water, the garden Kaṇṇaiyār-aḻiyam in Panichchavirutti. Vilakkilimaṅgalatt-aḍigal made an annual assignment of sixty ripe cocoanuts from the garden called Vāyppāṭṭukāḍu. For the lamp and sacred offering instituted by Kōdai Iravi of Vaṇṇalaichchēri, Kuṇṇaṇ Rāmaṇ, the ruler of the smaller portion (or the yuvarāja) of Muññināḍu gave land in Chērikkal *alias* Kākkaiyūr (requiring) 400 *kalam* (of seed). Nārāyaṇaṇ Tiriśampakaṇ of Ñāḻaṟpaḻḻi, shall do the duties of the *kārāṇmaikkār* and of the *poduvāḷ* and measure out the required paddy. Three *palam* of tamarind and three cocoanuts as also two and a half *kāṇam* of gold for the early morning service, shall be supplied. The *vaḷāl* and *tarai* of Śiṟaiyagam are (set apart) for (the service of holding) a hand lamp and for supplying areca-nuts during the *Śrībali*.

Section 22: (*ll.* 562-567).

Paramēśvaraṇ Sōman of Maṟṟam gave, with libation of water, to the god Tituvallavāḻappaṇ, his, garden named Śiṟaikkarai-puraiyiḍam for the supply of flower-garlands; one of the Paḷāra-tiruvaḍimār attached to the temple shall supply (the garlands). As *rakshābhōgam* on this land each of the two *mēlśānti emperumakkaḷ* shall receive the (produce of) one cocoanut tree. The Paṇḍāriyār of Veṇpala-nāḍu shall give as *kaval-virutti* five *paṟai* of paddy, (as measured) by the *paṟai* holding eight *nāḻi*.

In addition, Maṟṟam having been desired to be taken for gold, it was (also) given. The number of garlands to be supplied daily for it was three.

Section 23: (*ll.* 568-606).

The paddy which should be given to the *śāntikkārs* (*ārādhikkum emberumakkaḷ*) or *pūjāri* of the god Tiruvallavāḻappaṇ is as follows:—

From Iḷandurutti-kkari,	25	*paṟai*	
„ Iḷiññiṇam,	100	„	as measured by the *paṟai* of ten *nāḻi*.
„ Śēṟu of Iḷiññiṇam,	50	„	„
„ Kōyil-kkari,	200	„	„

From Paṇichchavirutti or paddy from the lands set apart for this duty of *pūjā* (*virutti* lands), just as in the case of the Gaṇattār, to be received in two instalments, measured by the *tūṇi* measure of nine *nāḻi*[1],

Hundred cocoanuts.

From Kavaḻchchai, 200 *paṟai* measured by the *paṟai* of ten *nāḻi*.

„ Pūrakkaṇattār-oḍi, Pottangaṇārkkari, Mūṉṟoṉṟukari and Pādikkīṟṟu, 100 *paṟai* of eight *nāḻi*.

„ Āṇaimaṟṟam, 75 *paṟai*.

„ Śūral-mudai 50 do.

„ Pōttaṇēṅgalam, 25 do.

„ Kuḻakkāḍu, 100 do.

„ Paruttikkāḍu, 12½ do.

„ Kaṇṇaṇāḍu given to Tāyaṇ Vikraman of Kīḻachchēri, 20 do.

„ Kāṭṭūr-oḍi given to him of Pūdikkōḍu, 15 do.

„ Poṉvēli above the land known as Ayyaṇāḍu, 25 do.

„ Maṇḍilakkaḻam, 75 do.

„ Vaikundapuram, 12½ do.

„ Kalvēli, 8 do.

„ Kuṟiyil-muṭṭam, 2 do.

„ Maṇḍapattu-puraiyiḍam, 12½ do.

„ Kurukkaṇṇār-maṟṟam, 25 do.

„ Iravinallūr-puraiyiḍam in Kaṉṟunilaikkuḻaṅgarai 50 *nāḻi* (as measured) by the *iḍṅgaḻi*.

„ Tāḻangāl, 30 *paṟai*.

„ Naḍuvattu Vādudēvaṉ of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam, 12½ do.

„ Bhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of Vilakkilimaṅgalam, on the land known as Eḻumuḻai, 12½ *paṟai*.

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1 Two ways of interpreting this passage other than the one given in the text may be suggested viz:—

(i) The paddy derived from service-lands *viz.* two *paḍāgāram*, as measured by the *tūṇi*, holding nine *nāḻi*, shall be taken just as the gaṇattār.

(ii) (In exchange) for the nine *nāḻi* and one *tūṇi* of paddy derived from service-lands, two *paḍāgāram* shall be taken just as the gaṇattār.

In the former case, *paḍāgāram* would denote a grain measure of larger capacity than the *tūṇi*; and in the latter case, *paḍāgāram* would mean some article other than paddy. *Paḍāgāram* is not explained in dictionaries. From the context, it appears very likely that *paḍāgāram* is a grain measure:—K. V. S.

„ The residents of Puḷaikkarai-maṟṟam, 3 *paṟai.*
„ Śaṅkaraṇ of Śeṇbagavēli, 12½ do.
„ Naraśiṅgamaṅgalam, 12½ do.
„ The residents of Naṇpurai-Kayilāyam, 2 do.
„ The puraiyiḍam of Vayiravāvaṇaṇ of Maṟṟam, 5 do.
„ Vañjikkāl 6 *paṟai* and (one) *uḻakku.*
„ Kuṟaṇḍiyōḍi 5 *paṟai.*
„ Kuḻakkāṭṭuṭaṟai, 12½ do.
„ Maṅgalappaḍuvam, 15 do.
„ The residents of Iḍaichchēri in Ayyaṇāḍu, 10 do.
„ Śēṇṇaṇ of Mērchēri, 6 *paṟai* and (one) *uḻakku.*
„ The residents of Kayilāyam, 2 *paṟai.*
„ Dāmōdaraṇ of Dēvarpaḷḷi, 12½ do.
„ Iṭṭiyamaṇ, one-third of the income (mēloḍi).
„ Muḻaimaṇai-puraiyiḍam, 6 *paṟai* and (one) *uḻakku.*
„ Kōyiṟpuṟattu-puraiyiḍam, 16 *paṟai.*
„ The puraiyiḍam of the oilmongers and Ūragam, 8 *paṟai.*
„ The residents of Paḷḷam, 6 *paṟai* and (one) *uḻakku.*
„ Iraññakaṟpaṇ (Hiraṇyagarbhaṇ?) of Puṇṇaichchēri (Here plate No. 41 is lost).

....

From Kāpālimaṅgalam, 300 *nāḻi.*
„ Śēdiṅgamaṅgalam, 25 *paṟai.*
„ Paḷḷam 6 *paṟai* and (one) *uḻakku.*

Kumaraṇ Śēndaṇ of Peṇaṅgāḍu shall give 30 *paṟai* of good paddy, as measured by the *paṟai* belonging to the Mēṇmaṇai, on the eastern *taṟai*, which is one of the three *taṟai.*

Vāsudēvaṇ of Ālañjēri shall pay to the *mēlśānti* 2 *paṟai* and (*one*) *uḻakku* of paddy for the *kārāṇmai* of the western *taṟai* of Kuḻakkāḍu.

Dēvaṇ Vikramaṇ of Magaḻañjēri gave for the *kīḻ-śānti* the two plots of lands, *viz.* Tūyoḍi in the dry-crop land in Iravinallūr and the portion belonging to him in Ūkuṟṟiyār-kāḍu situated in the dry-crop lands of Talaiyāru, 40 *paṟai.* If these were not sufficient he shall give more of good paddy.

Kēyavaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Kuṇṟattūr gave for *mēl-śānti* one-half of the portion of the *taṟai* in Kochchāppuram which belonged to him and whose sowing capacity was 3 *paṟai* and one *nāḻi.*

The same person gave for *mēl-śānti* one half of the puraiyiḍam where he resided and which required one half of 10 *nāḷi* of seed as measured by the *iḍaṇgaḷi*.

Kṛishṇaṉ Dēvaṉ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam gave for *mēl-śānti* the land known as Kaṇṇaṉ-kari which belonged to him and which yielded 5 *paṟai* of paddy.

Section 24: (*ll.* 606-622).

The lands assigned for the (*individual*) drummers who have to beat during the *śrī-bali* and for the company of them (who have to serve during) festivals are :—

In Vañjikkāl, one *tuḍai* (with the sowing capacity of) 225 *paṟai;* and another *tuḍai* of 200 *paṟai*.

Tōḍu,	25	*paṟai*.
Kaḷiṟu,	100	*nāḷi*.

Aṟappuṟam, 45 *tūṇi*, as measured by the *tūṇi* holding 9 *nāḷi*.

Taṭṭaḷippuram,	75	*paṟai*.
Kaṇṇan-kari,	100	do.
Kamuguḍaiyaṉ-vēli,	100	*nāḷi*.
Tumbaimaṇal,	40	*paṟai*.
Paṟaiyaṉ-vaḷāl	30	do.

Karuntāḷai-mudai, consisting of two *oḍi* 25 *paṟai*.

The land called Ālakkālppunam assigned for the bathing of the god in

Kurumāppaḷḷi,	250	*paṟai*.
From Kallūrpuṇam,	150	do.
„ Tattaiyār-taṟai,	25	do.
„ Pālavēli and Purattāṟu	25	do.
„ The eastern *oḍi* of the *paṟāl*,	25	do.

One-third of the produce of the land called Śeriyapuṇam in Śiṟiya-Ālakkālppuṇam belonging to Tiruvāyambāḍi (shall be) for the drummers.

The lands assigned for the troop during the Tiruvādirai-festival are:—

Ayyaṉvēli and the income in paddy from the four puraiyiḍam of Vēḷakkāḍu, Kaṟpuḷaippaṟāl, Śaṅkarārkāḍu, Maṇimuḷāṅgāḍu which were set apart for the maintenance of the servants of Ayyappaṉ (Ārya or Śāsta).

The lands assigned for the troop serving during the festival of the Uttirāḍa are: — Pudukkari, Iḷavariyārkari, Śiṟṟōḍi, Kāvadiyār-puṟāy, Taḷḷippaṟāl, Varagupaṟāl.

The lands assigned for the maintenance of the drummers who soun d during the *abhishēka* time in the temple (*nīrāṭṭuppaḷḷikku-koṭṭigaḷ*) are:— Iṭṭiyaimaṉ, the *puraiyiḍam* belonging to Aṅgaiyārmaṉ, Śembuvēli, Naraṅṅattaṟai, Kaṇṇaṉ-kuḷi and Kalaṅgalvēli.

The lands meant for the support of the troop of drummers who serve during the festival of Tiruvōṇa are:—Iḍaikkari, Karumbu, Nāluvēli and Kuyakkuḷi.

Section 25: (*ll.* 622-630).

The lands and gardens in Mīṉachchai belonging to the temple of Tiruvallavāḷ-appaṉ are:—Koṭṭakāra-paḷaññi, Kōḷakkuḍivaḷāl and Maḍattiṉkāl; Kōlāṉkuḍi; Pālamaṉṉaraikkāl; Maṇali; Śūṭṭaṟai; Pādarikkālvēli; Kuḷakkīḻchai; Peruṅgallarai; Kañjūlaṟai; Mūṅṅaittuḍavai; Maḍattaḍi-ttuḍavai; Nāṟṟaḍi; and Kōyilkkāḍu. The rent due from Mīṉachai (*viz*) 96 *kalam* received twice a year. The rent due on Malaiyilkkīḻ is 96 *kalam* (received) twice a year. The rent due on pārāyaṇavirutti assigned in Mudupālaiyūr is 100 *paṟai*. The paddy that is to be obtained from Veḷḷaiyūrnāḍu is six *kaṟṟai* (of ears of corn, per unit of land?). 10 *tūṇi* from Mēlkkoḷḷūr. From the lands lying between Veḷḷaiyūrnāḍu and Maṅgalakkāloḍu and the *karairkāḍu* adjoining them, is three *kalam*; The land belonging to Kuṉṟattūr in Paḷaiyaṉāḍu with the sowing capacity of 2 *kalam* and the *karai-puraiyiḍam* situated on the two sides of ..... (The subsequent plates are lost.)

The following is a list of names of Persons which occur in this document:—

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
1	அதிகாரர்.	Adikārar, 506[1]	
2	அமிர்தமங்கலத்தவன்	Amirdamaṅgalattavaṉ, 451	
3	அய்யப்பன்	Ayyappaṉ (god), 412, 415	
4	அறுநூற்றுவர்	Aṟunūṟṟuvar, 360	
5	ஆமந்தையூர்	Āmandaiyūr (god), 413	It is very curious that the name of a village is given to a god.
6	ஆலஞ்சேரி அடிகள்	Ālañjēri-aḍigaḷ, 395-6	
7	ஆலஞ்சேரி வாது(சு)தேவன்.	Ālañjēri Vādu(su)dēvaṉ, 598	
8	இம்முக்கால்வட்டத்தெழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் பூரதிருவடிகள்	Bhaṭāra-tiruvaḍis, who are attached to this temple, 564	
9	இடைச்சேரிச்சேந்தன் கேசவன்	Śēndaṉ Kēśavaṉ of Iḍaichchēri, 404	
10	இளங்குன்றநாட்டு நங்கையார்	Naṅgaiyār of Iḷaṅguṉṟa-nāḍu, 305	
11	இளங்குன்ற நாட்டு நம்பியார்	Nambiyār of Iḷaṅguṉṟa-nāḍu, 305	
12	இரவி சிரிகண்டன்	Iravi Śiri-Kaṇḍaṉ, 476	
13	இயக்கி (பள்ளத்து)	Iyakki of Paḷḷam, 460	The name Iśakki or Eśakki is now commonly met with in Tinnevelly Dt. among low caste woman-folk.
14	உத்திராடக்கணம்	Uttirāḍa-gaṇam, 618	
15	கிடங்குபரூல்ப் பொன்னியக்கநாயன்	Kiḍaṅgupaṟāl Ponniyakkanāyaṉ, 266, 67	
16	கிழானடிகள்	Kiḻāṉaḍigaḷ, 109	
17	கீழச்சேரித்தாயம் விக்கிரமன்	Tāyan Vikkiramaṉ of Kīḻaichchēri, 577	
18	கீழுமலையுடைய கண்டங்குமரனுய மாளுவக்கோன்	Kaṇḍaṉ-Kumaraṉ *alias* Māḷuvakkōṉ of Kīḻumalai, 352	This name occurs in an inscription belonging to the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkaḍittāṉam where

1 These numbers indicate the lines of the inscription in which the names occur.

No.	Name in Tamil	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
			also he makes certain gifts. It is stated that Kīḻumalaiyuḍaiyāṉ is a title peculiar to the Vaḍakkiṉ-kūṟu Rājas.
19	குளக்காட்டச்சியார்.	Achchi of Kuḷakkāḍu	The name *achchi*, commonly met with in modern Malayāḷam, is employed even as early as this document. It is apparently the feminine of *achchaṉ* and corresponds to the Tamiḻ *ammai*.
20	குரவன்	Kuravaṉ (god), 412	Perhaps the name of some apotheosised *guru* and his image.
21	குன்றமுடையார்	Kuṉṟamuḍaiyār, 97	
22	குன்றத்தூர் கேய(ச)வ நாராயணன்	Kēya(śa)va-Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kuṉṟattūr, 602-604	
23	கோடிக்களத்து யக்கங் கோவிந்தன்	Yakkaṉ Gōvindaṉ of Kōḍikkaḷam, 359	
24	கோமாகாட்டு நம்பியிராமன்	Nambiy-Irāmaṉ of Kōmākāḍu, 137	
25	கோமாகோட்டு நாயர்	The Nāyar of Kōmākōḍu, 162	See my remarks on the derivation of this word in *Tr. Ar. Series*, Vol, II, p. 65.
26	கோயிற்புறத்து சேந்தன் குமரன்	Śēndaṉ-Kumaraṉ of Kōyiṟpuṟam, 544	
27	கோயிற்புறத்து நாயித்தியார்	The Nāyittiyār of Do. 148	This is the feminine form of *Nāyaṉ*.
28	கோவிந்தனச்சுதன்	Gōvindaṉ-Achchudaṉ, 552	
29	சங்கரமங்கலத்து நடுவத்து வாது(சு)தேவன்	Vāḍu(su)dēvaṉ of the Naḍuvattu-illam residing in Śaṅkaramaṅgalam, 583-84	
30	செண்பகவேலிச்சங்கரன்	Śaṅkaraṉ of Śeṇbagavēli, 585-86	
31	செந்நித்தலை இராயசேகரன்	Irāyaśēkaraṉ of Śennittalai, 102	Rājaśēkhara is also the name of an ancient king of Malai-nāḍu.

No.	Name in Tamil	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
32	ஞாழற்பள்ளி நாராயணன் திரிசம்பகன்	Nārāyaṇaṉ Tirichambakaṉ of Ñāḻaṟpaḷḷi, 558	
33	திருத்துவாதயி(சி) கணத்தார்	The members of the Dvādaśi-gaṇa, 361, 532	The sub-committees, which supervised the festivals celebrated on particular *nakshatras* for the merit of certain persons or othervise, went evidently by the name of the members of the *gaṇa* (assembly) of that *nakshatra*; of *Tiruvādiraikkaṇam*, *Tiruvōṇakkaṇam* &c.
34	திருவல்லவாழுவச்ச இராயர்க்கேசவன்	The drummer Irāyarkēśavaṉ of Tiruvallavāḻ, 121	
35	திருவல்லவாழப்பன்	Tiruvallavāḻ-appaṉ(god) 200, 332, 350, 357, 403, 467, 531, 539, 568	
36	திருவாதிரைக்கணம்	The members of the Ārdrā-gaṇa, 616	
37	திருவாயம்பாடியப்பன்	Tiruvāyambāḍiyappaṉ (god Krishna), 261-62	Literally, the lord of the cowherds' quarters.
38	திருவோணக்கணம்	The members of the Sravaṇa-gaṇa, 621	
39	துடந்தலைக்காலால் வாழுந்தரணிவர்ம்மர்	Daraṇivarmar ruling at Tuḍandalaikkāl, 201-202	
40	தேவர்பள்ளித்தாமோதிரன்	Dāmōdiraṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi, 591	
41	தேவியார்	Dēviyār, 88, 290, 324-5	This refers to a queen but it is impossible to find out her name.
42	நங்கையார்	Naṅgaiyār, 252	
43	நம்பிராட்டியார்	Nambirāṭṭiyār, 75	
44	நம்புகாளியார்	Nambukāḷiyār, 151	
45	நயந்தொங்கப்பல்லவரையர்	Nayantoṅgappallavaraiyar, 41	
46	நாராயணமங்கலத்து அச்சுதன் சேதுப்பிரான்	Achchutaṉ-Śētuppirāṉ of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam, 278	

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
47	நெடுவேலிச்சோமாயி(சி)யார்	Sōmayi(śi)yār of Neḍuvēli, 195	
48	நேடிக்கேசவங்கண்டன்	Nēḍi Kēśavaṉ Kaṇḍan, 290-91	
49	பத்திரகாரணிகள்	Pattirakāraṇigaḷ, 125, 228-9	
50	பள்ளத்துக்குன்றங்கோவிந்தன்	Kuṉṟaṉ Gōvindaṉ of Paḷḷam, 461	Pallam has still got a Koyil-tambiran's house; it may be that the members of this house are the lineal descendants of this person.
51	பள்ளத்துக்குன்றனிரவி	Kuṉṟaṉ Iravi of Paḷḷam, 440, 459	
52	பள்ளமுடையார்	Paḷḷamuḍaiyār, 242	
53	பள்ளத்துப்பொன்றவியார்	Poṉṟaviyār of Paḷḷam, 252	
54	பள்ளிவிருத்தி தாமோதிரன் கோதை	Dāmōdiraṉ Kōdai of Paḷḷivirutti, 554	
55	பரமேஸ்வரமங்கலத்தவன்	Paramēśvaramaṅgalattavaṉ, 259	
56	புஞ்சைப்படகாரத்து நாராயணன் இருடிகேசவன்	Nārāyaṇaṉ Rishikēśavaṉ of Puñjaippaḍagāram, 549	
57	புலிகை நம்பு நாரணன்	Nambu Nārāyaṇaṉ of Puligai, 515	
58	புறகிழாநாடு வாழின்ற ஏறஞ்சங்கரன்	Ēṟaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ ruling over the Puṟākiḻānāḍu, 50	
59	புன்னைச்சேரி இரஞ்ஞ(ண்ணிய)கற்(ர்ப்)பன்	Iraññagaṟpaṉ (Hiraṇyagarbhaṉ) of Puṉṉaichchēri, 594	
60	பூரக்கணத்தார்	The members of the gaṇa of Pūra-nakshatra, 573	
61	பெணங்காட்டுகுமரன் சேந்தன்	Kumaraṉ Śēndaṉ of Peṇaṅgāḍu, 597	
62	பெருமாள்	Perumāḷ, 69	This and the following refer to the then reigning sovereign of Malaināḍu; what his name is cannot be found out.

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
63	பெருமானடிகள்	Perumānaḍigaḷ, - 388	
64	பெருவயலூர் யக்கங்கோதை	Yakkaṉ Kōdai of Peruvayalūr, 154	
65	போஞ்ஞிக்கரை ஐயன் கோதைவர்ம்மன்	Aiyan Kōdaivarman of Pōññikkarai, 547	
66	மகழஞ்சேரி தேவன் விக்கிரமன்	Dēvaṉ Vikkiramaṉ of Magaḷañjēri, 601	
67	மகிழஞ்சேரிஹிரண்யகற்பம் விக்கிரமன்	Iraṇyagarbam Vikkiramaṉ of Magaḷañjēri, 176	
68	மருதஞ்சேரி நீலகண்டன்	Nīlakaṇḍaṉ of Marudañjēri, 462	
69	மற்றத்தில்ப் பரமேச்சுவரன் சோமன்	Paramēśvaraṉ Sōmaṉ of Maṟṟam, 562	
70	மற்றத்தில் வயிரவாவனன்	Vayiravāvaṉaṉ of Maṟṟam, 587	
71	மனுகுலாதிச்சதேவர்	Maṇukulādichchdēvar, 285, 302	
72	மாங்ஙாமங்கலத்து நெய்தற்சேரிச் சார்ங்கபாணி கேசவன் தாயன்	Śārṅgapāṇi Kēśavaṉ Tāyaṉ of the Neydaṟchēri-illam residing in Mānnāmaṅgalam, 398	
73	மாளுவக்கோன்	Māḷuvakkōṉ, same as Kīḻumalaiyuḍaiyāṉ Kaṇḍaṉ Kumaraṉ, 357	
74	மாவியக்கி	Māv-iyakki (goddess), 412	Just as in the present day, they were worshipping *yakshis* in their temples in ancient Malabar.
75	முஞ்ஞிநாட்டு இராமங் கோதைவர்ம்மன்	Rāmaṉ Kōdaivarman of Muññināḍu, 533	
76	முஞ்ஞிநாடுடைய இராமன் மாதேவி	Irāmaṉ Mādēvī of Muññināḍu, 537-38	
77	முஞ்ஞிநாட்டு இளங்கூறுடைய குன்றனிராமன்	Kuṉṟaṉ Rāmaṉ who is ruling the smaller half of Muññināḍu or who is the *yuvarāja*, 556-57	
78	முஞ்சிமாராயர்	Muñjimārāyar, 542	
79	முத்தூற்று மூலைக்குமரடி	Mūlaikkumaraḍi of Muttūṟu, 103-4	
80	மூலையில் நம்பு நாராயணன்	Mūlaiyil Nambu Nārāyaṇaṉ, 106	

No.	Name in Tamil.	Name in Romanised form.	Remarks.
81	மூலையில் நாயித்தியார்	Mūlaiyil Nāyittiyār, 518	
82	மேற்சேரிச் சேந்தன்	Śēndaṉ of Mēṟchēri, 590	
83	யக்கங் கோதை	Yakkaṉ Kōdai, 443	
84	வடசேரி நீலகண்டன் யக்காவன்	Nīlakaṇḍaṉ Yakkarāvaṉ of Vaḍaiśēri, 520	
85	வராகப்பன்	Varāhappaṉ (god), 262, 266	
86	வன்றலைச்சேரி கோதை இரவி	Kōdai Iravi of Vaṉṟalaichchēri, 555	
87	வாதமூலம் நாராயணன்	Nārāyaṇaṉ of Vādamūlam, 198	
88	விரியூர்க் கண்டனிரவி	Kaṇḍaṉ Iravi of Viriyūr, 320	
89	விரியூர் பொக்கண்டனார்	Pokkaṇḍaṉār of Viriyūr, 253	
90	விலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து கிருட்டன் தேவன்	Kiruṭṭaṉ Dēvaṉ of Vilakkilimaṅgalam, 529, 605	
91	விலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து பட்டச்சோமாயி(சி)யார்	Bhaṭṭa Sōmāyi(śi)yār of do. 584-5	
92	வீரசோழர்	Vīraśōḻar, 99	
93	வெண்பலநாட்டு பண்டாரியார்	Bhaṇḍāriyār of Veṇpalanāḍu, 566	
94	வெண்பொலிநாடு வாழ்கின்ற இரவி சிரிகண்டன்	Iravi Śrī Kaṇḍaṉ ruling over Veṇpolināḍu, 52, 331, 335, 342	
95	வெண்பொலிநாடுடைய இரவி சிரிகண்டன்		
96	வெண்பொலிநாட்டுத் தெக்கின்கூறு வாழ்ந்த குமரனியக்கன்	Kumaraṉ Iyakkaṉ who ruled over the southern portion of Veṇpolināḍu (The Rāja of Tekkiṇkūṟu), 345-6	
97	வேணாட்டடிகள்	Vēṇāṭṭaḍigaḷ, 201-3	
98	வேழக்காட்டு நாரயணன் சேந்தன்	Nārāyaṇaṉ Śēndaṉ of Vēḻakkāḍu, 315	

Names of villages and plots of land occuring in the document.

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
அகலவாய்ப்பறூல்	145, 283	ஆலவேலி	80
அகலவாய்ப்பறூல் மணலாடி	147	ஆனமற்றம்	574
அகழத்துவளால்	234	ஆனயடி	486
அங்கையார்மண்	620	இஞ்சைத்துருத்தி	538
அஞ்சணச்சிறையும் புரையிட மும்	441	இடகரமணல்	81
அணுக்கன்வாழ்க்கை	293, 466	இடைகாட்டுரோடி	578
அமிர்தமங்கலம்	451	இடைக்கரி	621
அம்மானூர்த்துருத்தி	284	இடைக்கரி புறந்துடை	2
அயிரக்குன்றம்	165, 283	இடைச்சேரிக்கரி	132
அயோகமன்னூர்	169 ,228, 528	இடைச்சேரி	367, 400, 404
அய்யனூடு	578	இடைத்திட்டை	151
அய்யனூட்டிடைச்சேரி	590	இடைநாட்டு வரிசை	313
அய்யன் வேலி	618	இடையாடி	523
அரைஞ்ஞன்முதை	327	இடையிரவம்	98
அரையிறை உள்பகர்ச்சை	73	இடைவஞ்சி	232
அவராணிமங்கலம்	526	இட்டிமண்	591, 592
அள்ளல்ப் பயின்களம்	112	இட்டியைமண்	620
அறப்புறம்	609	இயாடி	67
அறுவாய்வளால்	507	இரவிநல்லூர்	599
ஆகாயமங்கலம்	259	இரவிநல்லூர் புரையிடம்	582
ஆஞ்சினி அறை	217	இரவு	304
ஆட்டுட்டிப்பறம்பு	486	இராமப்படுகம்	140
ஆதன்றுருத்தி	480	இருடியார்காடு	
ஆதன்றுருத்தி பிடாரிகோயில்	46	இருபள்ளிப்புறை	488
ஆதன்றுருத்தில் வளாவில் களரோடி	108	இரை	323
ஆதன்றுருத்திவளால்	101, 193	இழிஞ்ஞினம்	120, 214, 569, 325
ஆத்திரயர் காடு	505	இழிஞ்சினத்து கடாவேலி	521
ஆமந்தையூர்	413	இழிஞ்சினத்து குட்டன்கரி	258
ஆரிகாட்டுவாழ்க்கை	296	இழிஞ்ஞினத்து சேறு	569
ஆலக்கால்புனம்	612	இளந்துருத்தி	186
ஆலஞ்சேரி	287, 395, 598	இளகைக்கூடு	258
ஆலக்கால்ப்பாலம்	505	இளங்குன்றநாடு	305, 328
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		இளமண்	366
		இளவரியாய்கரி	618
		இறுப்புழை	164
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ஏட்டன் சாத்தனூர் கரி	79
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ஏனதிவாழ்க்கை	309
ஒருபுறக்காடு	516
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கஞ்சூலறை	624
கடம்பன் சேந்தகுடி	256
கடித்தானத்து கோணத்து கோளகம்	515
கடைப்பனங்காடு	499
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கண்ணன் சேந்தன் கரிதறை	271
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கயிலாயம்	586, 591
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கலங்கல்வேலி	621
கல்லூர்ப்புனம்	613
கல்வேலி	580
கவழ்ச்சை	572
கவளஞ்சேந்தனூர்கரி	77
களிறு	608
கள்ளக்கரி	493
கற்புழை	442
கற்புழைக்கரி	126
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கற்புழைப்பறுல்	444, 616
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காக்கை இரவம்	541
காக்கையூர்	557
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காஞ்சிக்கா	231
காஞ்சிரக்கா	280
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காஞ்சிரத்திலோடி	249
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காரைக்கால்	439
காவதியார்புரூப்	619
கிடங்குழி	177
கிடங்குழி	68
கிடங்குபரூல்	115, 236, 266
கிழவன் தாயனூர்ோடி	230
கிளிமானூர்	525
கீழச்சேரி	173, 576
கீழச்சேரிவளால்	192
கீழப்புனம்	71
கீழாஞ்ஞினி	104
கீழுமலை(யுடைய கண்டன் குமரன்)	357
கீழ்மீளி	263
கீழ்வெள்ளூர்	165
குடவூர்	331, 336, 470, 479
குட்டங் கடுங்கோளூர்கரி	76
குண்டியூர்ோடி	108
குண்டையிறு	81
குமான்கரியும் கரைப்புரையிடமும்	486
குமான்படுவம்	514
குமான்வேளி	2
கும்பனூர்கரி	230
குயக்கழி	622
குருக்கணத்தார்மற்றம்	581
குருக்குலையூர் மாங்கோடு	484
குழிக்கரி	180
குழிக்காடு	538
குழியோடி	115, 139, 175
குளக்காடு	276, 576, 598
குளக்காட்டுதறை	589
குளக்கீழ்ச்சை	624
குளப்பள்ளிவளால்	498
குறக்கோட்டு வஞ்சி	223
குறக்கோட்டு வஞ்சியும் எட்டியார் மூளங்குமணறு	63
குறண்டியோடி	588
குறிச்சி	367
குறிச்சூலித்தானம்	128
குறியில்முட்டம்	580
குறுமாப்பள்ளி	612
குறுமாப்பள்ளிக்கரி	130
குற்றூர்	489
குன்றக்காட்டுப் புரையிடம்	457
குன்றங்கரி	75
குன்றத்தூர்	602
குன்றத்தூர்வளால்	74, 496
கூபகத்துப் புரையிடம்	446
கைதைக்காடு	504
கைதைப்பரூல்	113, 226, 326, 347, 447
கைதைவேலிவாழ்க்கை	275
கொடியனூர்புரூப்	1
கொட்டகாரப்பழைஞ்சி	623
கொழுமிளங்கல்	233
கொற்றங்கண்ணனூர்ோடி	447
கோக்கோகரி	47
கோடிக்களம்	359
கோட்டுதலை	525
கோட்டூர் புரையிடம்	530
கோதைக்கரி	501
கோதைகண்ணூர்காடு	512
கோதை கோவிந்தனூர் புரையிடம்	444
கோதை சேந்தனூர்காடு	46
கோதைமங்கலம்	559
கோமாகாடு	137
கோமாகோடு	162
கோயில்க்கரி	39, 84, 274, 570
கோயில்க்காடு	625
கோயில்மற்றம்	84
கோயிற்புறம்	148, 544

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கோயிற்புறத்து போரலாகின்ற புரையிடம்	492
கோரகை	514
கோலஞ்சேரி	187
கோலாண்குடி	623
கோளகம்	111
கோளகக்குடிவளால்	623
சங்கரமங்கலம்	3, 207, 479, 583
சங்கரார்காடு	617
சட்டான்பள்ளி	194
சந்தனப்புறம்	204
செம்பககோட்டம்	490
சாத்தன் காமன்வேலி	231, 273
சாத்திக்கரி	115
சாலப்புழை கோவிந்தனூர் புரையிடம்	456
சாலையார்குழி	490
சிராமன்பள்ளி	188
சிரையகத்துவளால்	561
சிறியகடாய்	260
சிறுகடுப்பு	547
சிறுகடைத்துருத்தி	154
சிறுகடைத்துருத்திக் கூனன் வாழ்க்கை	465
சிறுகடைத்துருத்தி படைநாயர் மாடத்தாஞ்ஞினி	465
சிறுகண்ணூர்குழி	67, 177
சிறுகல்வேலி	503
சிறுகழுப்பு	255, 256
சிறுகோலமற்றம்	507
சிறுநிலம்பரூல்	103
சிறுமண்புரையிடம்	449
சிறுமுதை, மற்றமுண்டகம் ஆதன்றுருத்திவளால்	506
சிறைக்கரைப் புரையிடம்	562
சிற்றேடி	131, 187, 238, 463, 618

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சீர்வீடு	485
சூட்டறை	624
சூரல்ப்பாடிவாழ்க்கை	298
சூரல்முதை	575
செகிடன் பரம்பு	272
செங்கரை	91, 122
செண்பகச்சேரி புரையிடம்	463
செண்பகவேலி	586
சேந்தனூர்கரி வாழ்பகர்ச்சை	280
சேந்தன்கரி	291, 464
செந்நித்தலை நெட்டோடியுந் தேவர்வேலியும்	518
செம்பின் கீழோடி	149
செம்பின்துருத்தி	254
செம்பின்வேலி	296
செம்புவேலி	620
செருவல்	72
செல்லாரோடி	141
செறியபுனம்	615
செறுகடைத்துருத்தி	155
செறுமண்கரை	200
சென்னித்தலை	57
சென்னித்தலை இதரத்தாறு	55
சென்னித்தலை சிறுகரும்பு	59
சென்னித்தலை நாகமங்கலம்	56
சென்னெற்துருத்தி	367
சேதிங்கமங்கலம்	595
சேரி உடையார்காடு	496
சேரைகரி	179
சேலை	508
சைய்த்தியன்வேலி	265
சாதிமங்கலம்	187
ஞாழற்ப்பள்ளி	558
ஞாறலூர்க்கால்	202
ஞாறல்க்காடு	229
ஞெளிங்காட்டு பொக்கண்டார் புரையிடம்	197
ஞெளிங்காட்டு பொக்கண்டனூர் புரையிடம்	397
ஞெளிங்காட்டு வலியவேலி	440
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தச்சறை	212
தட்டம்பாறைவாழ்க்கை	297, 467
தட்டழிப்புறம்	610
தத்தையார்தறை	613
தலைமனைவாழ்க்கை	118
தலையாற்று புஞ்சைவயல்	600
தலையோடி	109, 235
தழைமுதையில் குழிவேலி	281
தள்ளிப்பரூல்	619
தாமரைக்குளம்	364
தாம்ரைநல்லூர்க்கரி	445
தாமற்றநாட்டு குறுவேலி	484
தாயங்குன்றப் போழன் வாழ்க்கை	152, 243
தாழங்கால்	583
தாழபற்றின்வாழ்க்கை	294
தாயன்குன்றப் போழன் வாழ்க்கை	322
தாறன்பரூல்	462
திலதமங்கலம்	396
திருச்சேர்ப்பத்தோடி	510
திருநிலார்கரி	112
திருப்பெருந்துறை பதளமாயி	219
திருவல்லவாழ்	200, 403, 467, 531, 539, 543, 552, 562, 565, 622
திருவாயம்பாடிச் சிறிய ஆலக்கால்ப்புனம்	615
துடந்தலைக்கால்	201
தும்பைமணல்	610
துருத்திக்களப் புரையிடம்	500
துருத்தியில் நெட்டாழி	497
துழத்துறைத் தேவரோடி	510, 511
துழத்துறை—ஏரிமண்	500
தூர்யாடி	599
தெக்கானத்து முடாலம்	485
தெக்கிஞ்ற்றின்வழி கோவிந்தஞர்கரி	481
தெங்கவேலி	67
தென்கூலி	110
தேவர்பள்ளி	364, 400, 591
தேவியார்நடை	207, 214, 303, 310, 311
தொம்பூர்க்கரி	160
தோடு	608
தோட்டோடு	96
தோட்டோடு தோட்டிடை	245
தோமணல்	44
நங்கையார்வளால்	233
நடுவம்	583
நரங்கத்தறை	620
நரசிங்கமங்கலம்	586
நன்புரை	586
நாகமங்கலம்	488
நாகஞர்புனம்	45
நாயித்திக்கரி	513
நாராயணமங்கலம்	278, 367
நாலுவேலி	184, 622
நாலுவாவழிபாணமண்	498
நாற்றடி	625
நீறணத்துக் கடம்பன்கரி	495
நீறணம்	495
நெடிய இடைத்திட்டை வாழ்க்கை	307
நெடியான் வாழ்க்கை	158
நெடுங்கண்துருத்தி	37
நெடுங்காலிநாடு	225
நெடுங்காலிநாட்டுக் காஞ்சிரக்காடு	484
நெடுந்தாறு	399
நெடுமற்றம்	314
நெடும்பலாநாடு	355
நெடுவேலி	195, 365
நெட்டோடியும் பட்டர்வேலியும்	58
நென்மலி	509
நென்மலிஇறை	509
நென்மலிக்கரி	115, 138
படிஞாயிற்று சேரைகரி	179

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பட்டரோடி	185	பாலிவேலி	613
பட்டர்வாழ்க்கை	90	பாலிக்காடாகின்ற சேரிக்கல்	168
பணிச்சவிருத்தி	88, 276, 307, 557, 571	பாலிக்காலோடி	157
		பாலித்தானத்துக்கரி	248
		பாலிப்பழஞ்சியாரோடி	492
பரமேஶ்வமங்கலம்	259	பாற்றூர்வாழ்க்கை	298
பருத்திக்காடு	576	பிள்ளன்படுவம்	248
பருத்திக்காட்டு முள்மனை	174	புஞ்சைப்படகாரம்	368, 549
பருத்திக்கோணம்	133	புதுக்கரி	277, 314, 618
பருவைத்திட்டையாற்று வழி புதுக்கரி	483	புதுவரிசை	247
பலாப்பள்ளி	82	புயாயோடி	187
பலாவிளைலோடி	180	புலிகை	515
பழவிருக்கைப் புரையிடம்	442	புலிக்கூட்டுவயல்	264
பழையநாடு	216	புலிக்கோணூர்	203
பழைநாட்டு தாமரைச்சேரி	216	புலியன்முதை	507
பழையநாட்டு குன்றத்தூர்	630	புல்லித்தாறு	220
பள்ளம்	242, 250, 252, 322, 440, 459, 461, 594, 596	புழைக்கரைமற்றம்	585
		புளியனூர்	162
		புளிவேலிப்புனம்	497, 98
		புறங்கோலிநாட்டு சுடுகண்டல்க்கரி	491
பள்ளிப்புறத்து தேவர் துட்டவை	526	புறத்தாறு	614
பள்ளிப்புறம்	525	புறுகிழாஞடு	150
பள்ளியார்கரி	277	புனலிமுதை	45
பள்ளிவளாகம்	151	புன்னைக்குளம்	490
பள்ளோவேலி	504	புன்னைக்குன்றத்துக் கல்வேலி	503
பள்ளோப்பள்ளி கோட்டறை	527	புன்னைக்குன்றத்து மாந்நன்கரி	448, 449
பள்ளிவிருத்தி	553, 554	புன்னைச்சேரி	365, 594
பறப்பு	525	புன்னைவேலி	501
பறம்பூர்	368	பூதிகோடு	577
பறுல்க்கீழோடி	614	பூதூரி	282
பறைப்பள்ளிவாழ்க்கை	299	பூந்தோட்டம்	487, 491
பறையன்புறுய்	249	பூப்படுவத்தோடி	504
பறையன்வளால்	611	பூரக்கணத்தாரோடி	573
பனம்பறுல்	143	பெணங்காடு	597
பனையர்முதுகை	72	பெண்டாள்	100
பாச்சினப்பாய்	501	பெருகூரம்	542
பாட்டக்கரி	244	பெருங்கல்லறை	624
பாதரிக்கால்	624	பெருங்கல்வேலி	503
பாலமண்ணைக்கால்	623, 624	பெருங்நோளம்	366

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பெருந்நெய்தல் இரும்பூழி வாழ்க்கை	190
பெருமாபெலிக்கரி	308
பெருமாள் நடை	206, 321
பெரும்பாந்துருத்திக்கரி	286
பெரும்பான்றுருத்திகரி	69
பெரும்பான்றுருத்தி	321
பெருவயலூர்	154
பெருவூர்	246
பொதுவத்துக்கரி	135
பொதுவாள்ப்பேறு	167
பொத்தங்கனூர்கரி	573
பொத்தங்குமானூர்கரி	77
பொற்கணபதியார் வாழ்க்கைக்காராண்கூறு	85
பொஞ்ஞிக்கரை	547
போத்தங்குமானூர்கரி	279
போத்தனேங்கல்	575
மகழஞ்சேரி	364, 366, 601
மகளர்நிலைக்காலோடி	185
மகிழஞ்சேரி	176
மக்குதிட்டை	480
மங்கலக்காலோடி	629
மங்கலச்சேரி	365
மங்கலப்படுவம்	94, 589
மடத்தடித்துடவை	625
மடத்தின்கால்	623
மணலி	624
மணலுடையான்கரி	94, 401
மணலூரோடி	550
மணற்றூறு	223
மணிமுழாங்காடு	617
மணியிருக்கும்புரையிடம்	480
மண்டபத்துப் புரையிடம்	581
மண்டபமாகின்ற புரையிடம்	502
மண்டிலக்களம்	579
மண்ணின்சேரிப் புரையிடம்	263
மண்ணின்றூடு	494
மண்ணின்றூட்டுவழி பழங்கரி	65
மயிலஞோடி	480
மருதஞ்சேரி	129, 178, 462
மருதஞ்சேரிவாழ்க்கை	178
மருத்துவக்குடா	171
மலையில்க்கீழ்	626
மற்றத்தில் வயிரவாவனன் புரையிடம்	587
மற்றம்	562
மனியர்கரும்பு	197
மாஞ்சனபடுவம்	508
மாடமண்	83, 366, 392, 513
மாணிக்கமங்கலத்தவனுடைநென்மலி	511
மாணிக்கமங்கலம்	42, 365
மாந்நாமங்கலத்து கடம்பன்கரி	61
மாந்நாமங்கலத்து நெய்தற்சேரி	398
மாந்நாமங்கலத்து மலையில்ப் புரையிடம்	453, 454
மாந்நாமங்கலத்து வட்டச்சிறை	221
மாபலியார் தோட்டம்	491
மாமுளங்கு	175
மாவகை தாயன்குன்றப் போழன் வாழ்க்கை	251
மிளாமுடக்கு	118
மிளாவிஞரோடி	237
மிளாவிஞலோடி	134
மிளாவிஞல் கரிதறை	310
மீய்குன்றத்துதெங்கமண்	364
மீனச்சை	622, 625
முஞ்ஞிநாடு	405, 433, 537, 556
முஞ்ஞிநாட்டில் திருவோணக்கரி	405
முஞ்சிப்பாறை	456
முடக்கலிடை	218
முட்டாறு	52
முட்டாறு (வெண்பொலிநாட்டு)	348
முட்டாற்றில் கொற்றன்கரி	224
முட்டாற்றின் மேல்வங்கம்	227

ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.	ஊர்களின் பெயரும் வயல் களின் பெயரும்.	வரியின் நம்பர்.
முண்டைப்பள்ளி	364, 367	வாழைப்பள்ளி இராயிங்கத்தா	
முதுபாலையூர்	627	ன்வேலி	482
முத்தாறு	103	வாழைப்பள்ளிப்பொட்டை	139
முத்தூற்றுத்தூப்படுவம்	519	வாளகம்	100
மூரிப்பிணலோடி	135	விரியூர்	253, 317,
மூலைப்புழைமண்	308		319, 320
மூலைமனை புரையிடம்	592	விருப்புவாழ்க்கை	298
மூங்கைத்துடவை	625	விலக்கிலிமங்கலத்து வாழ்க்கை	118
மூலோர் படுவத்துவாறங்காடர்		விலக்கிலிமங்கலம்	63, 222,
புரையிடம்	455		529, 554,
மூலோர்படுவம்	247		584, 605
மூழிக்களம்	390	வெட்டித்துருத்தி ஈரை	402
மேட்டோடி	141, 180	வெணங்கைத்தூமணல்	189
மேலோடி	249, 264,	வெண்ணத்தண்டம்	309
	266	வெண்பாலை	392
மேற்சேரி	590	வெண்பாலைவயலில் நங்கையார்	
மேனிலம்	503	வளால்	123
மொகிலி	112	வெண்பாலைவயலில் புன்னைமற்	
யக்கன்கரி	181	றம்	194
வகைவருத்தி	545	வெண்பாலைவயலில் வடைசேரி	
வஞ்சிக்கால்	587, 607	ப்புரும்	524
வஞ்சிமண் வடசேரி ஓடி	181	வெண்பாலை வயலிளவாணெழு	
வடசேரிஓடி படிஞாயிற்றோடி	184	க்கம்	522
வடசேரி ஓடிவளநல்லூர்	182	வெண்பொலிநாடு	51, 331
வடசேரிக்கரி	182	வெண்பொலிநாட்டு தெற்கின்	
வடசேரிக்கரியில் பள்ளிக்காவு	183	கூறு	345, 347
வடசேரியோடி	115	வெண்மணல்	203
வடதலைத்துருத்தி	306	வெளியனூர்காடு	404
வடதலை வாழ்க்கை	543	வெள்ளிமுதகைவேலி	68
வடைசேரி	520	வெள்ளையூர்நாடு	628
வட்டக்கரி	92	வெள்ளையூர் நாட்டோடி	629
வரகுபரும்பல்	619	வேணாடு	200
வலியகடாய்	257	வேணாட்டுகோதைகுளங்கங்க	
வல்லமண்	260	ரை மணிக்கடை	210
வல்லம்	250	வேழக்காடு	241, 265,
வளவனூரோடி	93, 400		315, 616
வளாகத்தாரோடி	440, 459	வேழங்கை அகலப்படுவம்	303
வளைக்கச்சி வாழ்க்கை	301	வேழநிலை	546
வளைக்காணி வாழ்க்கை	194	வேழமுளங்கு	116, 273
வன்றலைசேரி	555	வேழங்கை இளங்கோக் கூறு	99
வாகைத்தானம்	172	வேளூர்க்காபாலீச்சுவரம்	208
வாதமூலம்	198	வேளூர்க் கீழமங்கலம்	209
வாய்ப்பாட்டுக்காடு	550	வைகுந்தபுரம்	580
வாவனபுரம்	385		

Text.[1]

Second Plate: First Side.

1. கு பாட்டநெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: கொடியனார்புறாய்க்கு தொண்ணூறு பறை: இடைக்க-
2. ரிபுறந்துடை நாற்பதுபறை: குமான்வெலிக்கு பாட்டநெல் முப்பதுபறை: எலி-
3. ப்புனத்தினு பாட்டநெல் லெழுபத்தைம்பறை: தலையொடியில் சங்கரமங்ஙலத்-
4. தினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை: காவினால்க்கரி இதினுபாயத்தூக்கு: கூ-
5. ட்டுமுதல்க்கொழிஞ்ஞு: இவிற்றினு பாட்டத்தில் புறமாராயமொண்டு: இதி-
6. னால் பந்திரடிக்கு செல்லுஞ்செலவு திருவமிர்து பந்திருநாழி அரி: ஒ-
7. ரு நந்தாவிளக்கு: நெய்[ய]மிர்து நாராயத்தாலுழக்கு: திருச்சந்தன முக்கழைஞ்ஞு: தி-
8. ருப்புகைக்கு சந்தன[ம்*] ஒருகாணம்: மாலை கிழக்கின்றிருவடிக்கொன்று: படிஞ்-
9. ஞாயிற்று திருவடிக்கரை: சாத்திரர்க்கு ஒருக்கொல் நிளம் ஒன்பது கெண(வி)-

Second Plate: Second Side.

10. விடை குறையாதெ ஒரு வெளுத்த மாலை: திருவமிர்து கிழக்கின்திருவடிக்-
11. கு இருநாழி உரி யரி: படிஞாயிற்று திருவடிக்கு இருநா[ழி] உரி: அ-
12. ங்கதெவதைக்கு உரி: விஷ்வஸெநநு உழக்கு வைஶ்வதெவத்திநு உழக்கு கொள்-
13. க: கிழக்கின்றிருவடிக்கு திருவமிர்து செய்வது நிரிலிடுவிது: மிக்க-
14. து திருக்கோயிலுடையார் கொள்வது: மற்றைப்பாதியு மூவர் சாத்திர ரமிர்துசெய்-
15. விது: கிழக்கு திருப்புகை காட்டியவாறெ சாத்திரர்க்கு பூவுஞ்சந்தனமும் புகை-
16. யும் விளக்கும் கொடுப்பிது: ஒன்றரைத் தெங்ஙாயும் ஒன்பதின் கழைஞு புளியும் உ-
17. ழக்குழக்குப்பும் சாத்திரர்க்கு: இத்திருவாராதனை அஞ்சு நாழியைக்கு[1] துடங்ஙி மூ-
18. ன்று நாழியையின்[2] முன்னெ ஒடுக்குவிது: நிராட்டுபள்ளி பந்திருகுடந் நிர்கொண்டு நி-

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1 From the originals and from the excellent impraessions prepared under my supervision.

2 Read நாழிகை.

Third Plate: First Side.

19. ராட்டுபள்ளி ஆவிது: இத்திருவாராதனைக்கு காலம்பிழைக்கில் சாந்தியடி-
கள் குறவா-
20. கில் தண்டம்படுவிது பந்திருநாழி யரி: சாந்தியடிகள்படுமது பழாரர் திரு-
21. வடி கொள்வது: கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவர்[க*]ளு மத்தண்டமெ தண்டம்: திருக்கொயிலுடை-
22. யார் தண்டம்படுமது சாந்தி அடிகள் கொள்வது: நிராட்டுபள்ளிக்கு கொட்டுமவ[ர்*]கள் பதி-
23. ஞறினுமெல் புக்கொரலகு கச்சையீட்டு ஐவர் கொட்டுவிது: ஒழியுமவன் ஒரொத்த-
24. ர் கால்க்காணம் பொன்தண்டம்: கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுமவ[ர்*]கள் கொள்-
விது இரண்டாநாளுமத்-
25. திருவாராதனை செய்யாதெ இப்பொழுது கழிகில் இரட்டி தண்டம்படு-
வது: சமஞ்சி-
26. த னிச்செலவு கண்டு செலுத்துவிது இன்றியெ இருக்கில் சாந்தியடிகள்
27. கண்டு செலுத்துவிது இத்திருவமிர்து அகத்தருதாகில் மண்டபத்தில் ம-

Third Plate: Second Side.

28. ண்டபத்தி லருதாகில்த் தொலியமலைக் குறவுதிர்த்து செலுத்துவிது: ஊராளர்
29. இச்செலவு குறவுசொல்லி விலக்கப்பெறார்: விலக்குமவன் தந்தையைக்-
கொன்-
30. று தள்ளையைக் களத்திரம் வைச்சாராவிது: அவனுபா அ[1]பரையுமவனவ
ரைக்கணக்கெ: அ-
31. வர் பூமியும் புரையிடமும் ஊர்கூடிச் சாட்டிக்கொண்டு திருவல்லவாழப்-
32. பனு செலவினு கொள்க: சாந்தியடிகள்க்கு இடங்கழியா லிருநூற்று நாழி: கி-
33. ழ்ச்சாந்திக் கிருநூற்று நாழி: மாலைக்கு பதினெண் பறையரை: கொட்டி-
கள்க்கு பதினு-
34. ழியால் நூறு பறை: இச்செலவினெள்ள பூமி காராண்மைச்செய்து செலுத்தும-
35. வ[ர்*]கள் ஒரு நாள் முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்துவிது: மூன்றுநாள் முட்டுகி-
36. லு மித்தண்டமெ தண்டம்: பத்துநாளடுத்து முட்டுகிலு முட்டிரட்டியும் பட-

1 The second அ may be read as கு: there is very little difference between the two letters.

Fifth Plate: First Side.

37. வாயிரக்கலமும் திருவக்கிரத்தினு மூன்றொன்று மெலெ[ர*]டி: நெடுங்ங-
ண்துருத்தி
38. இறை இதினுபாயத்தூக்கு: வ்வ[1] அக்கிரசாலைப்புனம்: முண்டையி லக்கி-
ரசாலைப்-
39. புனம்: வ்வ கோயில்க்கரி ஆறுயிரக்கலத்தாலும் அஞ்சொன்று மெலெ[ர*]-
டி கொண்டு இ-
40. ருபத்தைஞ்சு பிராமண சிரிவயிண்ணவ ரமிர்துசெய்வித்து: வ்வ தென்ன-
ட்டி-
41. லக்கிரத்தினுள்ள பூமி நயந்தொங்கப்பல்லவரைய ருழுகின்ற விலையூர்
42. பந்திருகலத்தினும் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினழியால் நூறு பறை: வ்வ
மாணிக்கமங்-
43. ஙலத்து விக்கிரமநாராயணன் திருவக்கிரத்தி னமைச்ச பூமி இருடியார்-
44. காடு பதின்கலம்: வ்வ தொமணலில்க் கருந்தாழைமுதையும்: கழஞ்ஞி-
ன்கூட்டு-
45. முதலில்: புனலிமுதையும்: ர்நாகனூர்புனமும்: புரையிடமுந் திருவக்கிர-
த்தினு

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

46. : வ்வ ஆதன்துருத்தி பிழாரிகொயில்க்கு வடகிழக்கு கொதைசெந்நஞ்கா-
டு நூற்று-
47. க்கலம் ஒருகலந் திருவக்கிரத்தினு: வ்வ கொச்சாகரியில் பந்திருகலமும்:
வட்டி-
48. கரியி லெழுபத்தைம்பறையுங் கூட திருவக்கிரம் ஒருகலம்: வ்வ கன்னியில்
49. வியாழந் நின்ற தனுஞாயிறுபற்றிய சங்கிராந்திநாள் திருவல்லவாழப்ப-
50. ன் பிரதிமுகத்து யாகமண்டபத்தில் வச்சு ஊரார் திருவடிமா ரவிரொ-
தத்-
51. தால்க் கூடி இருந்நருளியடத்துவச்சு வெண்பொலிநாடு வாழ்கின்ற இ-
ரவி-
52. சிரிகண்டன் தன்னுடைய முட்டாறுகின்ற பூமி மூவாயிரத்தைஞ்ஞூற்று-
க்கல நில-
53. மு மாவறக்கொண்டு முதலமைய அட்டிக்கொடுத்தா னிரவி சிரிகண்டன்
தந்ததி-
54. ப்பிரகிருதியாய் காராண்மைச்செய்து நின்று இடங்கழியால் பதினழிக்-

1 வ்வ here and throughout the document stands for வ்வலி.

Eighth Plate: First Side.

55. ளமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு பூமி சென்னித்தலை இதரத்தாற்ரலொன்று: பாட்டநெல்லெண்-

56. ணழியால் நூற்றைய்ம்பது: சென்னித்தலை நாகமங்கலத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள-

57. க்கொன்றினு பாட்டநெல் லெண்ணழியால் நூற்றைய்ம்பது: சென்னித்-தலையிற் றிரு-

58. விளக்கினு நெட்டொடியும் பட்டர்வெலியுங் குடத்துகையுமாய் ஒன்றி-னு பா-

59. ட்டநெல் லெண்ணழியால் நூற்றைய்ம்பது: சென்னித்தலை சிறுகரும்பு மதின-

60. டுத்த புரையிட்டதாலுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்று பாட்டநெல் நூற்-றைம்பது: மா-

61. ந்நாமங்கலத்து கடம்மன்கரியாலு மிதினுபாயத்தூக்கு: பெருந்தொட்ட-ப்புற-

62. த்தாற் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றை-ம்பது பறை: வில-

63. க்கிலிமங்கல மமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினுள்ள பூமியாவொ குறக்கொட்டு வஞ்-

Eighth Plate: Second Side.

64. சியு மெட்டியார் முளங்கும் மணற்ரறுமாய் ஒன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்ட-நெல் நூற்றைம்-

65. பது பறை: மண்ணின்ரெட்டுவழி பழங்கரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்-கொன்றி-

66. னு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: ஏறங்கண்ணியாரொடி-யில் மெலொடி நெ-

67. ல் திருவிளக்கினுள்ளொ[1]: இயாடியுஞ் சிறுக்கண்ணர்குழியு மருவியுந் தெங்க-

68. வெலியுங் கிடங்குழியும் வெள்ளிமுதுகைவெலியுமாய்ச் செல்லு-

69. ந் திருவிளக்கிரண்டு பாட்டநெல் மூன்நூறு: பெருமாள் அமைச்ச பெரும்பான்[2]-

70. துருத்திக்கரியால் செ[ல்*]லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கி-

71. ழ்ப்புனத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: செ-

72. ருவலும் பணியர்முங்கையுங் கண்டியனூர் விடுமாய்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள-க்கொன்றி-

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1 The letter *ṟṟu* is engraved below the line.

2 The passage, beginning with *பெருமாள்* and ending with *பெரும்பான்*, is engraved upon an erasure.

Nineth Plate: First Side.

73. னு ஆரையிறை உள்பகர்ச்சை பந்திருதூணிகூடக் கொள்ளும் பாட்ட நெல் நூற்றைம்பது

74. பறை: குன்றத்தூர்வளாலு மெட்டொன்றுமாய் நூறு பறை நெடும்புற-த்திறை ஐம்பது-

75. ங்கூட நம்பிராட்டியா ரமைச்சி தொரு திருவிளக்கினு: குன்றன்கரியுங் குட்ட-

76. ங்கடுங்கொனூர்கரியுமாய் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூ-ற்றைம்பது பறை:

77. பொத்தங்குமானூர்கரியும் கவளஞ்செந்நனூர்கரி வாழ் பகர்ச்சையுமாய் திருவிள-

78. க்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் பதினுழியால் நூற்றிருபத்தைம் பறை: ஆலிவெலி-

79. யுந்துண்டமுஞ் செந்நஞ்செந்நனூர்கரி வாழ்பகர்ச்சையும் மெட்டஞ்சா-த்தனூர்[1] கரியுமாய்-

80. த் திருவிளக்கிரண்டினு லொன்று லிவெலி விளக்கு நூற்றைம்பது பறை-ச்சை நெல் ஒ-

81. ரொவிளக்கினு: குண்டையி[2]ராற்றுலு மிடகரமணலாலுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கினு ஒன்-

Nineth Plate: Second Side.

82. றினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: பலாப்பள்ளி விளக்-கொன்றினுங் கொ-

83. ள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மாடமண் டிருவிளக்கிரண்டு நெல் முந்நூறு பறை

84. : கோயில்மற்றத்தாற் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கரை நெல்லெழுபத்தைம்ப-றை: கொயில்க்க-

85. ரிப் பொற்கணபதியார்வாழ்க்கைக் காராண்கூற்றுல்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள-க்கொன்றினு

86. கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பொன்பொலி இருபத்தை-ஞ்சு: கொயில்-

87. க்கரி வடக்கின்கரியில்க் காராண்கூற்றுல்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றி-னு கொள்-

88. ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: தெவியா ரமைச்ச பணிச்சவிரு-த்தியால்ச்

89. செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கிரண்டரைக்கும் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந்நூற்-றெழுபத்-

90. தைம்பறை: பட்டர்வாழ்க்கை அஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கலத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவி-ளக்கொன்றி-

1 The letter *r* is engraved afterwards.

2 The letter *yi* is engraved below the line.

Tenth Plate: First Side.

91. ...னு அஞ்சிரண்டு மெலொடி நெல்க்கொள்வித்து: செங்கையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்-

92. கொன்றினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் இருநூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை: வட்டக்கரியால்ச் செல்-

93. லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: வளவஞ்சொடியும்

94. மணலுடையான்கரியு மங்ஙலப்படுவத்தால்லுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கி-னு

95. கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் லறுநூறு பறை: கரியொடியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்-

96. றினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: தொட்டொடு தொட்டிடையால்ச் செல்-

97. லுந் திருவிளக்கிரண்டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் மூந்நூறுபறை: குன்ற-முடையார்-

98. மைச்ச இடையிரவத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூ-

99. ற்றைம்பது பறை: விரசொழ ரமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு பூமி வெழங்ஙை இளஙொ-

Tenth Plate: Second Side.

100. க்கூறு: வாள்கழும் பெண்டாளுங்கூடத் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு[1]க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றை-

101. ம்பதுபறை: ஆதன்றுருத்திவளாலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்ட-

102. நெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சென்னித்தலையடிக ளிராயசெகர னமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொ-

103. ன்றினும் பூமி சிறுநிலம்பாறலால்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூறுபறை: முத்தூற-

104. ற்றுமூலைக் குமரடி யமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு பூமியாவொ கிழாஞ்-ஞினி-

105. அய்ம்பதின்கல மாராயனடிச்சி லிருபத்தைங்கலஞ் சிறுகல்வெலி இரு-

106. பத்தைங்கலமுமாய்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை: மூலை-யில் நம்புநா-

107. ரண னமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு பூமி கண்ணனூடு நூற்றுக்கலம் ஆதன்றுருத்திவளாலி-

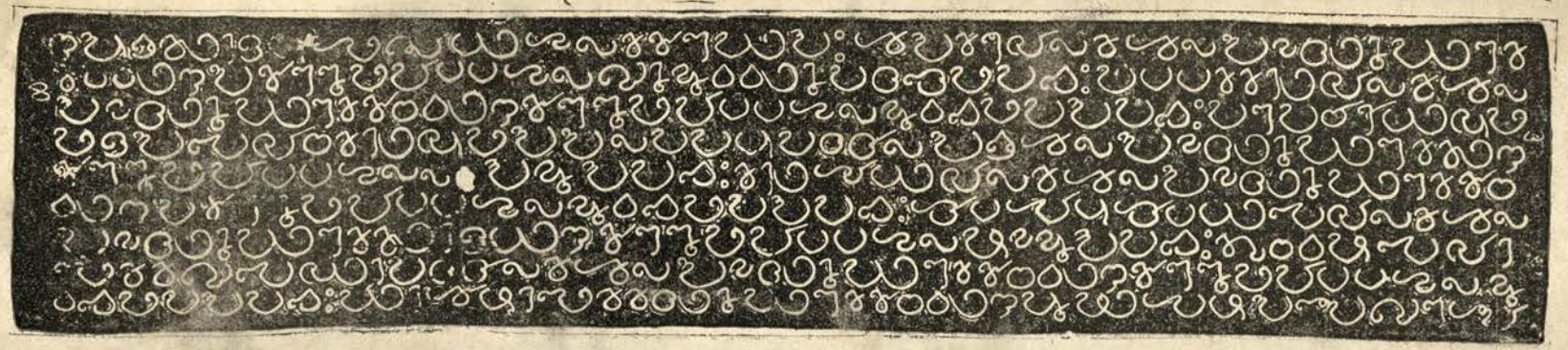
108. ல்க் களசொடியில் மூன்றுன்று: குண்டியூசொடியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவி-ளக்கொன்-

1 The letter *k* looks like *kai*.

X (a)

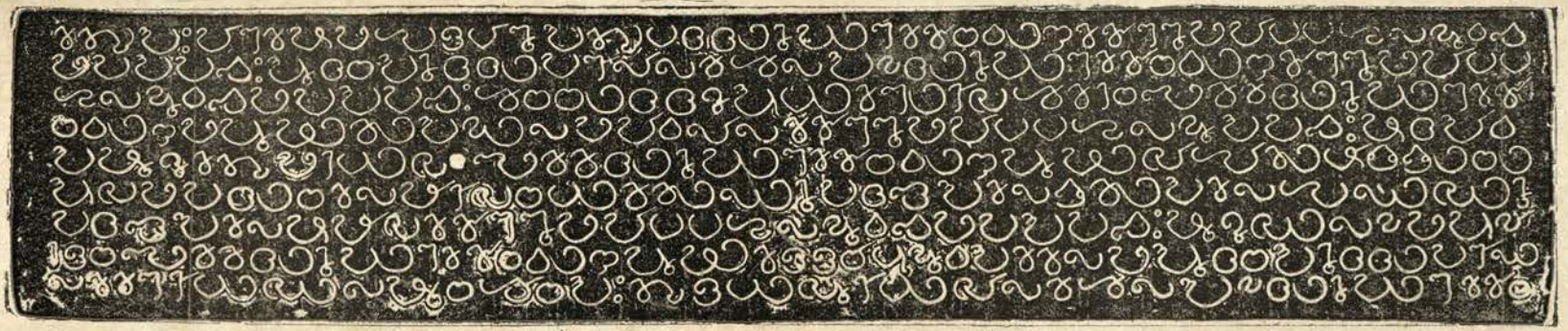
HUZUR TREASURY PLATES OF THE TIRUVALLA TEMPLE.

(To Face p. 178).



X (b)

(To Face p. 178).



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale .5.

Half-tone. By the Calcutta Phototype Co.

I (a)

(To Face p. 179).

XXII(b)

(To Face p. 188).

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale .5.

Half-tone. By the Calcutta Phototype Co.

Eleventh Plate: First Side.

109. றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கிழானடிக-
ளமைச்ச தலையொடியாலுந் தெ-

110. ன்னெடியாலுஞ் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும்பாட்ட
நெல் நூற்றைம்பது

111. பறை: கொளகத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும்
பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்ப-

112. து பறை: திருநிலார்கரியும் அள்ளல்ப்பயின்களமும் மொகிலியாலுஞ்
செல்-

113. லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினுக்கொள்ள பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை:
கைதைப்பருலால்ச் செ-

114. ல்லுந் திருவிளக்கு ஏழினுங் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் லாயிரத்தைம்பது
பறை: கி-

115. டங்குபருவில் நெண்மலிக்கரியும் வடசெரியொடியுஞ் சாத்திகரியுங் குழி-

116. யொடியுமாய்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கு நாலு நெல்லறுநூறு பறை:
வெழமுள-

117. ங்கினுல்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூ-
ற்றைம்ப-

Eleventh Plate: Second Side.

118. து பறை: மிளர்முடக் கெண்ணூற்றுக்கலத்தின்மெலுந் தலைமனைவாழ்க்-
கை விலக்கி-

119. லிமங்கலத்து வாழ்க்கையுமுட்படத் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும்
பாட்டநெல்

120. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: இழிஞ்ஞினத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கிரண்-
டினு கொள்ளு-

121. ம் பாட்டநெல் மூந்நூறு பறை: திருவல்லவாழுவச்ச னிராயர் கெசவ
னமைச்ச பூமி

122. காட்டுசெறுகை நூற்றுக்கலமுங் கைதைப்பருல்க் கடனி லெட்டொ-
ன்றும் வெண்பாலிவய-

123. லில் கங்கையார்வளாலில்ப் பதின்கலமும்ாய்த் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பா-

124. ட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: புருயால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிள்க்-
கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்-

125. டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பத்திரசாரணிகளமைச்ச பெலிப்புறத்தா-
ல்ச் செல்-

126. லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை:
க்ற்புழைக்க(ரி)-

Twelfth Plate: First Side.

127. ரியால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் லிரு-
நூறு பறை: கற்புழை-

128. ப்பரூலால்க் குறிச்சூலித்தானத்து திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும்
பாட்டநெல் நூற்றை-

129. ம்பது பறை: கரையும் வயலுங் கூட மருதஞ்சேரி விளக்கினு: குறுமா-
ப்பள்ளிக்-

130. கரியாலும் ஈரைப்புரையிடத்தாலுஞ் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பாட்-

131. டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சிற்றெடியாலும் புரையிடத்தாலுங் திரு-
விளக்-

132. கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் அய்ம்பது பறை: இடைச்சேரிக்கரியால்ச்
செல்லுங்-

133. திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை:
பருத்திக் கொணத்தால்

134. ச்செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்
பது பறை: மிளாவி-

135. ஞலொடியு முரிப்பினுலொடியும் பொதுவத்துகரியுமாய்ச் செல்லுங்
திருவி-

Twelfth Plate: Second Side.

136. ளக்கிரண்டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந்நூறு பறை: ஈரையால்ச்
செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கி-

137. ரண்டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந்நூறு பறை: கொமாகாட்டு நம்பி-
யிராம னமைச்ச தி-

138. ருவிளக்கினு பூமி நென்மலிக்கரி எழுபத்தைங்கலமு மெழுபத்தைம்-
பறை-

139. க்கு பாட்டம்: வாழைப்பள்ளிப் பொட்டையாலுங் குழியொடியாலுஞ்
செல்லு-

140. ங் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பதுபறை:
இராமவடுக மூ-

141. வரமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு பூமி செல்லாரொடியும் மெட்டொடியுமாய்க்
கொள்

142. ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந்நூறு பறை: எதிரெத்துவாழ்க்கை யிருநூற்றுக்
கலத்தாலுஞ் செ-

143. ல்லுங் திருவிளச்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் லிருநூறு பறை:
பணம்பரூல்மெ-

144. ஏத் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் தொண்ணூறுபறை:
காபாலிமங்கலத்தால்

Thirteenth Plate: First Side.

145. ச்செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்ப-
து பறை: அகலாய்ப்ப-

146. ருலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கு மூன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
நானூற்றைம்பது பறை

147. : அகலாய்ப்பருல் மணலாடி நூற்றுக்கலம் அந்நிலங்கயின்று நிலம்
பெர்:

148. கொயிற்புறத்து நாயித்தியார் திருவிளக்கினமைச்ச பூமி அகலபருல்
நூற்று-

149. க்கலமும் ஆருராண்டில் பகர்ந்து படுவிது அவ்வாண்டு செம்பின்கி-
மொடி-

150. யால்ச் செல்வித: புருகிழாநாடுவாழின்ற ஏறஞ்சங்கர[1] னமைச்ச திரு-
விளக்கி-

151. னு பூமி இடைத்திட்டை நூற்றுக்கலம்: நம்புகாளியா ரமைச்ச பள்ளி-
வளாகத்-

152. தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்று: பள்ளமுடையா ரமைச்ச தாயங்-
குன்றப் போழன் வா-

153. ழ்க்கையால்ச் செல்லும் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்
நூற்றைம்பது ப-

Thirteenth Plate: Second Side.

154. றை: பெருவயலூர் யக்கங்கொதை அமைச்ச சிறுகடைத்துருத்திக்-
காராண்மைமெ லமைச்ச தி-

155. ருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை:
உத்தமசெட்டி செறுகடைத்து-

156. ருத்திவாழ்க்கைமெல்ப் பொன்கொடுத் தமைச்ச திருவிளக்கொன்றினு
கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்

157. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: வாணியர் செலுத்துந் திருவிளக்கொன்று: பாலி-
க்காலொடியால்ச்-

158. செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் அய்ம்பது பறை:
நெடியான்வாழ்-

159. க்கைமெ லம்பலத்தி லந்திவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்லிருபத்
தைம்பறை

160. : தொம்பூர்க்காரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பா-
ட்டநெல் லிருநூற்-

161. றிருபத்தைம்பறை: அம்பலத்தி லந்திவிளக்கினு தொம்பூர்க்காரிமெல்க்
கொள்ளு-

162. ந்நெல் புறந்நூற்று நாழி: கொமாகாட்டுநாய ரமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு
பூமி முளிய-

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1 ர is written afterwards and below the line.

Fourteenth Plate: First Side.

163. னூ ரகப்பட்ட தெல்லா[வ*]ற்றின்மெலுமாய்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை

164. : இருப்புழையால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் லிருநூற்றிரு-

165. பத்தைம்பறை: கிழ்வெள்ளூரால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்று: அயிரக்குன்றத்-

166. தால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பெருவூரால்-

167. ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்று பொதுவாள்ப்பெறு எழுபத்தைஞ்சு: பாலைக்காடாகின்-

168. ற செரிக்கலால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்ட நெல் நூற்றைம்ப-

169. து பறை: அயொகமண்ணூரால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல்

170. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: ஓடநாட்டு வரியையால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்-கொன்றினு கொள்-

171. ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மருத்துவக்குடாவினுல்ச் செல்லுங் தி-

Fourteenth Plate: Second Side.

172. ருவிளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை: வாகைத்தானமமைச்-

173. ச் திருவிளக்கொன்றினு கிழச்செரிக்கரியால்க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் இருநூறுபறை:

174. பருத்திக்காட்டு முள்மனை அவர்[க*]ள் தருந் நெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை அரைவிளக்கு செல்வி-

175. து: குழியொடி நாற்பத்தைஞ்சு: மாமுளங்கினுல்ச் செல்லுங் திருவிளக்கிரண்-

176. டினு கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் முந்நூறு பறை: மகிழஞ்செ ரிமணயிகற்பம் விக்கிரம ன-

177. மைச்ச திருவிளக்கினு பூமி சிறுக்கண்ணூர் குழி முப்பதின்கலமும் கிட-

178. ங்குழி பதின்கலம்: மருதஞ்சேரி விளக்கினுள்ள மருதஞ்சேரிவாழ்க்கை ஆயி-

179. ரத்திருநூற்றுக்கலமுமாவொ கிழக்கின் சேரைகரி நூற்றுக்கலம்: படிஞ்ஞாயிற்று செ-

180. ரைகரி நூற்றுக்கலம்: குழிக்கரியிலும் பலாவினுலொடி மெட்டொடி மூன்-

Fifteenth Plate: First Side.

181. றிலுமுள்ள வாழ்பகர்ச்சை நூற்றுக்கலம்: யக்கன்கரி: வஞ்ஞிமண் வட-செரிஒடி

182. : வடசெரி ஒடிவளநல்லூர் வாழின்றது நூற்றுக்கலம்: வடசெரிக்கரி-யில்

183. பள்ளிக்காவினுல்க் கிழுரதிகரிக்கின்றது நூற்றுக்கலம்: வடசெரிஒடிப-

184. டிஞாயிற்றெடி நூற்றுக்கலம்: காடன்புள்ளி: ஒன்பதுவெலி: நாலு வெலி

185. : காமக்கானப்பள்ளி அதிகரிக்கின்ற பட்டரொடி நூற்றுக்கலம்: மக-ளர்நிலைக்கா-

186. லொடியுமதினு பகர்ந்நுபடும் புள்ளியும்: இளந்துருத்தியவரளதி-கரிக்கி-

187. ன்ற புயாவொடி கொலஞ்செரியுஞ் சொதிமங்ஙலமு மதிகரிக்கின்ற சிற்றெரு-

188. டி: சிரிராமன் புள்ளி நூற்றுக்கலம் பாலனெட இவ்வொரொ[1] நூற்றுக்க-லத்தின்மெ-

189. லிடங்கழியால் நூற்று நாழிச் செய்துநெல் படுவிது: வூவஹி பெணங்-ஙைத்தூ-

Fifteenth Plate: Second Side.

190. மணலால்ச் செல்லும் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று: பெருந்நெய்தல் இரும்-பூழிவாழ்-

191. க்கையா லிருநாழி அரி திருவமிர்து மொரு விரிச்சிக விளக்குஞ் செல்-விது:

192. கிழச்செரிவளாலால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று நாழியரி திருவமிர்து செல்-

193. விது: ஆதன்றுருத்திவளால்மெல் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது: வெண்-

194. பாலவயலில் புன்னைமற்றத்து ஒன்று: சட்டானப்பள்ளிக்கு வஹிச்சா-ணிவா-

195. ழ்க்கையால்ச் செல்லும் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று: நெடுவெலிச் சொமா-யியார் கரு-

196. ம்பாமடி யிரண்டுவெலி நிலத்தால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது: மனை-

197. யர்கரும்பினுல் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது: ஞெளிங்ஙாட்டு பொக்கண்-

198. டார் புரையிடத்தால் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்று செல்விது: பாதமுல நாராயணன்

1 The read இவ்வொரொ is not beyond doubt: the existing symbols may also stand for இப்பொக, the last representing the numeral 1.

Seventeenth Plate: First Side.

199. லச்செல்லும் விரிச்சிக விளக்கொன்றினு கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினெம்ப-
றை: வ்வழி
200. திருவல்லவாழப்பனு திருச்சந்தனத்தினுள்ள பூமி செறுமண்கரையால் வெளு-
201. ட்டடிகள் தருந் திருச்சந்தன முத்துலாத்தறுபத்தைம்பலம்: துடந்தலை-க்காலால்
202. வாழுந் தரணிவர்ம்ம ரமைச்ச திருச்சந்தனத்தினுள்ள பூமி ஞாறலூர்க்-
கால் நால்க்-
203. கலம்: புலிக்கொனூர் நால்க்கலம்: வெண்மணல் நால்க்கலம்: கண்ணன்
காட்டால் நால்க்-
204. கலம்: நானூறு பறைக்கு பாட்டம்: சந்தனப் புறமைஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கல-
மைஞ்ஞூறு பறை-
205. க்கு பாட்டங் திருச்சந்தனங் நிச்சலிருபலஞ் செல்வீது: காபாலிமங்ங-
லத்-
206. தால் அய்ம்பது பறை: பெருமாள் நடையால் அய்[ம்*]பது பறை: தெ-
வியார் நடையால் அ-
207. ய்ம்பது பறை: சங்ஙரமங்ஙலத் திருபத்திருபத்தைம்பறை: இதெல்லாங்
கூட்டி ஒரொ-

Seventeenth Plate: Second Side.

208. பலஞ் செல்வீது: வெளுர்க்காபாலிச்சுவரத்து குளத்தினு தெக்கின் பு-
ஞையிடத்தி-
209. ன்மெலாட்டு மிருபலஞ் சந்தனங் தரக்கடவியர்: வெளுர்க்கிழ்மங்ஙல
நூற்றுக்கல-
210. முங் திருச்சந்தனத்தினெள்ளீது: திருப்புகைக் கொள்ள பூமி வெளுட்டு
கொதைகுளங்-
211. ஙரை மணிக்கடையாகின்ற பூமி இருபத்துநால்க்கலத்தின்மெலு மங்-
ஙுள்ள வ-
212. லிய தூணியா லிருபத்துநாற்றூணி: தச்சறை நால்ப்பது பறை: சடா-
ன்றுறை வானவர் கொ-
213. யில் மூப்பது பறை: காபாலிமங்ஙலத்தால் அய்ம்பதினுழி: பெருமாள்
நடை-
214. யா லிருபத்தைம்பறை: தெவியார் நடையா லிருபத்தைம்பறை: இழிஞ்-
ஞினத்தால் தி-
215. ருச்சந்தன முக்கழைஞ்ஞு: காக்கைவளாலருகெ செறுவளால் நூற்று
நாழி நெல் திருப்புகைக் கொ-
216. ள்ளொ: வ்வழி பழையனூட்டு தாமரைச்செரியால்ச் செல்லுந் திரு-
வமிர்து நாழி

Eighteenth Plate: First Side.

217. வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: ஆஞ்ஞினி அறைமெ னனந்தங்குமாரசெ-
ர்ம்ம

218. னமைச்ச திருவமிர்து நாஞழி: முடக்கலிடையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவ-
மிர்-

219. து நாஞழி: திருப்பெருந்துறை பதளமாயியால்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து
நூற்றெருப-

220. த்திருபறையரை: புல்லிதாற்றூல்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து நாஞழி வி-
த்து

221. நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மாந்நாமங்ஙலத்து வட்டச்சிறையால்ச் செல்லுந்
திருவ-

222. மிர்து நாஞழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்தவ
னமைச்-

223. ச நாஞழி யரித் திருவமிர்தினு பூமி குறக்கொட்டு வஞ்சியு மணற்றூறு
மெட்-

224. டியார் முளங்ஙுமாய் வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: மூட்டாற்றில்க் கொ-
ற்றன்கரியால்ச்

225. செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து இருநாழி வித்தெழுபத்தைம்பறை: நெடுங்ஙாலி-
நாட்டு-

Eighteenth Plate: Second Side.

226. நடைக்கு கைதைப்பறூலால் நாஞழி யரித்திருவமிர்து வித்து நூற்றை-
ம்பது புறை

227. : மூட்டாற்றின்மெல் வங்ஙத்தில்க் கொள்ளும் இருபத்தைம்பறையுங்
கூட்டிச் செல் -

228. வித: அயொகமண்ணூரால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து பதினறுநாழி யரி:
[1]உத்திர-

229. சாரணிகள் ஞாறல்க்காட்டெ லமைச்ச திருவமிர்து நாஞழி வித்து
நூற்றைம்பது பறை

230. : கிழவந் தாயஞரொடியுங் கும்பஞர்கரியுமாய்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து
நாஞ-

231. ழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: காஞ்ஞிக்காவுஞ் சாத்தன் காமன் வெ-
லியு மூழ்பகர்-

232. ச்சையுமாய் நாஞழியரி திருவமிர்து வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: இ-
டை வஞ்சி-

233. யுந் நங்ஙையார்வளாலுங் கொழுமிஞங்ஙலுமாய் நாஞழியரி திருவமி-
ர்து வித்-

234. து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: அகழகத்துவளாலால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து
நாஞழி வித்-

1 The first letter can also be read உ.

Ninteenth Plate: First Side.

235. து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கற்புழைப்பள்ளமுங் தலையொடியுமாய் நாஞ்-
ழியரி திருவமி-

236. ர்து வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: கிடங்குபரூல்க் காரண்கூற்ருல்ச் செ-
ல்லுங் திருவமிர்-

237. து நாஞழி வித்து நூற்றைமபது பறை: காடந்தத்தஞொடியும் மிளா-
வினுலொடியும்மாய்ச்-

238. செல்லுங் திருவமிர்து நாஞழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சிற்ருடி-
யால்ச் செல்-

239. லுங் திருவமிர்து இருநாழி வித்தெழுபத்தைம்பறை: அதினில் பொலி
கொள்வொ

240. வித்திருபத்தைம்பறை: எருமைத்தானத்து வாழ்கையால் நெய்யாடு-
வான் நூற்று நாழி பு-

241. றந்நிக்கித் திருவமிர்தினு முப்பது பறை: வெழக்காட்டமைச்ச ஈரையால்
ச்செல்லுங்-

242. திருவமிர்து நாஞழி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பள்ளமுடையாரமை-
ச்ச தாயங்குன்-

243. றப்போழன் வாழ்க்கையால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவமிர்து எண்ணுழி வித்து
முந்நூறு பறை:

Ninteenth Plate: Second Side.

244. பொக்கண்டஞரமைச்ச பாட்டக்கரியால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவமிர்து இரு-
நாழியரி வித்-

245. தெழுபத்தைம்பறை; தொட்டொடு தொட்டிடையால்ச் செல்லுங் திரு-
வமிர்து நாஞழி வி-

246. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பெருஞராற்ச் செல்லுங் திருவமிர்து நாஞ-
ழி வித்து நூற்றைம்-

247. பது பறை: மூலொர்படுவத்து புதவரியையால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவமிர்து
நாஞழி வி-

248. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பாலித்தானத்து கரியும் பிள்ளன் படுவமுங்
காஞ்ஞிரத்தி-

249. ஞலொடியும் பறையன்புரூயுமாய் மெலொடியால்ச் செல்லுங் திருவமி-
ர்து எண்ணுழி

250. வித்து முந்நூறு வல்லத்து தென்னமைச்சிது: இழத்து நின்று வந்த
வாணியன் பள்ள-

251. த்து பொக்கொவிந்நன் கையில்த் திருவமர்தினு கொடுத்த மாவகை
தாயன் குன்றப்போழன்-

252. வாழ்க்கைமெல் நங்ஙையார் கடவிய நெல் அஞ்ஞூறு பறை: பள்ள-
த்து பொன்றவியார் கட-

Twentieth Plate: First Side.

253. வியொ முந்நூறு பறை: விரியூர்ப் பொக்கண்டனுர் கடவியொ அறுநூறுபறை: இவிற்றி-

254. னுள்ள பொலிகொண்டு திருவமிர்து செல்வித: காஞ்ஞிரக்கொடுஞ் சிறுகழுப்புஞ் செம்பி-

255. ன்துருத்தியுமாய் நாஞழியரி திருவமிர்து வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: சிறுகழுப்பி-

256. ன்மேல் நூறுபறை வித்து திருவமிர்தினு: கடம்மன் செந்நகூடி[1] எழுபத்தைம்பறைக்

257. கிருநாழியரி திருவ்வமிர்து: வலியகடா யறுபது பறை திருவமிர்தினு: இழி-

258. ஞ்ஞினத்து குட்டன்கரி திருவமிர்தினு நால்ப்பது பறை: இளாகைக் காட்டில்ப் பரமே-

259. ஸ்ரீமங்ஙலத்தவன் தரும் பொலி நெல் அய்ம்பது பறை: ஆகாயமங்ஙலத்தால் நாழிய-

260. ரி திருவமிர்து: வல்லமண்கரியால் நாழியரி திருவமிர்து: சிறியகடாயால்த்-

261. திருவமிர்தினு வித்து நால்ப்பது பறை: காட்டுருடையாரொடியால்த் திருவாயம்பாடி-

Twentieth Plate: Second Side.

262. யப்பனு இருநாழியரி திருவமிர்தினு வித்தெழுபத்தைம் பறை: வராகப்பனு திருவ-

263. மிர்தினு மண்ணின்செரிப்புரையிடமு மதினுகிழ்மிளியாலுங் நாழியரிக்கு வி-

264. த்து முப்பத்தெழு பறை யனர வைகாலைக்கு: புலிக்கூட்டு வயலிலொள்ள மெலொடி வராகப்ப-

265. னு உச்சைக்குக் கூட்டிச் செல்வித: சையத்தியன்வெலியும் வெழக்காட்டாலுங் கொ-

266. ள்ளும் மெலொடியும் வராகப்ப னுச்சைத் திருவமிர்தினுக்கு: கிடங்ஙுபருல்ப் பொன்

267. னியக்காய னமைச்ச அக்காரடலியுங் கூத்தினுமாய்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து எழுபத்தைம்பறை

268. இவிற்றுலெ பதினெழுபறை உழக்கு வித்து கொண்டு உரொயணிதாறும் பந்திருநாழி ய-

269. ரி திருவமிர்து: நாராயநாழியா லிருநாழி நெய்யமிர்து: நாஞழிப்பால்: தெங்ஙாய் நாலு:

270. வாழைப்பழ மெட்டு: கரும்பினி நிருநாழி: விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று ரொயணிநாள்க் காளி-

1 செந்நஞெடி would be a preferable reading [K. V. S.]

Twenty-first Plate: First Side.

271. யாங்கங் கூத்தாடுமவனு இருபத்தைம்பறை: கண்ணன் செந்நன்கரி
தறையு மதினுகிழுள்ள பூ-

272. மியாலும் வித்து பதினேம்பறை: செகிடன் பறம்பிலுல்க் கொள்ளும்
வித்து மூப்பது ப-

273. றை: சாத்தங் காமன் வெலியால்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து பதினேம்பறை:
வெழமுளங்கிலைச் செல்-

274. லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணுழி வித்து முந்நூறு பறை: கொயில்க்கரிப்-
பொக்கிரன் காராண் கூற்ரு-

275. ல்க் கைதைவெலி வாழ்க்கைக்கு நாலுழி யரி திருவமிர்தினு வித்து
நூற்றைம்பது பறை:

276. பணிச்சவிருத்தியில்க் குளக்காட்டச்சியா ரமைச்ச நாலுழித் திருவமிர்-
திலு வி-

277. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: பள்ளியார்கரிப் புதுக்கரியால் நாலுழியரித்
திருவமிர்தினு வி-

278. த்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: நாராயணமங்கலத்து அச்சுதஞ் செதுப்பிரா
னமைச்ச பூமியாவொ

279. பொத்தங்குமானூர்கரி யிருபத்தைங்கலம் மூன்றென்றுகரி வாழ்பக-
ர்ச்சை இருபத்தைங்கலமு-

Twenty-first Plate: Second Side.

280. ங் கவளஞ்செந்நனூர்கரி வாழ்பகர்ச்சை யிருபத்தைங்கலங் காஞ்ஞிரக்-
காவிலிரண்டரையொடி

281. வாழ்பகர்ச்சை எழுபத்தைங்கலமுந் தழைமுதையில்க் குழிவெலி ஆ-
றென்று மதினு-

282. டுத்த படிஞ்ஞாயிற்று பூதூரியுமாய்த் திருவமிர்து நாலுழியரிக்கு வித்து
நூற்றை-

283. ம்பது பறை: அயிரக்குன்றத்தால் நாலுழி யரித் திருவமிர்து செல்-
விது: அகல்வாய்ப்ப-

284. ருலால்ப் பந்திருநாழியரித் திருவமிர்து செல்விது: அம்மானூயூர்த்
தருத்தியால் நா-

285. லுழியரி திருவமிர்தினு செல்விது: மனுகுலாதிச்சதெவ ரிளங்கொக்
காலத் தமைச்-

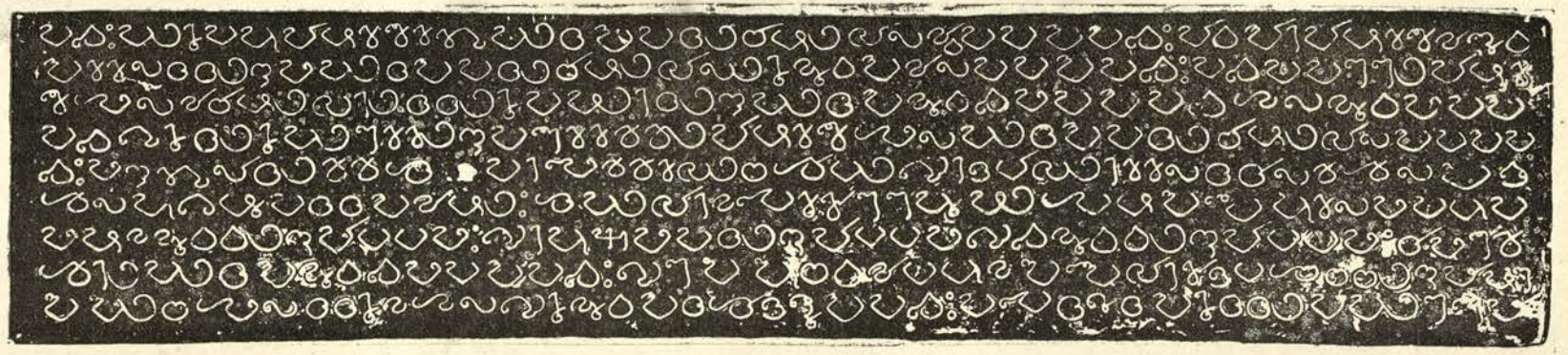
286. ச செலவினு பூமியாவொ பெரும்பாந்துருத்திக்கரி காஞ்ஞிரக்கொணை-
த்து வாழ்க்கை ஆயிரத்-

287. திருநூற்றுக்கலத்தினும் ஆறென்று போய் ஆயிரக்கலத்தினும் பா-
ட்டம் ஆலஞ்செரி

288. வாழின்ற அஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கலத்தினும் பதினுழிப் பறையால்த் தொண்-
ணூற்றைம்பறை வித்து தொ-

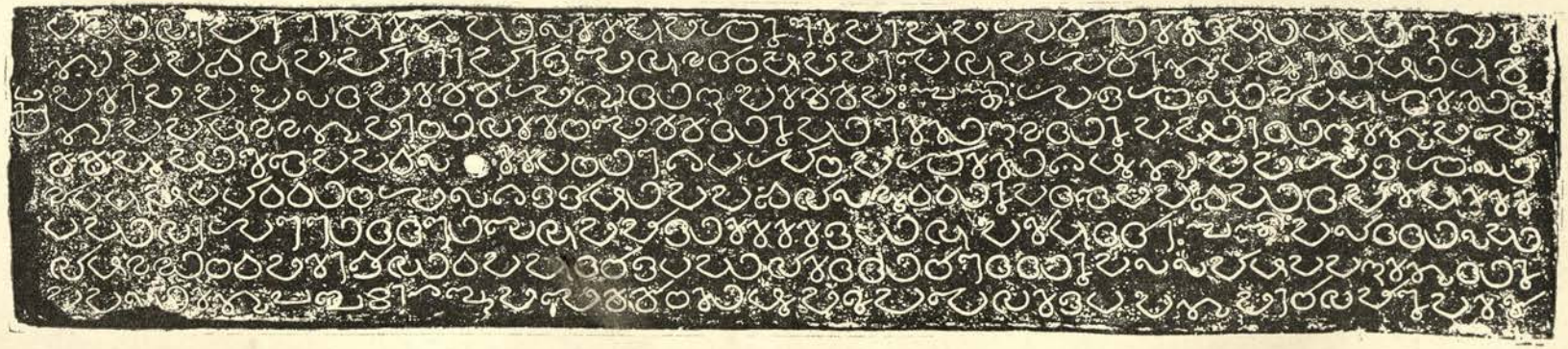
XXII (b)

(To Face p. 189).



XXV (b)

(To Face p. 192).



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale 7.5.

Half-tone. By the Calcutta Phototype Co.

Twenty-second Plate: First Side.

289. ண்ணூற்றைம்பறை நெல் மிக்கஞ்ஞூற்றுக்கலத்தினும் தொண்ணூற்-
றைம்பறை வித்து தொ-

290. ண்ணூற்றைம்பறை நெல்: காராண்கூற்றின்மெல் தெவியார் பொன்னி-
ட்டுநெடிக்கெசவங்க-

291. ண்டன் வாழ்ந்த வாழ்வழிமெல்ப் பதினழியா லிருநூறு பறை: செந்நன்
கரிமெல் ஓ-

292. ருப்புறக்காடர் காராண்மைமெல்வித்து நூற்றிருபது நெல் நூற்றி-
ருபது பறை பதினை-

293. ழியால்: அணுக்கன்வாழ்க்கைமெல்ப் பதினழிப் பறையால் நூற்றிரு-
பது பறை வித்-

294. து: காழபற்றிவாழ்க்கை நூற்றுக்கலத்தின்மெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து
பதினழியால்

295. அறுபது பறை: சூரல்ப்பாடிவாழ்க்கை மெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து பதி-
ஞழியா லறுபது

296. பறை: செம்பின்வெளிக்கு பதினழியா லறுபது பறை: ஆரிகாட்டு
வாழ்க்கைக்கு பதி-

297. ஞழியால் நால்ப்பது பறை: தட்டம்பாறை வாழ்க்கைக்கு வித்து
பதினழியால் நால்ப்பது

Twenty-second Plate: Second Side.

298. பறை: விருப்புவாழ்க்கைக்கு வித்து பதினழியால் [1]நாற்ப்பது பறை:
பாற்றூர் வாழ்க்கை நானூற்-

299. றுக் கலத்தினும் வித்து பதினழியா லிருநூற்று நால்ப்பது பறை:
பறைப்பள்ளிவாழ்க்-

300. கைமெல் நானழியரித் திருவமிர்தினு வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை
நெல் நூற்[றை*]ம்பது

301. பறை ஒரு திருவிளக்கினு வலக்கச்சி வாழ்க்கைமெல் வித்து பதினை-
ழியாலறுபது ப-

302. றை: மனுகுலாதிச்சதெவ ரமைச்ச கயின்றெடி இரண்டாயிரக்
கலத்தால்ச் செல்லுஞ்-

303. செலவு எழுபத்தறுநாழி: தெவியார்நண்டக்கெர்ள்ள பூமி வெழ்ங்கை
அகலம்படுவ-

304. ம் மூன்நூற்றினு பாட்டம்: இரவு ஐம்பதினு பாட்டம் இறை நூற்றினு
பாட்டம்: தாமரைச்-

305. செரி வித்து நூற்றைம்பது பறை: இளங்குன்றநாட்டு நங்ஙையார்
கொண்ட பொன்னினு மாமுள-

306. ங்கின்மெலத் தருந் நெல் இருநூற்றுத் தொண்ணூறு பறை;[2] படைத-
லைத்துருத்திப் பிள்ளைமா-

1 The ற் of நாற்ப்பது is written below the line.

2 வடைதலை would be a preferable reading [K. V. S.]

Twenty-Third Plate: First Side.

307. ருடை நெடிய இடைத்திட்டைவாழ்க்கை தெவியார் நடைக்கொ-
ள்ளிது: பணிச்சவிருத்-

308. தி தெவியார் நடைக்கொள்ளிது: பெருமாவெலிக்கரி முளைப்புழைமண்
வாழின்ற இரண்டா-

309. யிரத்திருநூற்றுக்கலமும் ஏனாதி வாழ்க்கையும் வெண்ணத்தடமும்
மூவாயிரக்கலமும் அ-

310. ஞ்சொன்று மெலொடி கொள்விது: தெவியார் நடைக்கொள்ளிது மி-
ளாவினால்க்கரி தறையு-

311. ந் தறைக்கிழ் நானூற்றுக்கல நிலமுந் தெவியார் நடைக்கொள்ளிது: கா-
பாலிமங்ங-

312. லத்தால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழி யரி வித்து முந்நூறு ப-
றை: இடைநா-

113. ட்டு வரியையால்ச் செல்லுந் திருவமிர்து எண்ணாழியரி வித்து முந்நூ-
று பறை:

314. புதுக்கரி திருவமிர்தினு வித்து நூறு பறை: நெடுமற்றம் பகர்ந்ந பக-
ர்ச்சை காரைக்காலி-

315. ளக்கைதைக்காடு திருவமிர்தினு: வெழக்காட்டு நாராயணஞ் செந்ந
னமைச்ச பூமி இரமையா-

Twenty-Third Plate: Second Side.

316. கின்ற நிலமு மதினு படு[த]றையுங்[1] கூட நானூற்றுக்கலந் நிலத்தால்ச்-
செலவு நானாழிய-

317. ரித் திருவமிர்தும் ஒரு திருவிளக்குஞ் செல்விது இந்நிலம் விரியூர்க்
கண்டனி-

318. ரவி காராண்மைச் செய்து எண்ணாழிப் பறையால் வித்து நூற்றைம்-
பது நெல் நூற்றைம்பதும்

319. செலுத்தக்கடவியன் விரியூர்க் கண்டனிரவி உரொயணி ஞாயிற்றகமெ
வித்துந்

320. நெல்லுந் திருவளகையில்க் கொண்டுசென் றளவுகொடுக்கக்கடவியன்
விரியூர்க் கண்டன் னிர-

321. வி: ஸ்வஸ்தி: பெருமாள்நடைக்கு பெரும்பான்றுருத்தியால் நெய்யமி-
ர்து நாழி நெல் முந்-

322. நூறு பறை: தாயங்குன்றப்பொழன் வாழ்க்கையால்ப் பள்ளமுடை-
யா ரமைச்ச நெய்யமிர்து

323. ஆழக்கு நெல் முப்பத்தெழு பறை யரை: இரையால் நெய்யமிர்து உழ-
க்கு நெல் எழுப-

324. த்தைம்பறை: காபாலிமங்ஙலத்தால் நெய்யமிர்து உரி நெல் நூற்றை
ம்பது பறை: தெ-

1 The letter in brackets looks almost like a zero.

Twenty-fourth Plate: First Side.

325. வியார் செலவினு நெய்யமிர்து நாழி நெல் முந்நூறு பறை: இழிஞ்ஞி-
னத்தால்[1] நெய்-

326. யமிர்து மூழக்கு நெல்லிரு நூற்றிருபத்தைம் பறை: கைதைப்பரூல்க்க-
டனூல் நெய்யமிர்-

327. து உழக்கு நெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: அரைஞ்ஞன்முதை நெய்யமிர்தி-
னு நெல்லிருபது

328. பறை: இளங்நுன்றநாட்டுநம்பியா ரமைச்ச நெய்யமிர்தினு புதுவரியை-
யா னுழக்கு நெ-

329. ய் செல்வித நெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: வூவஸ்தி மிதுனத்தில் வியாழங்
நின்ற மேடஞா-

330. யிற்று திருவல்லவாழ் முக்கால்வட்டத்து ஊரவிரொதத்தால்க் கூடியி-
ருந்து செய்த ஸ்ரீகா-

331. ரியமாவிது வெண்பொலிநாடுடைய இரவி சிரிகண்டன் தன்னுடைய
குடவூருங் குட-

332. வூர்க்குப்படும் பதினெட்டு வரியையும் அங்ஙாடியு மகப்படத் திருவல்ல-
வா-

333. ழப்பனு கிழி டட்டிக்குடுத்தா னிரவி சிரிகண்ட னிதினு கிழிட்டினு
கொடுப்பா

Twenty-fourth Plate: Second Side.

334. னமைஞ்ஞ ரூகூபாவொகழி பொன் சூடு முரையும் வருவிது பதினெண்
கழைஞ்ஞு பொன்ஞக ஒக்கு-

335. ம் பதினுழிப்பறையால் முந்நூற்றறுபது பறை நெல்லாக கொடுக்கக்-
கடவிய் னிரவி சிரி-

336. கண்ட னிதினுக் கடுத்த வைய்யா[சி*] வியாகந்தொறுங் குடவூர் கரு-
மஞ் செய்யின்றவ[ர்*]கள் சம-

337. ஞ்சிதர்மானிடத்தின் கைய்யில்க் கொடுக்க[க்கடவிய*]ரிப்பொன்னினுல்
மெல்ச்சாந்தி செ-

338. ய்யின்றவர்[க*]ளிருவர்க்குமாய்ப் பதினேஞ்சு காணமுங் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி
செய்யின்றவர்[க*]ள்க்-

339. கு பதினேஞ்சு காணமுங் நிக்கி நின்ற பொன் பதினேஞ்சு கழைஞ்ஞு
பொன் கொண்டு அஞ்சு வூ-

340. வரழி செய்விக்கக்கடவியர் தங்ஙள் குறவினுல்ச் சென்றமைஞ்ஞ கால-
த்து கொள்ளாதொழி-

341. கில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுக்க கடவனல்லன் என்று நிற்கிலு முதற்பொ-
ன்னெ கொடுக்ககடவி-

342. ய னிரவி சிரிகண்டன் [ி*] அரைய கொபமுஞ் சர்மந்த கொபமுங் நிக்கி
ரூகூபாபொகங் கொள்ளக்க-

There is an unaccountable stroke at the left top of ன.

Twenty-fifth Plate: First Side.

343. டவியர் ஊராளர் புக்கு விலக்கவும் பொருள் கவரவும் பெறா ரிக்கீழிட்டி-
னு இரு-

344. கூறு பறையும் ஊராளர் ஊராண்மையுந் தானமும் பரடையும் பெறார்
குடவூர் கிழிடு ச-

345. ங்கரமங்ஙலத்து கச்சமெ இதினுங் கச்சம்: ஸ்வஸ்தி: வெண்பொலிநாட்டு
தெக்கின்-

346. கூறு வாழ்ந்ந குமர னியக்க னமைச்ச திருவிளக்கினுந் திருவமிர்தினு-
க்கு மமை-

347. ச்ச பூமி கைதைப்பறால்க் கடனிள் எட்டொன்று போக்கி எழுகூறும்
வெண்பொலி-

348. நாட்டு முட்டாற்றின்மெல் எண்ணாழிப் பறையால் நூற்றிருபத்தைம்
பறை வித்து கொடுக்க க-

349. டவியர்[1*] வெள்ளித்தளியையும் மாணிக்கக்கண்டியுங் கொடுத்தார்:
ஸ்வஸ்தி: துலாத்தில் வி-

350. யாழந் நின்ற மகரஞாயிற்று புதனாண்ட வியாகத்தினாள்த் திருவல்லவா-
ழப்பனுக்கு திரு-

351. ப்பலிக்கு வ ஹ ஊ ஸ்ஸ்ஹ மமைச்சான் கிழுமலை உடைய கண்டங் குமரனாய
மாளுவக்கோ-

Twenty-fifth Plate: Second Side.

352. னமைச்சான் முக்காலும் ஸ்ரீபலிக்கு கொட்டுவான் நாலு செண்டை-
யும் ஒரு திமிலை ஒரு செக-

353. ண்டி ஒரணைக் கைத்தாளமு மிரண்டு காகாளமும் ஒன்பது பணி யமை-
ச்சான் மாளுவக்கொன் இப்-

354. பணிக்கு பண்டைத் தண்டமெ தண்டம் இப்பணி செய்யும் ஒன்பது
மானிடத்தினுமா-

355. ய்ச் சிவித மட்டிக்கொடுத்தான் தன்னுடைய நெடும்பலாநாடாகின்ற
ஊர்மெ லிடங்க-

356. ழியால் முப்பதின் கலந் நெல் லாட்டுங் கொடுப்பானமைஞ் ஞட்டிக்
கொடுத்தான் தி-

357. ருவல்லவாழப்பனுக்கு மாளுவக்கொன் ஆட்டுங் கும்பஞாயிற்று உ-
ரொயணி நாளளவு

358. கொடுக்ககடவியவன் அன்றுகொடாக்கா லவ்வூர் தடுத்து வைச்சுகொ-
ள்ளக் கடவியர் பொதுவா-

359. ண்ம்மா ரிப்பரிசு கொடிக்களத்து யக்கங்கொவிந்நனும் பணியுடையவர
ரிருவரும்

360. அறுநூற்றுவருங் கூடி அட்டிக்கொடுத்தார்: ஸ்வஸ்தி: திருவல்லவாழ்
முக்கால்வட்-

Twenty-sixth Plate: First Side.

361. டத்து திருத்துவாதயிக்கணத்தா ரவிரொதத்தால்க் கூடியிருந்து திரு-
362. செலவமைச்ச பரிசாவிது சித்திரை விழுவு முதலா யிருபது படகாரம் ஒரொ படகா-
363. ரத்தால்ப் பதினெட்டு பங்கு செய்து எண்ணையாட்டுவிது இருபது படகாரமாவொ மு-
364. ண்டைப்பள்ளி மகழஞ்சேரித் தாமரைக்குளம் மிய்குன்றத்து தெங்ஙமண் தெவர்ப-
365. ள்ளி புன்னைச்சேரி காட்டூர் தெங்ஙமண் நெடுவெலி மங்ஙலச்சேரி மர்ணிக்கம-
366. ங்ஙலம் இளமண் இது முதல் வட்டம் [॥*] மாடமண் பெருங்ஙொள மகழஞ்சேரி கரியனூ-
367. ட்டு தெங்ஙமண் இடைச்சேரி சென்னெற்றுருத்தி முண்டைப்பள்ளி குறிச்சி நாராயண-
368. மங்ஙலம் புஞ்சைப்படகாரம் பறம்பூரிது இரண்டாம் வட்டம்[॥*] முதல் வட்ட முன்னமெ-
369. ண்ணிக் கிரமத்தா லாட்டுவிது[॥*] இரண்டாம் வட்டம் கொள்விது[।*] பின்னையிரண்டாம் வட்டமா-

Twenty-sixth Plate: Second Side.

370. ட்டுவிது[।*] முதல்வட்டங் கொள்விது[।*] திருவெண்ணை ஆட்டிக்குமவன் உச்சையகத்தையு-
371. யடியின் முன்னெ திருவெண்ணை கொண்டுவந்து கொடுக்க கடவியன் [।*] ஒட்டியகாலத்து கொண்டுவா-
372. ராக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி ஆட்டுவிது[।*] ஆட்டிய எண்ணை கொள்ளுமவன் ஏற்று கொடுக்கும-
373. வனு நாழி நாழி யரி கொடுத்து எண்ணை கொள்ளக்கடவியன்[।*] ஒரு நாள் முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி
374. படுவிது [।*] இரண்டாநாள் முட்டுகிலு மத்தண்டமெ[।*] மூன்றுநாள் முட்டுகில்ப் பத்து காணம்
375. பொன்பட்டு முட்டிரட்டியொடுகூட ஆட்டுவிது[।*] தனக்குபட்ட பதினெட்டு நாளு மு-
376. ட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியும் அறுகழஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்படுவிது[।*] இடையொள்ள நாள்
377. முட்டுகி லறுகழஞ்சிற் பாதி பொன்னு முட்டிரட்டி திருவெண்ணையு மாட்டுவிது [।*] மு-
378. ட்டிச்சநாளைத் தண்டம் வச்சன்றிப் பிற்ற நாளாட்டப் பெறார்[।*] தனக்குபட்ட நாள தெகிய-

Twenty-seventh Plate: First Side.

379. முட்டிக்குமவன் முட்டிரட்டியுமாட்டித் தண்டமும் வச்சன்றி ஊட்டுங் கூட்-

380. டமும் பாட்டமும் பெறார்[।*] அவனது பண்ணுமளவுநாளு மவன் பட-காரம் கொண்டு மற்றொழி-

381. ஞ்ஞவர்[க*] ளவனுபட்டநாள் திருவெண்ணை யாட்டுவிது [।*] திரு-வெண்ணை முட்டிச்சுவச்சு த-

382. ங்கள் போகங் கூறிட்டு கொள்ளப் பெறார் [।*] [1]தம்மிற்ப் படகாரம் விலை ஒற்றி கொள்ளவுங்-

383. கொடுக்கவும் பெறார்[।*] இடையிடனு மூராளனு முழவும் பாட்டமுங் கொடுக்கப் பெறார்[।*] மகர-

384. ஞாயிறுபற்றுஞ் சங்கிராந்தி அவிரொத நாளிஞ்ஞைக்கு ஐப்பியை வி-ட்டு வாவு வாவன-

385. புரத் தவிரொத நாள் வாவனபுரத்து முக்கால்வட்டத்து இடையிடன் பற்றிக்கொள்ளவும் அத-

386. ரஞ் செய்யவும் பெறார்[।*] எது சொல்லியுந் திருவெண்ணையுந் திரு-வெண்ணைப்புறமும் வில-

387. க்கவும் விலக்குமவனு பாங்ஙபறையவும் பெறா ரித்திருளெண்ணைக் கொள்ள போகம்

Twenty-seventh Plate: Second Side.

388. பறிக்கவும் கொடாதொழியவும் பெறா ரிவ்வமஞ்ஞது பண்ணாதவன் பெருமானடிகள்க்-

389. கு அய்ம் பதின் கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டம் தவைக்கு இருபத்தைங்க-ழைஞ்ஞு அன்றாடு-

390. கொயில்க்கு பதின்கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் தண்டம்பட்டு மூழிக்களத்து க-ச்சம் பிழைச்சானா-

391. வொ னித்திருவெண்ணை பல நூறாயிரத்தாண்டுஞ் செலுத்திச்சு கொ-ண்டருளுக: ஸ்வஸ்தி மாடம-

392. ண்ணவர்[க*] ளிரண்டயனத்தினு இரு துலாந் நெய் யாட்டுவிது: கர்-க்கடகஞாயிற்றயனத்தினு

393. எருமைத்தானத்துவாழ்க்கையால் துலாந் நெய் யாட்டுவிது: வெண்பா-லைச்சான்றார்[2]காடாகின்ற பூ-

394. மிமெல் துலாந் நெய் யாட்டுவிது [।*] மகரஞாயிற்றயனத்தினு ஆட்டி-க்குமவனெ ஏற்று-

395. கொண்டு அகத்து(துது) விடுவிக்க கடவியன்: கற்கடகஞாயிற்றயன-த்தினு ஆலஞ்செரி

396. அடிக ளமைச்ச நெய் துலாம்: கற்கடகஞாயிற்றயனத்தினு திலதமங்ங-லத்து-

1 The ற் of this word is engraved afterwards and below the line.

2 The ச் looks like க்.

Twenty-eighth Plate: First Side.

397. புரையிடத்தெலாட்டுங் நெய் துலாம்: ஞெளிங்ஙாட்டு பொக்கண்டனுர் புரையிடத்தால் துலா-

398. க் நெய்யாட்டுவிது: மாந்ஙாமங்ஙலத்து நெய்தற்செரிச் சார்ங்கபாணி கெசவன் தாய னை-

399. மைச்ச நெடுந்தாற்ரு லாட்டுங் நெய் துலாம்: காட்டுர் வயலில் முண்டக-மிப்பூமி உழு-

400. திடக்களியொன் தெவர்பள்ளிப் பட்டநாராயணன்: இடைச்செரிய-வ னமைச்ச வளவ-

401. ஞொடியும் மணலுடையான்கரி மெலுமா யிரண்டயனத்தினு மிரண்டு விழுவி-

402. னு மாடுவிது நாற்றுலாம் நெய்: வெட்டித்துருத்தி ஈரை கங்ஙாணிச்சு அயனத்தினு

403. நெய்யாட்டுவிது: வ்வஸ்தி: திருவல்லவாழப்பனு ஆவணி யொணத்தினு-ள்ச் செல்லுஞ் செ-

404. லவாவிது இடைச்செரிச் செங்ஙங் கெசவன் தன்னுடைய வெளியனு-ர்காட்டுப் பூமியில்

405. தனுக்கொள்ளதில் எண்பது பறை நெல்ப்பொரு மிடமும் முஞ்ஞினு-ட்டில்த் திருவொணக்-

Twenty-eighth Plate: Second Side.

406. கரியால்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து நூற்றிருபத்தைம்பறை ஆவணி ஓணத்தி-னுள்ச் செலவு செலு-

407. த்துமாரூவிது அன்று ஒரு திருவிளக்கெரிவா னெய்யுரி கற்ப்பூர மஞ்சு காணம் திருச்-

408. சந்தனம் பத்து காணம் திருப்புகைக்கு அகில் பத்து காணம் மாலையி-ரண்டு கிழக்கும்

409. படிஞாயிற்றுங் திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழியா லெழுநூற்று நாழி யரி அட்டுதிருவ-

410. மிர்து செய்விது பாதி சாத்திரர்க் கமிர்து அதினுலெ எழுநூற்று நாழி நிக்கி-

411. நின் றரியால் வராகப்பனு நானுழி திருவாயம்பாடிக்கு நானுழி ஆதிர சாலைக்கு நானு-

412. ழி அய்யப்பனு நானுழி பூதபலிக்கு பந்திருநாழி [மா]யியக்கிக்குங் குரவரனு-

413. ம் ஆமந்தையூர்க்குமாய்ப் பதினறு நாழி மெல்லம்பெருமக்க ளிருவர்-க்குமா யி-

414. ருபதினுழி கிழ்ச்சாந்தி அய்வர்க்கும் அய்ம்பதினுழி பட்டர்க்கு நானுழி அ-

Twenty-ninth Plate: First Side.

415. ய்யப்பன் எம்பெருமானு நாளுழி: கிழ்ச்சமஞ்சிதனு நாளுழி: பண்டார-
ரகள் அய்வர்க்கு-

416. மிருபதினுழி: இலையிடுமவனு நாளுழி: வாயிற்க்கல் நிற்க்குமவனு நாளு-
ழி: சிரி-

417. பலிக்கு கொட்டுமவரள்க்கும் விளிக்குமவரள்க்கு மூப்பத்துமூன்ருள்-
க்கும் ஆ[ள்]

418. வகை முந்நாழிச் செய்தரி: நெய்யமிர்து இடங்கழியா லெண்ணுழி:
அன்று மதில-

419. கத்து எண்ணை வெண்டுமவர்க்கு படுப்பா னிடங்கழியா லஞ்ஞாழி:
மிளகிடங்க-

420. ழியாளுழி: சிரக முழக்கினல் நாழி: காயம் ஒரு பலம்: தெங்ஙாய் அ-
றுபது: திரு-

421. வாழைப்பழக்குலை ஆறுகுலை: வாழைக்காய் ஏழு குலை: ஓரொ குலை அ-
றுபது செய்து காயு-

422. ளவாயிருப்பிது: இடங்கழியால்ப் பதினுழிப் பசறு: வாழைக்காயும்
பழத்தி-

423. னுமாய் நெல் நூற்று நாழி: அன்று பாகிடுவான் பதினுயிரம் வெற்றி-
லைக்கு மதினு வெண்-

Twenty-ninth Plate: Second Side.

424. டுமடைக்காய்க்குமாய்ப் பதினேம்பறை நெல்: எண்ணைக்குந் நெய்க்கு-
மாய் நெல்லிருபத்தறு-

425. பறை: மிளகினு பதினுழி: காயத்தினு இருபறை: சிரகத்தினு பதி-
னுழி: கற்பூரம் அஞ்-

426. சு காணத்தினு நெல் நால்ப்பதினுழி: சந்தனத்தினு அஞ்ஞாழி: அகில்-
பத்து காணத்தினு

427. பதினுழி: அகத்தடிக்கு நால்வர்க்கு எண்ணுழியரி: விறகிடுமவனு இரு-
பதினு-

428. ழியரி: கலவாணியனு இருபதினுழி: அடையமிர்தினு நாளுழி: அன்-
றைச்செல-

429. வு வாயிக்குமவனு அஞ்ஞாழி: திருப்பள்ளித்தாமங் கெட்டுமவரள்
நால்வர்க்கா யரி எ-

430. ண்ணுழி: புறத்தடிக்குமவரள்க்கு எண்ணுழி: மதிற்ப்புற மடிப்பொ-
ற்க்கு நாளுழி:

431. உப்பினும் புளிக்குந் தெங்ஙாய்க்குமாய் நெல் எண்பறை: பசற்றினு இ-
ருபறையரை வா-

432. கைப் பொடி இருநாழி: தொம்பூர்க்காரியால் ஆவணி ஓணத்தினுள்ச்
சிறுகாலை திரு-

Thirtieth Plate: First Side.

433. வமிர்து செய்வானிருபத்தையம்பறை வித்தினரி: இவிற்ரு லிருநூற்று நாழி

434. திருவமிர்து செய்வித: நின்றரிபொக கரியில்க் கூட்டிக் கொடுப்பித: மதில-

435. கத் தன்று வக்காணிச்சிருக்கும் பட்டகளொரொத்தர்க் கைஞ்ஞாழிச் செய்தரி கொடுப்பித: கை-

436. விளக்குந் திருவடைக்காயமிர்தும் கொடுக்குமவனு முந்நாழி: தெவடிச்சிகள் நால்வ-

437. ர்க்காய்ப் பந்திருநாழி மிக்கு கொட்டுமவரள்க்கு நால்ப்பறை நெல்க் கொண்டு அறுநாழி-

438. ச்சை நெல் கொடுப்பித: வூவஷ்: திருவல்லவாழப்பனு திருப்பள்ளிக் குறிப்புணர்ந்த-

439. வாறை திருவமிர்து செய்வானுள்ள அரியாவொ காரைக்காலா லிருநூற்று நாழி: ஞெளிங்ஙாட்-

440. டு வலியவெலியால் நூற்றுநாழி: பள்ளத்து குன்றனிரவி அமைச்ச வாளகத்தாரொடி-

441. மெ லிருநூற்று நாழி: அஞ்ஞணச்சிறையும் புரையிடத்தாலும் கொள்ளும் வித்து நூற்றுநா-

Thirtieth Plate: Second Side.

442. ழி: பழவிருக்கை புரையிடத்தெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து நால்ப்பதினழி: கற்புழைக் கிரி-

443. ட்டன் புரையிடத்தின்மெல் யக்கங்கொதை கடங்கொடுத்மைச்ச வித்து எண்ணழிப் பறை-

444. யால்ப் பதின்பறை: கற்புழைப்பறுல்க் கொதை கொவிங்ஙனர் புரையிடத்தெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்-

445. து நால்ப்பதினழி: தாமரைநல்லூர்க்கரிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து ஐம்பதினழி: கார-

446. ணிகாடர் புரையிடத்தெ லரி நூற்று நாழி: கூபகத்து புரையிடத்தெலரி நால்ப்பதினு-

447. ழி: கைதைப்பறுல்க் கொற்றங் கண்ணரொடிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து நூற்று நாழி: கைதைப்பறு-

448. ல் உள்நாட்டு தாற்றுவழிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து அய்ம்பதினழி: புன்னைக்குன்றத்து

449. மாந்நன்கரிமெல்க் கொள்ளும் வித்து ஐம்பதினழி: சிறுமண் புரையிடத்தின்மெ-

450. ல் அரி ஐம்பதினழி: மணியிருக்கும் புரையிடத்தெல் அரி நால்ப்பதினு:

Thirty-first Plate: First Side.

451. அமிர்தமங்கலத்தவன் தன்னிடையிட்டின் மெல் ஈஷாஹோகழி திருப்-
பள்ளிக்குறி-

452. ப்பினு நூற்று நாழியரி இடங்கழியால் காழி நெய் யமைச்சான் எழுநி-
ற்றாராகின்ற

453. செரிக்கல்மெல்க் கொள்வித: திருப்பள்ளிக்குறிப்பு துடங்குங்காள் மா-
ங்காமங்க-

454. லத்து மலையில்ப் புரையிடத்தெலரி இருபத்து நாழுழி நெய் இடங்கழி
யால் நாழி:

455. மூலெப்படுவத்து வாறங்காடர் புரையிடத்தெலரி ஐம்பதினுழி: அவி-
டையெ சா-

456. லப்புழைக் கொவிங்கனர் புரையிடத்தெல் நெய் இடங்கழியால் நாழி:
முஞ்சிப்பாறை-

457. க்கு கிழக்கு குன்றக்காட்டு புரையிடத்தெல் நெய் இடங்கழியாழுழி:
அயகன் தண்டம்

458. பட்டதினு தன்னுடை வளால்மெலுக் தரைமெலுமா யரி நூற்று நாழி:
திருப்பள்ளிக்கு-

459. றிப்பினு தானத்தினுள்ள பொன் பள்ளத்து குன்றனிரவி வாளகத்தா-
ரொடி நூற்றுக்கலத்தி-

Thirty-first Plate: Second Side.

460. ன் மெல்த்தரும் பொன் பத்து காணம்: அதின் மெலெய் அவன்குடி
யக்கியம்மை தரும் பொ-

461. ண் பத்துகாணம்: பள்ளத்து குன்றங் கொவிங்கன் ஞெளிங்காட்டு பு-
ரையிடத்தெல் தரும் பொ-

462. ன் பத்து காணம்: தாறன்பரூல்மெல் பத்து காணம்: மருதஞ்செரி
நிலகண்டன் தன்னுடைய சிற்-

463. ரூடிமெல்த் தரும் பொன் இரண்டரைக் காணம்: செண்பகச்செரி பு-
ரையிடத்தெற் றரும் பொன் அ-

464. ஞ்சு காணம்: செங்கன்கரி உழவர் கொடுப்பிது பொன்னிரு கழை-
ஞ்ஞ: சிறுகடைத்து-

465. ருத்திப் படைநாயர்மாடத்தாஞ்ஞினிச் சிறுகடைத்துருத்திக் கூனன்
வாழ்க்கை காராண் பத்து

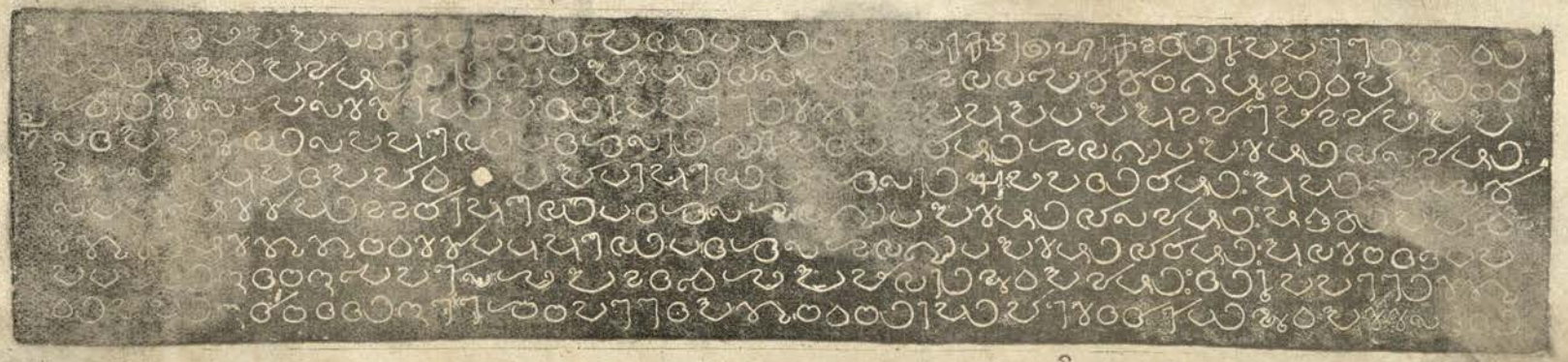
466. கூற்றின் கடங் கொடுத்தமைச்ச பொன் இருகழைஞ்ஞ: அணுக்கன்
வாழ்க்கைமெல்ப் பொன்

467. காணம்: தட்டம்பாறை வாழ்க்கையும் கூட்டு மெலுமாய்ப் பத்து கா-
ணம்: திருவல்லவாழ-

468. ப்பனு திருப்பள்ளிக்குறிப் புணர்ந்தவாறெ ஏழு நாலேத் திருவிழாவி-
லுள்ள பூமி

XXXI (a)

(To Face p. 193).



XXXVII (b)

(To Face p. 202).

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale .5.

Half-tone. By the Calcutta Phototype Co.

Thirty-third Plate: First Side.

469. றையால் முந்நூற்றறுபது பறை நெல்லாக கொடுக்க கடவிய னிரவி சிரிகண்ட னிதினு-

470. க்கடுத்த வைய்யாவி வியாகந்தொறுங் குடவூர் கருமஞ்செய்யின்றவ கள் சமஞ்-

471. சிதர்மானிடத்தின் கையில்க் கொடுக்க கடவிய ரிப்பொன்னினால் மெல்-ச்சாந்தி செ-

472. ய்யின்றவர ளிருவர்க்குமாய்ப் பதினைஞ்சு காணமுங் கிழ்ச்சாந்தி செய் யின்றவரள்-

473. க்கு பதினைஞ்சு காணமுந் நிக்கி நின்ற பொன் பதினைங் கழைஞ்ஞுங் கொண்டு அஞ்சு

474. ஸ்நவநம் செய்யிக்க கடவியர்[।*] தங்ஙள் குறவினால்ச் சென்றமைஞ்ஞ காலத்து கொள்ளா-

475. தொழிகில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுக்க கடவனல்லன் என்று நிற்கிலும் முத-ற்ப்பொன்-

476. னெ கொடுக்க கடவியர்[।*] இரவி சிரிகண்டன் அரைச கொபமுஞ் சா-மந்தகொபமுந் நிக்கி ரக்ஷி-

477. ச்சு ரக்ஷாஹொமம் கொள்ளக்கடவியர்[।*] ஊராளர் புக்கு விலக்கவும் பொருள்கவரவும் பெ-

Thirty-third Plate: Second Side.

478. றா ரிக்கிழிட்டினு இருகூறு பறையும் ஊராளர் ஊராண்மையுந் தானமும் பரடையும் பெறா-

479. ர் [।*] குடவூர் கிழிடு சங்கரமங்ஙலத்து கச்சமெ யிதினுங் கச்சம்: ஸ்வஸ்தி திரு-

480. வக்கிரத்தினு மக்குதிட்டையு மயிலனொடியும் ஆதன்றுருத்தியிலொ இ-

481. வ்விரண்டும்: தெக்கினாற்றுவழிக் கொவிந்நனார்கரி எழுபத்தைம்பறை-க்கு பாட்ட-

482. ம்: வாழைப்பள்ளி இராயிங்ஙத்தான் வெலி: பருடைத்திட்டையாற்று வழி-

483. ப்புதுக்கரியால்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல்லெ(ா)ழுபத்தைம்பறை ஒன்பதினாழி ப்பறையால்: கு-

484. ருக்குலையூர் மாங்ஙொடு: நெடுங்ஙாலிநாட்டு காஞ்ஞிரக்காடு: தாமற்ற நாட்டு குறுவெ-

485. லியும் பாலையுந் தொடும்: இசானமங்ஙலத்து சிர்விடு: தெக்கானத்து முடாலம்: ஆட்-

486. டூட்டிப்பறம்பிலவரளுழின்ற குமான்கரியும் கரைப்புரையிடமும்: ஆ-னையடி

Thirty-fifth Plate: First Side.

487. த்தின் கிழொருதுடவையா லிருபறை: பூந்தொட்டவரளுழும் காட்டு-மண்ணில் மெ-

488. லொடியும்: இருபள்ளிப்புறை நாகமங்கலமாகின்ற புரையிடமும் இரு-பள்ளிப்பு-

489. ரையிடம் ஒன்றில்ப் பாதியும்: குற்றூரார் கரும்பின்மெல்க் கொள்ளும் நெல் நால்-

490. ப்பறை: சாலியரர்குழி: சம்பக கொட்டத்தில் மெலொடியும்: புன்னை-க்குளம்: புறங்-

491. ஙொலிநாட்டு சுடுகண்டல்க்கரி: மாவலியார் தொட்டம்: பூந்தொட்ட-மாகின்ற புரை-

492. யிடம்: கொயிற்புறத்து பொரலாகின்ற புரையிடம்: பாலிப்பழஞ்ஞி-யாரொடி எழுபத்-

493. தையம்பறையும்: கள்ளக்கரியில் அறுபது பறை பதினுழியா லிரு நூ-ற்றுக்கலத்தி-

494. ன்மெல்க் கொள்வித: மண்ணின்றொட்டுவழிப் பொன்கொடுத்தான் சாலக்கு பாட்டம் ப-

495. தினுழியால் முப்பது பறை: நிறணத்து கடம்மன்கரி ஐம்பது பறைக்கு பாட்டம்: செ-

Thirty-fifth Plate: Second Side.

496. ரி உடையார்காடு இருபத்தைஞ்சினு பாட்டம்: குன்றத்தூர் வளால்க்கு பாட்டம் எழுப-

497. த்தையம்பறையும்: துருத்தியில் நெட்டாழி பதினேம்பறைக்கு பா-ட்டம்: புளிவெலி-

498. ப்புனம்: நாறுவாவழி பனமண்: குளப்பள்ளிவளால்: காஞ்ஞிரப்படு-வத்தின்மெல்-

499. க் கொள்ளும் பாட்டநெல் நால்ப்பறை: கடைப்பனங்காடு மனிடை யொள்ள ஆளும்: துருத்-

500. திக் கரைப்புரையிடத்தினி லிடங்கழியால் நாற்றுநாழி: தழத்துறை ஏரிமண்:

501. புன்னைவெலி யிருபத்தையம்பறை: பாச்சினப்பாய்: கொதைகரி நூ-ற்றுக்கலத்தில் நாலொ-

502. ன்று: மெனிலம்: மண்டபமாகின்ற புரையிடத்தில்ப் பதினேம்பறை: புன்னைக்குன்-

503. றத்து கல்வெலி பதினேம்பறை: பெருங்கல்வெலி நூறுபறை: சிறு-கல்வெலி

504. முப்பது பறை: கைதைக்காடு ஐம்பது பறை: பூப்படுவத்தொடி ஐம்ப-து பறை: பள்ளொ-

Thirty-sixth Plate: First Side.

505. வெலி இருபதுபறை: ஆலைக்கால்ப் பாலத்தினருகெ வெழக்காடு: ஆ-
த்திரையர்காடு நா-

506. ல்ப்பது அதிகார ரமைச்சிது: சிறுமுதைமற்ற முண்டகம் ஆதன் முருத்தி
வளாலி-

507. ல் எழுபறை யரை: புதுவாய்வளால்: புலியன் முதை: சிறுகொல்ம-
ற்றம்: கண்ணனுடு: கமுகின்-

508. புறையாற்றுவாழ்க்கையால் முப்பது பறை தெங்ஙாய்க்கும் புளிக்கும்:
செலை: மாஞ்ஞன-

509. வடுவ முப்பது பறை: நென்மலி ஐம்பது பறை: நென்மலி இறை இட-
ங்கழி-

510. யால் அறுபதிஞ்ழி: திருச்சொர்ப்பத்தொடிமெல் நால்ப்பதிஞ்ழி:
துழத்-

511. துறைத்தெவரொடிமெல் நால்ப்பதிஞ்ழி: மாணிக்கமங்ஙலத்தவனுடை
நென்ம-

512. லிமெல் அறுபதிஞ்ழி: இவ்விறை கண்ணனுட்டி னுபாயத்தூக்கு:
கொதைகண்ணூர்-

513. காடு எழுபத்தைஞ்சினு பாட்டம்: மாடமண் தெவஞ் செந்த னமைச்ச
பூமி நாயித்தி-

Thirty-sixth Plate: Second Side.

514. கரி ஐம்பதின்கலம்: குமான்படுவத்தில் ஒன்றரையொடி: கொரகை-
பாலும்படும்:

515. புளிகை நம்புநாரண னமைச்ச பூமி கடித்தானத்து கொணத்து கொள-
கம் எழுபத்தைம்ப-

516. றைக்கு பாட்டம்: ஒருப்புறக்காட்டவரளுழுகின்ற ஒரொடியில் மூ-
ன்ஞென்று கட்டைக்-

517. கால்வெலி இரண்டு[மா]ய்ப் பதினம்பறைக்கு பாட்டம்[॥*] சாத்திர-
ர்க் கட்டியூணினு மூ-

518. லையில் நாயித்தியா ரமைச்சிது: சென்னித்தலை நெட்டொடியுங் தெவர்-
வெலி-

519. யுமாய் அறுபதினு பாட்டம்: இதினுபாயத்தூக்கு[॥*] முத்தூற்று
தூப்படுவத்தில் வ-

520. ளசராவெலி: கண்டன்கரி நூற்றிருபது பறை: வடைசெரி நிலகண்டன்
யக்கராவன் அதர்-

521. ச்சயிள்த் திருவமிர்தினுக் கமைச்ச பூமி இழிஞ்ஞினத்து கடாவெலி
நால்ப்-

522. பது பறைக்கு பாட்டம்: வெண்பாலைவய விளவாணெழுக்கம் இடங்க-
ழியால் நூற்று நா-

Thirty-seventh Plate: First Side.

523. ழிக்கு பாட்டம்: இடையாடி எழுபத்தைங்கலமும் மூன்றொன்று மெ-
லொடி கொள்விது [॥*]

524. வெண்பாலைவயலிள் வடைச்செரிப்புறாய் இடங்கழியால் நூற்றுநாழி-
க்கு பாட்டம்: ப-

525. றப்பின்மெல் பந்திருகலம்: கிளிமானூர் நால்க்கலம்: கொட்டுதலை நா-
ல்க்கலம்: பள்ளிப்பு-

526. றத்து தெவர்துடவையா லிரட்டைத் தூணியால் இருதூணி: அவரா-
ணிமங்ஙலத்தால் நால்க்கலம்

527. கரைப்புரையிடமும் பள்ளொப்பள்ளி கொட்டறை கூட: அயொக-
மன்னூர் பாட்டப் பொன்னினால் செ-

528. லுத்தும் வித்து அறுநூற்றெண்பறை யரை[।*] அசொகமன்னூரால்
வைக்கும்பொன் முப்பத்து மு-

529. க்கழைஞ்ஞு பண்டாரத்தில் வைப்பிது: விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து கிருட்டந்
தெவன்

530. றன்னுடைய காட்டூர்ப் புரையிடத்தின்மெல்த் திருமடைப்பள்ளி நாழி-
யால் ஐம்பதி-

531. னாழிச் செய்தரி ஆவணியொணத்தினால்க் கொண்டுவந்து கொடுக்ககட-
வன் திருவல்லவாழப்பனு:

Thirty-seventh Plate: Second Side.

532. ஸ்வ மெடத்துள் வியாழந் நின்ற கற்கடகஞாயிற்று திருத்துவாதயிக்க-
ணத்தா ரவிரொதத்தால்க்

533. கூடி முக்காலவட்டத் திருந்நெடத்து வைச்சு முஞ்ஞிநாடுடைய இரா-
மங் கொதவர்ம்மன் தன-

534. க்கொள்ள வாளகமுட்டம் கரையும் வயலுங் கூடத் திருவெண்ணைச்
செலவாக ரக்ஷாஹொமடி பதி-

535. னாழிப் பறையால் இருநூறுபறை நெல் ரக்ஷிச்சு கொள்ளவுங் கொடு-
க்கவுங் கடவியர் வைய்யாவி-

536. ச்சொதிநாள்க் கொடுப்பிது[॥*] இடையிடர் செரிக்கலில்த் தியன செ-
ய்கில்த் திருவெ-

537. ண்ணைத் தடம் தண்டம்: ஸ்வ கன்னியில் வியாழந் நின்ற தனுஞாயிற்று
முஞ்ஞினாடுடைய இ-

538. ராமன்ம் மாதெவி தன்னுடைய இஞ்சைத்துருத்தியுங் குழிக்காடு பூமி-
யு மாளுங் கூட-

539. த்திருவல்லவாழப்பனு கிழிடு பண்ணியா ளிதில் எப்பெர்ப்பட்டது மி-
வள்க்கு-

540. ள்ளதின்மெல் நானாழியரித் திருவமிர்து செல்விது[।*] எம்பெரும-
க்கள்க்கும் பொது-

Thirty-eighth Plate: First Side.

541. வாண்மமார்க்குமா யிடங்கழியால் நூற்றுநாழி நெல்க் கொடுப்பிது [1*] காக்கை இரவமு-

542. ள்ப்படப் பண்ணிது: ஸ்ரீ முஞ்சிமாராயர் பெருகூர்த் துச்சிலம் பண்ணி-யதினு திருவ-

543. ல்லவாழப்பனு தண்டம் பட்ட வடதலை வாழ்க்கையாகின்ற பூமி திரு-வமிர்தினுள்ளிது [11*]

544. ஸ்ரீ கொயிற்புறத்து செந்நங் குமரனும் மருமக்களுங் கூடித் தெங்ங-வெலிக்கொணத்-

545. து தங்ஙள் பூமிமெல் இருபத்து நாஞழி அக்காரடலை அமைச்சான்: ப-கைவிருத்திக் கும-

546. ரனியக்க னமைச்ச பூமி உள்நாடரிடைக்காடு கூட வாளகத்தி னடுத்த வெழநிலையால்க் கொள்-

547. ளும் வித்து அறுபத்திரு பறை: போளிக்கரை ஐயன் கொதவர்ம்மன் சிறுகடுப்பாகின்ற பூ-

548. மி இருநூற்றுக்கலத்தின் மெல்ப் பதினழிப் பறையால்த் தொண்ணூ று பறை வித்து திரு-

549. வளகையி லளவு கொடுக்க கடவியன்: புஞ்சைப்படகாரத்து நாராயண னிருடிகெசவன் ஒரு கலந்

Thirty-eighth Plate: Second Side.

550. திருவக்கிரமமைச்சா னிதின்னு பூமி விளாமுடக்கினுள் மண்ணூரொடி-யிள் நூற்றுக்கலத்-

551. தில் ஐஞ்சிரண்டும் அமைச்சான்: பணிச்சவிருத்தி நாலாயிரக்கலத்தில் நாலொன்று கொவி-

552. ந்ந னச்சுதனும் மருமக்களுங் கூடி அட்டிக் கொடுத்தார் திருவல்லவாழ-ப்பனுக்கு: ப-

553. ணிச்சவிருத்தியிலெ கண்ணேயாரழியமாகின்ற புரையிடம் அட்டித் த-ன்னன் பள்ளிவி-

554. ருத்தித் தாமொதிரங் கொதை: வாய்ப்பாட்டு காட்டு நிலத்து புரையி-டத்தெல் விலக்கினிம-

555. ங்ஙலத்தடிக ளமைச்ச தெங்ஙாய் அறுபது செய்து ஆட்டும்: வன்றலை-செரிக் கொதை இரவி

556. அமைச்ச திருவிளக்குந் திருவமிர்தினும் முஞ்ஞினட் டிளங்கூறுடைய குன்றன்

557. னிராமன்றன் கொடுத்த பூமி காக்கையூராகின்ற செரிக்கல் நானூற்று-க்கல நிலமும் காராண்மைச் செ-

558. ய்தும் பொதுவாண்மைச் செய்துந் நின்று ஞ்ழற்ப்பள்ளி நாராயணன் திரிசம்பகன் செலுத்-

Thirty-ninth Plate: First Side.

559. திச்சுகொள்ளக் கடவியன்: கொதைமங்ஙலத்து கரையாலும் வயலா-
560. லுங் திருப்புளி முப்பலம்
தெங்ஙாய் மூன்றுங் திருப்பள்ளிக்குறிப்பினு இரண்டரைக்காணம் பொ-
561. ன்: சிறையகத்து
வளாலுங் தறையுஞ் சிரிபலிக்கு கைவிளக்கினுங் திருவடைக்காயமிர்-
562. தினு மொள்ளிது:
ஷ மற்றத்தில்ப் பரமெச்சுவரஞ் சொமன் தன்னுடைய சிறைக்கரைப்-
563. புரையிடங் திருவல்ல-
வாழப்பனு அட்டிக் கொடுத்தான் திருப்பள்ளித் தாமத்தினுப் இம்மு-
564. க்கால்வட்டத் தெழுங்-
கருளியிருக்கும் பழாரதிருவடிமார் அருளிச்செய் தொருத்தர் செலு-
565. த்துவிது: இதின்-
மெல் ஈக்ஷாஹொமழி மெல்ச்சாந்தி [1]எம்மெருமக்க ளிருவர்க்கும் ஓரொ
566. தெங்ங கொள்விது [॥*] வெ-
ண்பலநாட்டு பண்டாரியார்க்கு காவல்விருத்தி எண்ணுழியால் ஐம்பறை
567. நெல் கூட மற்றந்தரு-
க என்று சொல்லிய பொன்னினு[ல்*] இது கொடுத்திது[॥*] இதின்-
மெல் மும்மூன்று மாலை நியதி[॥*]

Thirty-ninth Plate: Second Side.

568. ஷ திருவல்லவாழப்பனை ஆராதிக்கும் [1]எம்மெருமக்கள்க்கு இளந்துரு-
569. த்திக்கரியி லிரு-
பத்தையம்பறை: இழிஞ்ஞினத்து பதினுழியால் நூறு பறை: இழிஞ்ஞி-
570. னத்து செற்றி-
ன்மெல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினுழியால் ஐம்பது பறை: கொயில்க்க-
571. ரிக் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினுழி-
யா லிருநூறு பறை: பணிச்சவிருத்திக் கொள்ளுந் நெல் ஒன்பதினு-
572. ழித்தூணியால்க் கணத்தாரொடு
ஒக்க இரண்டு படகாரங் கொள்விது: தெங்ஙாய் நூறு: கவழ்ச்சை-
573. யில்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் பதினுழி-
யா லிருநூறு பறை: பூரக்கணத்தாரொடியும் பொத்தங்ஙனூர்கரியும்
574. மூன்றெறுன்றுகரியும் பாதிக்கிற்-
றுமாய்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் எண்ணுழியால் நூறுபறை: ஆனைமற்றத்தி-
575. ல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் எழுபத்தைம்ப-
றை: சூரல்முதைக் கொள்ளுந் நெல் ஐம்பது பறை: பொத்தனெங்ங-
576. ல்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் இருபத்தைம்பறை: கு-
ளக்காட்டு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நூறு பறை: பருத்திக்காட்டு கொள்ளுந்
நெல் பந்திருபறையும்: கிழச்சேரி-

1 Read எம்பெருமக்க.

Fortieth Plate: First Side.

577. த் தாயம் விக்கிரமனிடைக் கண்ணனுடாகின்ற பூமிமெ லிருபது பறை: பூதிகொட்டவனி-

578. டை காட்டுசொடிமெல்ப் பதினேம்பறை அய்யனுடாகின்ற பூமிமெல்ப் பொன்வெலி

579. தருந் நெல் இருபத்தைம்பறை: மண்டிலக்களமாகின்ற பூமிமெல் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: வைகு-

580. ந்தபுரத்து பந்திருபறையரை: கல்வெலியாகின்ற பூமிமெல் எண்பறை: குறியில்முட்டத்-

581. து இருபறை: மண்டபத்து புரையிடத்தெல்ப் பந்திருபறையரை: குருக்கண்ணர் மற்றத்தி லிருபு-

582. த்தைம்பறை: கன்றுநிலைக்குளங்ஙரை இரவிநல்லூர் புரையிடத்தெ லிடங்கழியால் ஐம்ப-

583. திஞழி: தாழங்ஙலாகின்ற பூமிமெல் மூப்பதுபறை: சங்ஙரமங்ஙலத்து நடுவத்து

584. வாதுதெவன் பந்திருபறையரை: எழுமூளையாகின்ற பூமிமெல் விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து

585. பட்டச்சொமாயியார் பந்திருபறையரை: புழைக்கரைமற்றத்திலவர்-[க*]ள்முப்பறை: செண்பகவெலி-

Fortieth Plate: Second Side.

586. ச் சங்கரன் பந்திருபறையரை: நரசிங்ஙமங்ஙலத்து பந்திருபறையரை: நன்புரைக் கயிலாயத்த-

587. வர்[க*] ளிருபறை: மற்றத்தில் வயிரவாவனன் புரையிடத்தெல் ஐம்பறை: வஞ்சிக்காலாகின்ற பூ-

588. மிமெல் அறுபறை உழக்கு: குறண்டியொடியாகின்ற பூமிமெல் ஐம்பறை: குளக்-

589. காட்டுதறைமெல் பந்திருபறையரை: மங்ஙலப்படுவமாகின்ற பூமிமெல்ப் பதினேம்-

590. பறை: அய்யனுட் டிடைச்செரியவர்[க*]ளிடை பதின்பறை: மெற்செரிச் செந்நன் அறுப-

591. றை உழக்கு: கயிலாயத்தவர்[க*] ளிருபறை: தெவர்பள்ளித் தாமொதிரன் பந்திருபறையரை: இட்டி-

592. யமண்ணுகின்ற பூமிமெல் மூன்றொன்று மெலொடி: மூளமனை புரையிடத்தெல் அறுபறை உ-

593. ழக்கு: கொயிற்புறத்து புரையிடத்தெலப் பதினறுபறை: எண்ணைவாணியர் புரையிடத்தெ லூ-

594. ரகத்தில் எண்பறை: பள்ளத்தவர்[க*]ள் அறுபறை உழக்கு: புன்னைச்செரி இரஞ்ஞகற்பன் ஒரு

Forty-second Plate: First Side.

595. திருபறை: காபாலிமங்ஙலத்து முந்நூற்று நாழி: செதிங்ஙமங்ஙலத்து இருபத்தை-

596. ம்பறை: பள்ளத்து அறுபறை உழக்கு: மூன்று தறையிலும் கிழக்கி-ன்றறைக்கு மென்ம-

597. னைப் பறையால் முப்பது பறைச்சை நெல்க் கொடுப்போன் பெண-ங்ஙாட்டு குமரன் செந்நன்: குளக்-

598. காட்டில்ப் படிஞ்ஞாயிற்று தறை காராண்மைகொண்டு ஆலஞ்செரி வா-துதெவன் மெல்ச்சாந்-

599. திக் கிருபறை உழக்கு: இரவிநல்லூர்ப் புஞ்சைவயலில்த் தூயொடியா-கின்ற பூமி-

600. யும் தலையாற்று புஞ்சைவயலில் ஊகுற்றியார் காட்டில்த் தனக்கொ-ள்ளது மிரண்டு பூமியும்

601. அட்டிக்குடுத்தான் கிழ்ச்சாந்திகள்க்கு மகழஞ்செரித் தெவம் விக்கிர-மன் நால்ப்ப-

602. து பறைச்சை நெல்ப் போராக்கி லிட்டுக்கொடுக்க கடவியன்: குன்ற-த்தூர்க் கெயவ நாராயணன் தனக்-

603. கொள்ள கொச்சாப்புறத்து தறைமெல் முப்பறை நாழியால்ப் பாதி மெல்ச்சாந்திக்கு: குன்றத்தூ-

Forty-second Plate: Second Side.

604. ர்க் கெசவ நாராயணன்தான் குடி இருக்கின்ற புரையிடத்தெ லிடங்க-ழியால்ப் பதினாழியில்-

605. ப்பாதி மெல்ச்சாந்திக்கு: விலக்கிலிமங்ஙலத்து கிருட்டந் தெவன் ற-ன்னுடை கண்-

606. ணன்கரியாகின்ற பூமிமெல் ஐம்பறைச் செய்து மெல்ச்சாந்திக்கு: ஸ்வ சிரிபலி-

607. க்கு கொட்டும் உவச்சகள் திருநாள்க் கணத்தினொள்ள பூமியாவொ வ-ஞ்சிக்கால் ஒருதுடை இ-

608. ருநூற்றிருபத் தைம்பறை ஒருதுடை இருநூறு பறை: தொடு இரு-பத்தைம்பறை: களிறு நூற்று-

609. நாழி: அறப்புறம் ஒன்பதினாழித் தூணியால் நால்ப்பத்தைந் தூணி: தட்டழிப்புற-

610. ம் எழுபத்தைம்பறை: கண்ணன்கரி நூறுபறை: கமுகுடையான்வெலி நூற்றுநாழி: தும்பைமண-

611. ல் நால்ப்பது பறை: பறையன்வளால் முப்பது பறை: கருந்தாழை-முதை இரண்டொடியும் இருபத்-

612. தைம்பறை: குறுமாப்பள்ளி நிராட்டுப்பள்ளிக் கொள்ள பூமி ஆலக்கா-ல்ப் புனம் இருநூற்றைம்ப-

Forty-third Plate: First Side.

613. துபறை: கல்லூர்ப்புனம் நூற்றைம்பது பறை: தத்தையார் தறை இ-
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614. புறத்தாறுமாய் இருபத்தைம்பறை: பரூல்க் கிழொடி இருபத்தைம்-
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615. சிறிய ஆலக்கால்ப்புனம் செறிய புனத்தில்க் கொட்டுமவ[ர்*]கள்க்கு
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616. திரைக் கணத்தினுள்ள பூமி அய்யப்பனு பணிக்கு சிவிதம் வெழக்காடு
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617. ரூல் சங்கரார்காடு மணிமுழாங்ஙாட்டு நாலு புரையிடத்தெல்க் கொள்-
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618. யன் வெலியும்: உத்திராடக்கணத்தினுள்ள பூமி புதுக்கரி இளவரியார்
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619. : காவதியார் புரூய்: தள்ளிப்பரூல்: வரகுபரூல்: நிராட்டுபள்ளிக்கு
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620. ம் இட்டியைமண் அங்ஙையார்மண் புரையிடமும்: செம்புவெலி: நர-
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621. ழி: கலங்ஙல்வெலி: திருவொணக்கணத்தினு கொட்டிகள்க்கு இடை-
க்கரி: கரும்பு: நா-

Forty-third Plate: Second Side.

622. லுவெலி: குயக்குழி: வூ மினச்சையில்த் திருவல்லவாழ்ப்பனு ஒள்ள
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623. ரையிடமும் கொட்டகாரப்பழைஞ்ஞி கொளக்குடிவளால் மடத்தின்
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624. ணறைச்சால்: மணலி: சூட்டறை: பாதரிக்கால்வெலி: குளக்கிழ்ச்சை:
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625. மூங்ஙைத்துடவை: மடத்தடித்துடவை: நாற்றடி: கொயில்க்காடு:
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1 Figures refer to pages; and 'n' after a figure to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations are used:—

ch. = *chief*; *co.* = *country*; *di.* = *district* or *division*; *do.* = *ditto*; *dy.* = *dynasty*; *E.* = *Eastern*; *f.* = *female*; *k.* = *king*; *m.* = *male*; *mo.* = *mountains*; *myth.* = *mythical*; *ri.* = *river*; *s. a.* = *same as*; *sur.* = *surname*; *te.* = *temple*; *vi.* = *village* or *town*; *w.* = *western*.

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BY

The Late Mr. T. A. GOPINATHA RAO M. A.
Archaeological Superintendent, Travancore State.

with

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BY

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„ 13, Text-line 2,—*For* "[ ] *read* "" and alter the note (2) thus:—"Read . The first letter of this word is entered below the line; the *i* sign which is engraved almost on the top of properly belongs to ".

Addenda and Corrigenda.

Page—1, paragraph 2, line 3,—*For* "Purvābhādra" *read* "Pūrvabhādra."

,, 2, ,, 2, 7,—In "maṇakkoḷavēṇḍun", alter the final *n* into *m*.

,, 3, ,, 1, 10,—*For* "kalāttil" *read* kalattil.

,, 6, foot-note 1, line 1.—*For* "Śuvaaṇ" *read* "Śuvaran".

,, 8, paragraph 1, line 9,—*For* "Pūrvāshāḍha" *read* Pūrvabhādra-pada."

,, 9, ,, 2, line-last but 1,—*For* "Śaṅkarī (the daughter) of the Kāvadi Kaṇṇaṇ" *read* "the accountant (*kāvadi*) Kaṇṇaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ."

,, 10, First Sanskrit quotation,—*For* "शेखरान्धम्" *read* "शेखरान्ध्यम्".

,, ,, Second Sanskrit quotation,—*For* "विरचनेन" *read* "विरचने"; and *for* "सहितास्त्रिनाव्य *read* सहितस्स त्रिनाव्य".

,, ,, item 2,—Rājaśēkhara is said to have been of the Chōhan family (Chāhamāna-kula). This is against the statement of the poet Rājaśēkhara according to which it was his wife that belonged to that family.

,, 12, Sanskrit quotation,—*For* "मुदन्वन्यवृषाकिण्मान्यदस्य°" *read* "मदन्वदन्वय-वृषा किंचान्यदस्य".

,, 13, Text-line 2,—*For* "[தி] தகி" *read* "சாடிக" and alter the note (2) thus:—"Read சாடிக்கு. The first letter of this word is entered below the line; the *i* sign which is engraved almost on the top of கு properly belongs to ட".

,, ,, Text-line 4,—*For* "முட்டிப்பார்" *read* "பணிமுட்டிப் பார்".

The phrase "உரிய்க்கொளி ஆணழி நெல்" has been taken to mean "paddy as measured by and made up to four *nāḻis*" correcting "ஆணழி" into "நாணழி" (see foot-note 3). The proper way of separating the phrase is "உரிய்க்கொளி ஆல் and நாழிநெல்" which means "(one) *nāḻi* of paddy (as measured) by (the measure) holding *uri*".

The meaning of "மெய்வேற்றுவகையால்" is omitted in the translation supply "by each person".

,, ,, ,, 6,—In "கஇலாதமுடையானற்கு குடுக்க" delete the first கு as it is not in the plate facing page 12.

[Kayilādamuḍaiyāṇ is the name of the donor and not that of a shrine as rendered in the translation and *āl* is the insurumental termination which by the rules of *sandhi* is altered into *āṟ*.]

Page 14, Translation of lines 5—6, subline 4 f,—*Instead of* "to (the god in the shrine named?) Kailāsa" *substitute* "by (the person named) Kayilāsamuḍaiyāṉ"; and *for* "Kāñjik-kā" *read* "Kāñjikkāvu."

,, 16, line 16,—After the word "end" insert the closing bracket).

,, 18, text-line 3,—*For* "தெவாசுர[மது]கை தரித்தி" *read* "தெவாசுரப்பகை தீர்த்தி" and add the note "*For* தீர்த்தி *read* தீர்த்து."

,, 19, ,, 5,—*For* "தளி" *read* தருளி; and *for* "கைத்தமாதுரிமைச்" *read* கைத்தனதுரிமைச்."

,, 20, ,, 23 end,—*For* "நாயகம்" *read* "நாயக[ம்*] மி."

,, 24 beginning,—*For* "மலி" *read* "ழலி".

,, 25,—*For* "(கி)முகவெட்டி" *read* "கீ[ழ்*]முகவெட்டி".

,, 27,—*Insert* "ன்" of "ருளாளன்" in straight brackets with star; *for* "வழுதிக்கோன் ெ... ... ...ட்டின்" *read* "வழுதிக்கோனரேட்டின்".

Translation, line 1,—*Add* "Hail! Prosperity !" at the commencement.

,, 2,—*For* "[fought in the battle] between the *dēvas* and *asuras*" *read* "removed the enimity of the *dēvas* and *asuras*".

,, 21, line 12,—*For* "in the Malai-nāḍu" *read* Miḻalai-kūṟṟam".

,, 13,—*Add* "Kīḻ-" *before* "mugaveṭṭi" at the commencement of this line.

,, 24, line 3, Translation of lines 9-13, sub-line 3,—*For* "Gōvinnan" *read* "to the king".

,, 26, Title Heading.—*For* "No." *read* Ko."

,, 34, text-line 2,—Delete the "ை" in "தபையும்".

,, 35, line 4,—*Insert* a bracket before "parishad".

,, 14,—*Insert* a bracket before "pūjāris".

,, 36, text-line 2,—*Remove* the punctuation make placed before "ஊராளரும்" and *insert* it after the word "பரடையாரும்".

,, 3,—*For* "நந்தா" *read* "நந்(த)தா"; and *for* "பாதியுமப்பியை" *read* "பாதியு மப்பப்பியை".

,, 4,—*For* "இத்தினு முள்ளது" *read* "இத்தனைக்கு முள்ளது".

,, 5,—*For* "அகினல்" *read* "அதனில்"; and *for* "கொடுக்கப் பெருரவராக்" *read* "கொடுக்கப்பட்டோரவராக".

,, 6,—*Alter* the "சே" in "பங்கிரு கழஞ்சே" *into* "ஞே".

,, 37, line 1,—*For* "பாடுதாங்கிமவரையு மவருமி" *read* "பாடுதாங்கிப் பறையு மவரு மித்".

text-line 7,—*For* "முட்டிமவர்" *read* "முட்டிக்குமவர்" and *add* the following note:—"The letters "க்கு" are engraved

below the line and in the place where they ought to be inserted there is a + mark (See plate facing p. 36). The translation has also to be altered suitably.

Page 39, text-line 1,—*For* "நிரவன்ம்ம" *read* "நிரவிவன்ம்ம".

,, 2,—Fill up the gap orcurring before "கழைஞ்" by the syllables "அஞ்ஞூற்று அய்ங்" and *for* "[ஞ்ஞிகால்ப்ப]" *read* "ஞு மாத்துப் பொன் கொண்டி. ம".

,, 3,—*For* "மே" at the commencement of this line *read* "பையூர்"; and *for* "[க]ரியும்" read "[க*]ரியும்".

,, 4,—*For* "பல[முக்க]யும்" *read* "ப்பொமுக்கயும்" and *for* "மக்கள்[பல]ருளும்" *read* "மக்களதுவருளும்".

,, 6,—*For* "பாதி திருவமிர்து" *read* "பாதியும் திருவமிர்து". *For* "சிரிவயிண்ண[வ]ர்க்கு[ம்] கு[டு*]த்து" *read* "சிரிவயிண்ணவர் கொண்டு பகுத்து".

,, 7,—*For* "அமைச்சேன்" *read* "அமைச்சோர்" and fill up the gap after "பள்ளி" by the syllables "புறத்து இரவி".

,, 41, ,, 3,—*For* "ஆயட்ட" *read* "ஆட்ட".

5,—*For* "ஞ்செய்[வ?]து [॥*]" *read* "ஞ்செய்து" and *for* "முட்டிய *read* ஆட்டிய".

,, 42, item 7(*d*),—*For* "of the Nāgava(?)rēri (*illam*)" *read* "of Nāgappalli and Iravi Kōdai of Kuḷikkātāy".

,, 7(*e*),—*For* "Iravi Rāman" *read* "Iravi Kumaran"; *delete* "Iravi Kōdai of Kuḷikkāl"; *remove* the words "of Śerumaṟṟappuḷai" after "Ayyan" and *insert* them after "Kōdai Kēraḷaṉ"; and omit the sentence "The epigraph gives the names of four persons as having ordered the writer to prepare the document but says 'being ordered by these three'".

,, 43, text-line 3, subline 2,—*For* "இந்நெல்" *read* "இந்நெய்".

,, 5,—*For* "ஏற.....வக்குமி[லை] [॥*]" *read* "ஏத்துவிக்கும்".

,, 4, sub-line 1,—*For* "வாணநாரே" *read* "வாண்நாள்"; *for* "உ[டே]ரபாடனும்" *read* "உள்பாடனும்"; *for* "பெருமுத்தவனங்" *read* "பெருமுதியனங்"; and *for* "யிருந்து" *read* "யிருந்து";

,, 4, subline 2,—*For* "இப்பரியதியுஞ்" *read* "இப்பரி அதியுஞ்";

,, 4, subline 4,—*For* "[நகவ]ரேரி" *read* "நாகப்பள்ளி".

,, 4, ,, 7,—*For* "முன்னிருந்து" *read* "முள்ளிருந்து' and *remove* the punctuation marks from sub-lines 3, 4 and 5 and *insert* only one after "குழிக்காலா யிரவி கோதையும்".

[With these corrections, it will be seen (vide also amended translation against p. 45) that only *three* persons ordered the execution of the deed as expressly stated in the inscription and not *four* as has been taken (See p. 42, 7 (ϵ) last line-now deleted and foot-note (1) on p. 44) also now deleted.]

Page 44, line 1,—In place of this line, *read* "Thus known to Śuvaraṉ Tuppaṉ of Maṉṟam".

" " " 3,—*For* "Nagavarēri" *read* 'Nāgappaḷḷi" and after "Knows" *add* "Iravi Kōdai of Kuḷikkālāy knows".

" " " 4,—*Delete* "Iravi Kōdai of Kuḷikkālāy".

" " Introduction to I,—*For* "thirty-sixth year opposite the second" *read* "thirty-first year opposite the second" as in the text and plate; *Delete* the words "at the end of the solar month Ṛishabha", for the reading "இடபங்கழிவில்" is a clear mistake for "இடங்கழியால்"; and *for* "Śōraveḷḷūr" *read* "Veḷḷūr" as the syllables "மேல்காட்டிச் சோரவெள்ளூரிரவி" have to be separated into "மேல்காட்டிச்சோர்+வெள்ளூர்+இரவி" (see corrections to text given below.)

" " text-line 2,—*For* "இடபங்கழிவில்" *read* "இடங்கழியால்".

" " 5,—*For* "மேல்காட்டிச் சோரவெள்ளூ" *read* "மேல் காட்டிச்சோர் வெள்ளூ".

" " Translation of I,—*For* "thirty-two" *read* "thirty-one".

" " foot-note (1),—*Delete* this note.

" 45, line 6,—*For* "Śōraveḷḷūr" *read* "Veḷḷūr".

" " 7,—*After* "Nārāyaṇaṉ" *add* "of Kuḷamaṅgalam".

" 46, text-line 1, sub-line 3,—*For* "இருந்து" *read* "இருந்து".

" 47, " 1,—*For* "நாற்பத் ... ..." *read* "நாற்பத்தைஞ்ஞாமா".

" " 2,—*For* "ம[லெயு]ங்" *read* "வயலுங்".

" " 3,—*For* "இடங்கழி நால் நாழி வுரி" *read* "இடங்கழியால் நாழியுரி:" and fill up the first set of dots by the word "பூத" and the second set of dots by "ந".

" " 4,—*For* "[ம்] ... ... த[யி றி] ன் ளை இரண்டு[வுரி]" *read* சதயத்தின்ளுள் இரண்டு அ".

" 48, line 3 end,—Between "from" and "Kuṉṟa" *add* "Gōvindaṉ".

" " 4,—*For* "hills" *read* "fields".

" " 11,—*For* "tiruvilagiḍudal" *read* "tiruvalagiḍudal".

" " 11 f,—*Delete* "one *iḍaṅgaḻi*";

" " 12,—After the word "salt" *add* "as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*".

" " 12 & 13,—*For* "leaves, fuel and words are also to be supplied for the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas" *substitute*

" ; for *bhūta-bali*, one *nāḻi*, together with leaves and firewood required for it, (shall be supplied) on the day of Śadaiyam; two .....".

Page 49, Text-line 1,—Sub-line 3,—*For* "[க]ற்று[ஞ]த்த(?)... ... ...வ[ர]ளும் பூமிங்ஙம்(?)" *read* "ஆளும் பூமி மேலும் கற்றுருத்தி".

" " " Sub-line 5:—*For* "தெவ[து]ன் பாடன்" *read* "தெவருள் பாடனு[ம்*]".

" " " 6,—*For* "பெருமுதியன்" *read* பெருமுதியனு[ம்*].

" " " 7,—*For* "பதவாரம்மாக்க[ஞ][ம்*]" *read* "பதவாரம்மாக்கி".

[Leaving off the author's conception of the events of the period discussed in pages 55 to 57, the following few corrections are made].

" 55, Line 33,—Pratāparudra is not "the Kākatīya Rudrāmbā" but is her grandson *i e*, the son of Mummaḍāmbā, the daughter of Rudrāmbā.

" Foot-note (1),—The alternative king suggested in this note flourished a century earlier.

" 56, Paragraph 3,—line 6 beginning,—*For* "Kākatīya Pratāparudra Gaṇapati" *read* "Kākatīya king Gaṇapati". Pratāparudra was the great grandson of Gaṇapati.

" 57, Paragraph 1,—line last but 2,—*For* Rudrāmbā (queen of Gaṇapati who had then evidently taken up the regency after her husband's death)" *read* "Rudrāmbā (the daughter of Gaṇapati who had become the ruler of the Kākatīya dominion after her father's death)".

" 59, Text-line 22,—*For* "श्री[मद्ध]" *read* "श्रीमद्दविव"—

" 62, Line 7,—Delete "śri" in "svasti śri".

" 65, f,—[Much of what is written under the word "maḍiṇāyaṇ" becomes unnecessary for the plate clearly reads "மதிநாயகன்"—not மதினையன்—(see plate II *a* facing p. 66, line marked 17).

" 67, Text-line 4,—*For* [ப]ணி. [க.....யும்]" *read* [மணிக்கிராமமும் ன]" and note "The syllables are written over an erasure".

" " 8,—*For* "ருமொரு" *read* "[ரு]ம்மொரு"

68, " 11,—*For* "பெற்றுடையன்" *read* "பெற்றுடையன".

" " 17,—*For* "பெருந்" *read* "பெரு[வ*]ந"; and *for* "மதினையனும்" *read* "மதினையகனும்".

" " 18,—*For* "தரீஸா" *read* "தரிஸா".

" " Translation line 1,—At the beginning of this line *add* "Hail !".

Page 72, [வார்த்தைத் தொழிலோர் has been rendered into "those engaged in words, "poets(?)". As *vārttā* means "cultivation, tending cattle or trade", it would be more appropriate to take "vārttai-ttoḻilōr" to mean "those who are engaged in the work of cultivation, tending cattle or trade" and such a translation, it may be noted, would suit well for a synonym of a "*Veḷḷāḷa*" (cultivator)".

„ 74, *For* "Nāchchan" *read* "Āchchaṉ".

„ 76, Paragraph 3,—"Pūṅgāviṉuḷ" is a misreading for "Paṉaiṅgāviṉuḷ" (See plate facing page 235 of *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. line 3).

„ .. Text-line 1,—*For* "பரவின" *read* "பாவின" (See plate facing p. 225 of *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III).

„ 77, [Translation given on this page is not quite accurate. For a correct translation see p. 221 f of *South Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. III. It may, however, be noted that in the passage "தொண்டைநாடு பாவின சோழன் பல்யானைக் கோக்கண்டனாயின ராஜகேஸரிவர்மனாலுஞ் சேரமான் கோத்தாணு இரவியாலும்", though at first sight it looks as if the two epithets preceding ஆயின *viz.* தொண்டைநாடு பாவின சோழன் and பல்யானைக் கோக்கண்டன் seem to refer both to Rājakēsari Varman which follows them immediately after, it will be more correct to view that ஆயின is used in the distributive sense and that the two epithets qualify respectively "Rājakēsarivarman" and "Śēramān Sthāṇu Ravi". When expanded, the passage would stand thus :—

தொண்டைநாடு பாவின சோழனாயின ராஜகேஸரிவர்மனாலும் பல்யானைக் கோக்கண்டனாயின சேரமான் கோத்தாணு இரவியாலும்.

In this connection, it is worth remembering that Kōkkaṇḍaṉ or Kaṇḍaṉ occurs as the name or tittle of some early Chēra kings *e. g.* Kōkkaṇḍaṉ Vīra-Nārāyaṇa and Kōkkaṇḍaṉ Ravi (Nos. 147 and 148 of Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910), that the Sanskṛit equivalent of Kōkkaṇḍaṉ *i. e.* king Kaṇṭha actually figures in the Nāmakkal plates as the name of two Chēra kings (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-6, p. 74), and that Kōkkaṇḍaṉ, Kaṇḍaṉ or Kaṇṭha has never been found in inscriptions applied to any Chōḷa king. The adjunct "Palyāṉai" is used with another early sovereign of the Śaṅgam period "Palyānai-Śelkeḻu-Kuṭṭuvaṉ. The above facts lead to the inevitable conclusion that (i) தொண்டைநாடு பாவின is an epithet of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman Âditya I a fact which is consistent with what

is recorded of him in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, that (ii) Palyāṇai Kōkkaṇḍaṇ is an epithet of the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi and that (iii) ஆயின has to be taken to mean "respectively called".]

Page 80, Text-line 6,—After "வி" at the end of this line *add* "யாகண".

" " " 7,—Delete the syllables "யாசண(த்)" occuring at the beginning of this line.

" " " 9,—*For* "காரளும்" *read* "காரும்" and *for* "தலேப்" *read* "தலேய்".

" 81, " 16,—Note "above the letter "ஓ" of "ஓள்ள", there is entered by way of interlineation, a symbol which may be taken for 2".

" " " 16 and 23,—*For* "செலவு பத்திரம்" *read* "செப்பு பத்திரம்".

" " " 25,—*For* "இவள்க்கு" *read* "இவகள்க்கு" and *for* "ருள்பட" *read* "ருள்ப்பட".

" 82, " 32,—*For* "உல்கு(கூ)ட்டுஞ்" *read* "உல்குபடுஞ்" and *for* "இவைகளேகூட" *read* "இவைகளேக்கூட".

" " " 33,—*Insert* "இ" at the end of this line.

" " " 34,—*Delete* "இ" at the beginning of this line.

" " " 46,—*For* "அன்னியாம" *read* "அன்னியாய" and *for* "அன்ஞாயாயங்" *read* "அன்ஞாயங்".

" " " 49,—*For* "செய்வதே" *read* "செய்வதெய்".

" " " 50,—*For* "மூன்னம்" *read* "முன்னம்".

" " " 53,—*For* "உலகுஞ்சஞ்திரா" *read* "உலகுஞ்(ஞ)சந்திரா".

" 85, " 1,—*For* "இவ்வாண்டு" *read* "அவ்வாண்டு".

" 86, Translation line 1 end,—Correct "this" into "that".

" 111, Line-last but 5, commencement :—*Alter* 'for' into "from".

" 116, Sanskrit text line 3,—*For* 'तुरङ्ग' *read* 'तरङ्ग'.

" 126, II line 2,—*For* "நெடும்பறை" *read* "நெடும்புறை".

" " III line 2,—*For* "சட்டன்" *read* "டன்".

" 128, Line-last but 6,—*Delete* "*alias*".

" " " 5,— Do.

" 138, Line 10,—*For* "Karaṇāgamma" *read* "Kāraṇāgama".

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொளகெசரிப்பெ[ப]ருமா[ள்] . . . . . [கூடி] விச்ச் . . . . . யும் வெ . . . . . னறயு மிவற்றின்னுள்ள வய லுங்கரையுங் கூட வாழ்ந்து நின்று ஆட்டு மிடங்க-

2. ழியா[ல்] இருநூற்று ஒருபத்து நாற்[க]லந் நெல் கொடுக்கக் க[ட] . . . . . [॥*] . . . இருபதின் கலமு காராளன் [முன்] கொ [ண்]டு மற்று நூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்று நாற்கலந் நெல்லு ம[ள]க்கு மிடங்கழியால் நாழி பொக்கு[க்*]கு-

3. [முள்]ள[து] கொட்டகாரத்தில் வ ல் பணி[யா]விது . . . . . [॥*] [இந்நெ]ல் [பெ]காண்டு செல்லுஞ் செலவாவொ [॥*] திருவமர் தின்னு அரி அறுநாழி [।*] [பூ]தபலிக்கு இருநாழி [।*] ஒழுக்கவி க்கு நாழி [।*] சாந்திக்கு

4. இருநாழி [॥*] பள்ளித்தாமத்தின்னு நாழி [।*] [தி]ரு[வ]க்கிர மறுநாழி . . . . . நாழி [।*] அக்கிரமடுவான்னு இருநாழி இலையும் விறகுமிடு வான்னு இருநாழி [।*] அரிகுத்துமவன்னு[ம்*] எச்சிலடிப்பா னு[ம்*]

5. நாழி [।*] அக்கிரத்தின்னு[ம்*] பயற்றின்னு[ம்*] இருநாழி [।*] உள்பாட ன்னுநாநாழியுங்கூட [।*] நியதம் முந்நாழியால் நாற்பத்தெழு நா ழி அரி செல்விது [॥*] திருவமிர்தினு நெய்யாழக்கு திருவிளக்கின்னு

6. நெய் யுரி அக்கிரத்தின்னு நெய் யுரி சந்தனம் படாரர்க்கும் பிராமணர்க் கு[ம்*] பத்து காணம் குக்கில் திருப்புகைக்கு இருகழஞ்சும் தெங் கை நாலு புளி நாற்பலம் உப்பு இருநாழி சர்க்கரை உரி

7. வெற்றிலை முப்பத்தாறு அடைக்காய் பந்திரண்டு நூறு [।*] பெருமுதிய ன்மார்க்கு பத்து காணம் ஆராதிக்குமவன்னு பத்துகாணம் விறகிடு வான்னு பத்துகாணம் அரிகுத்துவானும் எச்சிலடிப்பானுந் தளி-

8. கை ஆயுவானு மஞ்சு காணம் அக்கிரமடுவானும் பத்து காணம் [॥*] நியி த மிவை எல்லாம் [॥*] இச்செலவு முட்டாமைச் செலு[த்]தக் கட வர் அதிகாரிகள் [॥*] முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி செலு[த்]தக் கடவர் [॥*] அஞ்சு நா-

9. ள் அடுத்து முட்டுகில் படாரர்க்கு பந்திருகழைஞ்சு பொன் [1]றண்டமு [ம்*] பட்டு முட்டிரட்டியொடு செலவுஞ் செலுத்தக் கடவர் அதிகா ரிகள் [॥*] இச்செலவின்னுடல்ப் பொருமாறு பூமி கொண்டப் பொண்[2] விடக்கடவர் தெ-

10. . . . . [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Kēraḷakēsaripperumāḷ . . . . together . . . . . pertaining to these . . . . .

Two hundred and fourteen *kalam* of paddy as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* shall be brought annually and given. After taking to himself twenty *kalam* of paddy, the *kārāḷaṉ* shall . . . . . the balance of one hundred and ninety four *kalam*

1 The letter ட is shaped like ண.

2 பொண் is evidently a mistake for பொன்.

of paddy as measured by *iḍaṅgaḷi* together with what is required for wastage at (one) *nāḻi* as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḷi* . . . . . for services in the palace (*koṭṭagāram*). The expenses to be met from this (*quantity of*) paddy are:—

six *nāḻi* of rice for sacred offerings; two *nāḻi* for *bhūtabali*; (*one*) *nāḻi* for *oḻukkavi*; two *nāḻi* for worship; (*one*) *nāḻi* for garlands; six *nāḻi* for sacred feeding; *nāḻi* for . . . . . ; two *nāḻi* for the person that cooks the *agram*; two *nāḻi* for the person that supplies leaves and firewood; (*one*) *nāḻi* (*each*) for the persons that husk paddy and remove the refuse; two *nāḻi* for green pulse (*required*) for the *agram*; four *nāḻi* to the *uḻppāḍaṉ*— (*thus*) in all forty-seven *nāḻi* of rice as measured by the *munnānāḻi* shall be expended daily. (*One*) *āḻakku* of ghee for the sacred offering; (*one*) *uri* of ghee for the *agram*, ten *kāṇam* of sandal (paste) for the god and the Brāhmaṇas; two *kaḻañju* of *kukkil* for the sacred incense; four cocoanuts; four *palam* of tamarind; two *nāḻi* of salt; (*one*) *uri* of sugar; thirty-six betel-leaves; twelve areca-nuts; and lime; ten *kāṇam* for the *perumudiyaṇs*; ten *kāṇam* for the person who performs worship; ten *kāṇam* for the person that supplies firewood; five *kāṇam* (*each*) for the persons who husk paddy, who remove the refuse, and who assort the *taḻigai*; and ten *kāṇam* for the person who cooks *agram*. All these (*shall be expended*) daily. The *adhikāris* shall pay for all these expenses. In cases of default, double the quantity (*at default*) shall be paid. If default is made for five consecutive days, the *adhikāris* shall, after undergoing a fine of twelve *kaḻañju* to the god (*Bhaṭāra*), pay for the expenses in addition to the fine of double the defaulted amount. The . . . . . and the *poduvāḷ* shall, after receiving land whose yield is equal in amount to what is required for these expenses return the gold.

No. 47.—An inscription of Tirukkakkarai.

This inscription is engraved on the outside of the south base of the *śuṟṟumaṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. It registers the gift of the *rakshābhōga* on the village of Taḻuvaṇkuṉṟam to the temple, while the officer Aḍigaḷ Māḻuvakkōṉār was present along with the Six-hundred. The donor was a lady. A certain Māḻuvakkōṉ, whose other name was Kaṇḍaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kīḻumalai is mentioned in the Tiruvalla plates[1] (lines 349—360) as the ruler of Neḍumbalā-nāḍu. The plates also mention the body of Six-hundred.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] மிதுனத்தில் வியாழங் நின்ற சிங்ஙஞாயிற்று அடிகள் மாளுவக்கொனுர் உள்ளிருந்[து] ஆறுநூற்றுவரும் கூடியிருந்[து] . . . . . தா மொதிரனெழுவரடியாள் த[ழு]வன்
2. குன்றத்தினு [யி]றக்காபொகமாய் திருக்காற்கரைத் தெவர்க் கிருநாழியரித் திருவமிர் தமைச்சாள் [॥*] யிவ்வூரு உள்க்குடி ரக்கிச்சுக் குடுத்து கொள்ளக் கடவிய[ர்] தெவர் பொதுவாள்ம்மார் [॥*]

2 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 192.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Simha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Mithuna, Aḍigaḷ Māḷuvakkōṉ and the Six Hundred having met together ... ...

Dāmōdaraṉ Eḷuvaraḍiyāḷ assigned *rakshābhōga* on Taḷuvaṉkuṉṟam to the temple of Tirukkākkarai-Dēvar for a sacred offering of two *nāḻi* of rice. The *poduvāḷmar* of the temple were bound to protect the tenants of this village and to obtain (*the rakshābhōga*).

No. 48.—Tirumulikkalam inscription of Indu Kodai: Regnal year 5 + 1.

The following inscription is engraved on the east base (outside) of the śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa (*i. e.* covered maṇḍapa) of the Vishṇu temple at Mūḻikkuḷam which is one of the ancient Vaishṇava centres of pilgrimage on the west coast. The record is left unfinished but is dated in the year opposite to the fifth (*i. e.* the sixth year of reign) of king Indu Kōdai. It relates to certain arrangements made regarding the conduct of business connected with the temple of Tirumūḻikkaḷattu-Appaṉ *i. e.* the God of Tirumūḻikkaḷam; and states (i) that sacred offerings shall be made before twenty-five feet (time) of day (=7. 18 A. M.); (ii) the rice required for sacred offering shall be measured out and given before the five feet (time) of day (=9. 36 A. M.) in the *Śrī-maṇḍapa* and in the presence of the person who performs worship in the temple; (iii) the sacred offering shall be made before noon (iv) for the sacred evening offering, the required quantity of rice shall be measured out at twenty feet (time) afternoon (=4. 24 P. M.); (v) this offering shall be prepared before evening and (vi) for the night offering also the quantity of rice required shall be given before evening. Here it may be noted that item (i) probably relates to the morning twilight offering and that the rice required to be supplied in item (ii) is with reference to the noon offering.

As regards the date of the inscription it may be said that it belongs to the latter half of the 10th century A. D. The grounds for this conclusion are fully set forth in the introduction to No. 35, above, which is also one belonging to the same king.

Among the peculiarities of the language, the following are worthy of note:—

For *pariśāvadu* the record uses the form *pariyāvadu*. *Sa* is generally changed into *ta* and sometimes into *ya i. e. g. Śuppaṉ* becomes *Tuppaṉ*, *sannadi* becomes *tannadi*, *samañjitaṉ* becomes *tamañjitaṉ*, *santadi* becomes *tantadi* and *tannadi*, *pūśam* changes to *pūyam*, and *māśi* into *māyi*, as noted in the previous numbers.

In line 3, *ari* is used for *arisi* dropping the final letter. *Vaittu* has assumed the form *vaichchu* (1. 3). Similar instances of the change of *ta* into *cha* are *Ādichchaṉ, amaichcha, kēḷppichchu, adigarichchu* etc. *Tiriññu* (1. 5) comes from *tirindu* after undergoing the change *tiriñju*. In *uttamāgrattiṉu* (1. 5) and *tiruvamirdiṉu* (1. 7), the dative termination *ku* is replaced by *u*; compare *avaṉṉu, adiṉṉu* etc. *Āvadu* assumes the form *āvidu* (1. 4); *viḍuppadu* is changed into *viḍuppidu* and *kaḍavar* into *kaḍaviyar*. These peculiarities are general to the inscriptions of the west coast.

The derivation of *andi* is of interest. Its original form is *sandhi* which, losing the initial *s*, becomes *andi*. Similar instances are to be noticed in the words *Āvaṇi* and *ōṇam* which are both derived from *śrāvaṇa; ēṇi* from *śrēṇi; āvaṇam* from *śrāvaṇa; aviṭṭam* from *śraviṣṭha, āyiram* from *sahasra*. Further examples are: —

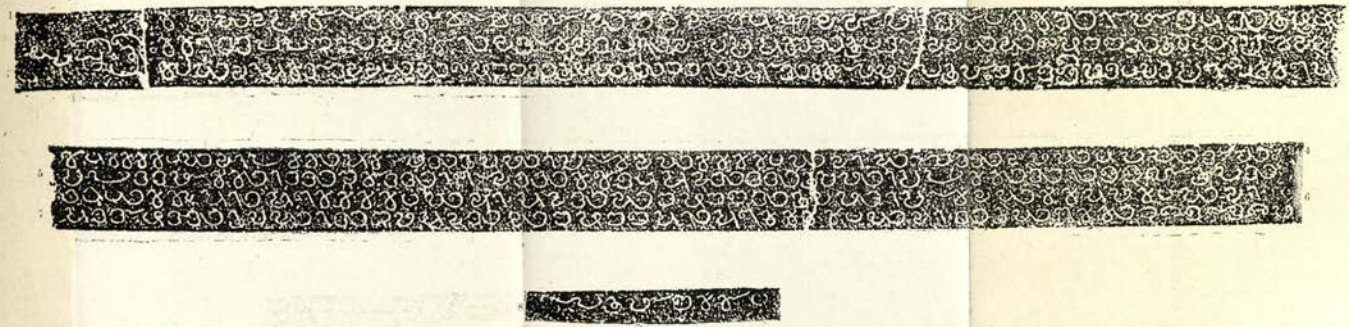
Stuti = *tudi; sthāna* = *tāṇam; sthala* = *talam; sthalī* = *taḷi; āślēsha* = *āyilya; āshāḍhi* = *āḍi; śamaṇa* = *amaṇa*.

Emberumāṉ is a term generally used to denote the god and it means 'our Lord' but in the sense of 'persons who perform worship in temples', it is very often met with in the west coast epigraphs. Similarly, the derivation of the word *attāḷam* as indicating night is also one worthy of note. It may be a compound of *agattu* + *āḷa* 'the sun sinking inside' or *ahas* (*agas*) + *tāḷa* = the day (or the sun) falling. While in this compound the sun's setting is taken to denote the time *i. e.* night, there is another word which denotes the direction of the sun's setting *i. e.* west; this word is *paḍiñāṟu*, which may be split up into *paḍu* and *ñāyiṟu i. e.* the setting of the Sun.

The phrases *irupatt-aiyy-aḍiyiṉ-muṉṉai, aiy-aḍiyiṉ-munnai* and *irubaḍiṟṟaiy-aḍiyiṉ-muṉṉai*, show the ancient practice of measuring time by the length of a man's shadow. The practice continues in some parts even at present and the measurement is made in the following manner. If before noon, add six to the number of feet in the shadow and divide hundred by the total: the quotient indicates the time after sun-rise in term of *nāḷigai*. If after noon, add as before six to the number of feet in the shadow and divide hundred by the same: the remainder obtained by subtracting the quotient from 30, gives the time after sunrise in terms of *nāḷigai*. Since $2\frac{1}{2}$ *nāḷigai*=1 hour, it is easy to convert the *nāḷigai* into hours, minutes etc.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொ ஸ்ரீ விந்து கொதைக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு ஐய்
யாமாண்டைக் கெதிராமாண்டு திருமுழி-
2. க்களத்தப்பனுடைய ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்த பரியாவது [॥*] அகத்திருபத்
தைய்யடியில் முன்னெ திருவமிர்து செய்யக்-
3. கடவியர் [॥*] அகத்தைய்யடியில் முன்னெ திருவமிர்தின் னரி ஆராதிக்
கு மெம்பெருமான் காண ஸ்ரீமண்டபத்துள்வைச் சளவு
4. கொடுக்கக் கடவியர் [॥*] உச்சி அகமெ திருவமிர்து செய்விக்கக் கடவி
யர் [॥*] நிவெத்தியம் விடுப் பிதாவி-



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. Scale: One-fifth.

5. து உத்தமாக்கிரத்தினு சாத்திரை யெற்றிக்கொண்டு [॥*] அந்தித் திரு
வமிர்து உச்சிதிரிஞ்ஞு இருபதி-

6. ற்றடிக்கு அரி அளக்ககடவி[ய]ர் [॥] அந்தியின் முன்னை திருவமிர்து செ
ய்விக்கவும் கடவியர் [॥]

7. அத்தாழத் திருவமிர்தினும் அந்தியின் முன்னை அரி அளக்கக் கடவியர்
[॥] திருவிளக்கின் எண்ணை எம்-

8. பெருமானைக் காட... ... ... [1]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite to the fifth of the year which was current in the reign of king Indu Kōdai, the following arrangement was made regarding the sacred business of the god (*Appaṇ*) of Tirumūḷikkaḷam:—

The sacred offering shall be made before the twenty-five feet (time) of day. Before five feet (time) of day the rice (required) for the sacred offering shall be brought to the *śrīmaṇḍapa* and measured out and given in the presence of the person who performs worship (in the temple). The offering shall be made (to the god) before (the sun is right) over head. The *naivēdya* (*i. e.* the rice offered to the god) shall be let out (*i. e.* spent) for feeding sumptuously the students (śāttirar). The rice required for the sacred evening offering shall be measured at twenty feet (time) after noon. Before the evening twilight, the sacred offering shall be made. And for the sacred night (*attāḷam*) offering also, rice shall be measured before twilight. The oil (required) for sacred lamps . . . . . the person who performs worship.

No. 49.—An inscription from the Bhagavati temple at Kumaranallur.

This important inscription is engraved on the north wall of the *nālambalam* of the Bhagavatī temple at Kumāranallūr, a village in the Ettimanur taluk of the Kottayam Division, Travancore State. It records certain regulations made in respect of criminal offences such as meddling with the constitution of the assembly of *ūrār*, unlawful entry into privates and communal properties, employing abusive language and causing hurt or death. It prohibits the *ūrār* from increasing the members of the assembly or dispersing them, from stopping the expenses of temples, from entering on communal lands on the banks of tanks, from trespassing on the premises of houses, compounds and lands, from intimidating the tenants or ejecting them unlawfully. The penalty imposed for the commission of such prohibited actions is expulsion from the *sthānam*, the assembly (*paraḍai*) and the judiciary (*aṟam* which stands for the *dharmāsana*). It lays down that the *ūrār* should report the yield of every harvest to the temple authorities and that on occasions of festivals all should meet. Further, it records that if a Śūdra talked contemptuously of a Brāhmaṇa he should be liable to pay a fine of 12 *kāṇam* of

1 The record is incomplete.

gold; and if he hit him with an arrow, he should be liable to pay a fine of double the amount *i. e.* 24 *kāṇam* of gold; and that if a Śūdra abused another Śūdra, he should pay a fine of 6 *kaḻañju* of gold; and that if he caused his death, he should be fined double the amount *i. e.* 12 *kaḻañju* of gold. The amount realised by these fines should go to the temple of the goddess (Bhaṭāriyār). It is said that the *ūrāḻar i. e.* the officers of State should not interfere when fines are being realised from persons who have entered on the villages of Veṇbōli-nāḍu and caused good or bad to the people. From the houses of persons who have transgressed the regulations laid down in this inscription, *bhikshā* should not be taken. This means that such persons should suffer social ostracism. These persons, it is said, should further be regarded as coming under the class of persons who have offended the good men belonging to the *oḻukkavi* of Mūḻikkuḻam and be liable to the payment of a fine of 100 *kaḻanju* of gold to the king (Perumāṇadigal). If the fines were made in favour of the goddess, the inscription would have used the term Bhaṭāriyār as in line 11.

Turvāyagam is the Tamiḻised form of *durvāchakam.* It would correspond to *apavāda*[1] of Yājñavalkya and Manu's *avachanīya-vāda*[2]. It is worthy of note that according to Kauṭilya, if the persons abused happen to be of superior rank, the amount of fines should be doubled; and if of lower rank, it should be halved.[3] Yājñavalkya[4] has

प्रातिलोम्यापवादेषु द्विगुणात्रिगुणा दमाः ।
वर्णानामानुलोम्येन तस्मादर्धार्धहानितः ॥

It may not be incorrect to take *durvāyagam-paṟaigil* (l. 9) as a synonym of *kuṟaikkil* (l. 10); and *śarattaṇdam* (l. 9f) as an equivalent of *kolgil* (l. 11). According to some authorities, a *kāṇam* is equal to the weight of 3 *kaḻañju*; and according to some epigraphs, it appears that it is of lesser weight than *kaḻañju.*[6] *Aṟam* is the Tamiḻ for *dharma* and it stands in the inscription for *dharmāsana* or *aṟaṅkūravai* which, as explained in the *Śilappadigāram* and its commentary by Āḍiyārkunallār is the court where judges assemble, hear cases, discuss law and render out justice. Inscriptions sometimes state that the fines imposed on offenders should be paid in the court of justice. Compare

இதுக்கு விரோயஞ் செய்தாரை யஞ்ஞாதநத்தெ இருபத்தைஞ்
கழைஞ்சு பொன் மன்றவொட்டி குடுத்தொம்

Uttaramallūr.

இதற்றிறம்பில் யஞ்ஞாவஹநத்து நிசதி பன்னிருகாணம் தண்டம்

Tiruvoṟṟiyūr inscriptions.

1 Vyavahārādhyāya, v. 207.

2 Ch. VIII. v. 262.

3 *Arthaśāstra*, Ch. XVIII. p. 244.

4 According to the latter authority, if a Śūdra (*ēkajāti*) commits the above-said offence against any one of the twice-born classes, he shall have his tongue cut off (Ch. VIII. v. 270).

5 See Dr. Gundert's Malayalam Dictionary under *kāṇam.*

6 Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. II. p. 46.

As in this inscription, which states that persons who transgress the law should not get a seat in the *sthāna*, *paraḍai* (*i. e. parishad*) and *aṟam*, that is they shall not be eligible to become a member of the *sthānam*, the assembly or the judiciary, a record of Bhāskara Ravivarman also lays down a similar penalty.[1]

We have now to give short notes on some of the terms that occur in this inscription.

Mukkālvaṭṭam; This is a term used in the early epigraphs of the Malabar country to denote temples, which in ancient times were circular in shape and made of stone. The temple should have been called by the term *mukkālvaṭṭam* by the fact of its being covered to the extent of three-fourths of a circle, the other quarter remaining open to serve as entrance.

Padiṉaṟumār; As the name indicates, this must refer to a committee or body of sixteen persons. The adjunct *mukkālvaṭṭatu* which precedes it shows that that body was connected with the temple, perhaps in the capacity of managers or supervisors of its property. It is not unlikely that they formed the *sthānam* or were the *sthānattār*.

Aganāḷigai; This term refers to the central shrine or *garbhagṛiha*; and it corresponds to *uṉṉāḷigai* of other inscriptions; *agam* and *uḷ* convey the same idea, '*i. e.* within, inner', and *nāḷigai* denotes a shrine.

Vevvēṟṟuvagai; This occurs also in the form *meyvēṟṟuvagai* or *veyvēṟṟuvagai*. *Mey*, whose variant is *vey*, means 'body, person or individual'; and hence the term means 'individually or separately'.

Iḍaiyīḍu; This term occurs in the Māmbaḷḷi plates of Śrīvallabhangōdai in two places viz. "*Ayirūr mukkālvaṭṭamum paṭṭāragarkkuḷḷa iḍaiyīḍum*" (11. 11f and 17f); and the passage under reference is only a reproduction of the phrase "*Ayirūr mukkālvaṭṭam paṭṭāragarkkoḷḷa pūmiyum*" mentioned in line 6, with which it agrees in sense. As such, *iḍaiyīḍu* must stand for the land, which was obtained by the donor *i. e.* Umaiyammai from the king and given to the temple of Ayirūr. Therefore, it will be correct to say that *iḍaiyīḍu* is the term employed to denote a land, the ownership of which had been transferred from the State to another. And the person, who obtained gift of such lands, would be called an *iḍaiyīḍan*. Doubt may arise as to whether a land that was granted by the king to another (for instance Umaiyammai in the Māmbaḷḷi plates) was called *iḍaiyīḍu* while it was under her possession or whether it should be called *iḍaiyīḍu* only when it was transferred a second time to a third party (in this case the temple of Ayirūr). The question is answered in the inscription itself in favour of the first alternative when it says that "neither the *ūrāḷar* nor the *iḍaiyīḍar* could enter on the land, eject (the tenants) and receive incomes or dues". Here *ūrāḷar* stands for the officers acting on behalf of the king who had, previous to the grant, the right to do all that are now expressly prohibited; and *iḍaiyīḍar* stands for the

1 Ibid.

persons acting on behalf of the first donee (*i. e.* Umaiyammai) who must have also had similar powers when the land was in her possession. Thus, it is plain that *iḍaiyīḍar* cannot refer to the persons acting on behalf of the temple, for, to them the prohibitions cannot apply, being made in their favour. It has been suggested that "a piece of land, placed under the management of a person, was called *kīḻīḍu* with reference to that person and that if this person sublet it to a third party, the person subletting was the *iḍaiyīḍaṉ i. e.* he was the middleman between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant". If, as here contended, the land was called a *kīḻīḍu* when it was transferred for the first time to Umayammai and became an *iḍaiyīḍu* only when she sublet it to the temple, it will be completely offending to the sense of the inscription; for it is expressly stated that the land, after it was obtained from king Śrīvallabhangōdai and granted to the temple of Ayirūr, was placed under the manegement of the *poduvāḻ* as a *kīḻīḍu* of the temple of Tiruchchenġuṉṟūr. It is clear from this that the term *kiḻīḍu* was applied to the land only at the time of the third transfer. In the subjoined inscription, *illaṅgaḻuḍaiya kiḻīḍu* must refer to the lands granted by the king in favour of the *illams*.

The inscription is not dated in any era, but the year is marked as one in which Jupiter was in Kanni. The palæography of the record shows that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the 13th century A. D.

Among the peculiarities of language may be mentioned the use of the case termination *il* for *ul* in such words as *illāttavariḻ* (l. 17) *piḻaichchōriḻ* (l. 15) *iḍattiḻ* (l. 6); the double plural in *avagaḻmār* (l. 11) and the plural form *patiṇaṟumār* for *patiṇaṟuvar*. "*Irukūṟu paṟaiya*" (l. 13) is probably an equivalent of "*iraṇḍu śolla*" "to contradict, to act or say against". The derivation of *adarañjey* is not clear: it seems to be used in the sense of 'obstructing'. *Vāyagam* stands for *vāchakam* "utterance"; and "*koyttu*" means "crop or harvest".

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கன்னியுள் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு குமாரநல்லூர் ஊ[ர க]ள் முக்கால்வட்டத்து கூடி அவிரொதத்-
2. தால் செத[1] கச்சமாவது [।*] முக்கால்வட்டத்து வைச்சு கூட்டவும் கலய் க்கமும்[2] [செ]லவும் பெறூர் [॥*] முக்கால்-
3. வட்டத்துப் பதினறுமா[ர்]வசத்தும்[3] சென்று கொய்த்தாலொள்ளது சொல்லிக்கொள்ளக் கடவியர் [॥*] ஊரார் அகநாழிகை-
4. ச் செலவு விலக்கவும் பெறூர் [॥*] காயத்தானத்தாலொடு ஒற்றைப்படிச் செயிடைய் மெற்படியூர்ச்[4] சிறை-
5. யிடைய் ம[னி]வெளியகத்து சென்று அதரஞ்செயப் பெறூர் [॥*] வெவ் வெற்று வகையால வரும் விர-
6. [த]த்தினுக்கு எல்லாருஞ் செல்லக் கடவியர் [॥*] புரையிடத்தில்ச்[5] சென்று அதரஞ்செய்யுமவகளும்

1 Read செய்த.

2 Read கலிக்கவும்.

3 ம் is entered below the line.

4 மேற்படி is expressed by a symbol.

5 Read புரையிடத்துள்.

7. [ஞா]யமில்லாத[1] புமி[2] விலக்குமவ[ர்க*]ளும் அவ[ர்*]கள்க்கு அணுபந்
தஞ்செய்யுமவ[ர்*]களும் தா-
8. னமும் பரடையும் அறமும் பெறூர் [॥*] ஊர்க் கிடையிடுங் கெடுவிது [॥*]
ஊரகத்துக் குடியிருக்குஞ் சூ-
9. த்திரர் பிராமணரைய் தூர்வ்வாயகம் பறைகில்ப் பந்திரண்டு காணம் பொ
ன் குடுப்பிது [॥*] சர-
10. த்தண்டஞ் செய்கில் இருபத்து நாலு காணம் பொன் குடுப்பிது [॥*] சூ
த்திரன் சூத்திரனைக் குறைக்கில் அ-
11. று கழைஞ்சு பொன் குடுப்பிது [॥*] கொல்கில் பந்தரு[3] கழைஞ்சு பொன்
குடுப்பிது [॥*] இப்பொன் படாரியா-
12. ர் கொள்விது [॥*] வெணபொலிநாடு வாழுமவ[ர்*]கள்மாரிடம் ஊரகத்து
சென்றெருரு நன்று திங்கு செய்கில் தெ-
13. [ண்]டங் கொள்ளும் பொழுது ஊராளர் இரு[கூ]று பறையப் பெறூர்
[॥*] இக்கச்சம் பிழைப்பிச்சவ ரில்ல-
14. த்து பிச்சைபுகப் பெறூர் [॥*] இக்கச்சம் பிழைச்சவர் முழிக்களத் தொ
ழுக்கவிச்ச[ர]-
15. ன்றூரை பிழைச்சொரிள்ப்[4] படுவிது [॥*] இக்கச்சம் பிழைச்சவரும் பி
ழைச்சவர்க் கணுபந்தஞ்-
16. செய்யுமவ[ர்*]களும் வெவ்வெற்றுவகையால்ப் பெருமானடிகள்க்கு நூ
ற்றுக் கழைஞ்சு செய்து
17. பொன் தண்டம் குடுக்க கடவியர் [॥*] ஊராண்மையில்லாத்த[வ]ரிள்[5]
[6]இக்கச்சம் பிழைப்பொர் யில்-
18. [ல]ங்களுடைய இடையிடு அகநாழியைச் செலவினை டொக்கும் [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year when Jupiter stood in Kanni, the *ūrār* of Kumāranallūr having assembled in the temple (*mukkālvaṭṭam*) made unanimously the following arrangements:—

(The *ūrār*) shall not be allowed to add[7] (or assemble), disperse[8] or receive payment[9] in the temple. The quantity of (each) harvest should be reported to the temple and 'the sixteen'. The *ūrār* shall not prevent the defraying of the temple (*aganāḷigai*) expenses. Along with the *sthānattār* they shall not enter on the Orraippaadichchey as well as the houses and fields situated near the tank of

1 Read மில்லாது.

2 Read பூமி.

3 Read பந்திரு.

4 Read பிழைச்சோருன்.

5 Read தவருள்.

6 The letters க்க are entered below the line.

7 The subject and object of the verbs கூட்டவும் and கழிக்கவும் are not given; and in their absence it is not possible to know what is exactly meant. If the subject is *ūrār*, கூட்டவும் may be taken to mean to "assemble" or "add to the number of members". But it is difficult to know why the *ūrār* were not allowed to assemble in the temple which was generally the place of their meeting for transacting business.

8 The reading may also be குறைக்கவும் 'to subtract or lessen'.

9 If the reading intended is "*agelavum*" which may be corrected into "*agalvum*" the meaning would be 'to leave (the assembly)'.

the said village and cause obstruction.[1] On the occasion of different festivals, all shall attend. Those who, entering upon gardens attached to houses, cause obstruction, those who, unjustly eject one from his lands, and those who abbet them, shall not be allowed a place in the *sthānam*, in the assembly or the judiciary. Their tenancy rights shall also become void. If the Śūdras living in the village use contemptuous language against the Brāhmaṇas, they shall (*be liable to*) pay (*a fine of*) twelve *kāṇam* of gold. If they commit capital crimes, they shall pay twenty four *kāṇam* of gold. If a Śūdra abuse another Śūdra, he shall pay six *kaḻañju* of gold. If he causes death, he shall pay a fine of twelve *kaḻañju* of gold. The gold (realised by fines) shall be taken by the goddess (Bhaṭāriyār). At the time of realising fines from the inhabitants of Veṇpoli-nāḍu, on occasions when they enter upon the village and cause good or bad, the *ūrāḻar* (*i. e.* the officers) shall not (be allowed to) say anything against (the procedure). *Bhikshā* shall not be taken in the houses of those who transgress this arrangement. Those who act against this arrangement shall be included among such as offend against the good men belonging to the *oḻukkavi* of Mūḻikkaḻam. Those who transgress this arrangement and those who abbet such transgressors, shall individually be bound to pay a fine of (one) hundred *kaḻañju* of pure gold to the god. The *iḍaiyīḍu* pertaining to the *illams* of such of the transgressors of this arrangement who have no *ūrāṇmai* right shall be taken over by the temple (*aganāḻigai*).

No. 50.—An inscription from the Siva temple at Tiruvarruvay.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Taṁiḻ language is engraved on the north base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Śiva temple of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy at Tiruvalla, Quilon division of the Travancore State. The date of the inscription is 'Jupiter in Mithuna, Kumbha month. The palæography of the record shows that it must belong to the 13th century A. D.

It registers a gift of money (*achchu*) for bathing the god of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy with ghee, for feeding and offering and for paying the person who performs worship. Tiruvāṟṟuvāy is a very ancient place and figures in two copper-plate grants viz. one of the time of the Chēra king Rājaśēkhara of about the 9th century A. D. (Vol. II. pp. 8ff) and the other of Mūviḍattumērchēri illam (Vol. II. pp. 85ff) of the time of another Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi of about the last quarter of the 9th century. Both register gifts made in favour of the Śiva temple at Tiruvāṟṟuvāy, a place in the vicinity of Tiruvalla. This place has to be differentiated from Tiruvāṟṟā a temple near Kōṭṭayam. There was a village assembly (sabhā) in it in early days. Iḷamaṇ, one of the places mentioned in the subjoined inscription, figures in the Huzur plates of Tiruvalla, line 366.

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] மிதின வியாழத்தில் கும்பஞாயற்றில்ச் செய்த ஸ்ரீகாரிய மாவிது [॥*] மெச்செரி வெங்கடவன் னடிகள் ந[ம்]பியும்[2]

1 The meaning of this clause is not clear. The translation given is only tentative.

2 The letter ம் is an interlineation.

2. இளமண்ந்[1] தெவநாரா[ய*][ண]னு[ம்*][2] கூடி திருவாற்றுவா[ய்] தி
ருநெயாடுவான் வச்ச அச்சு நால்ப்பத்திருண்டு[3] [॥*] எம்பெருமக்
கள் ளிருவர் [கை]யிலு[ம்*] கொடுத்-

3. த்த[4] அச்சினு பொலிகொண்டு இடங்ஙழியால் முந்நாழி உழக்கு நெயாடு
வு[5] உழக்கனல் பதி-

4. ழி நிவெத்ய[த்*]தினு அரிபுற மிரிநாழி அரி எம்பெருமக்கள்க்கு அறு
வர் ஊட்டுவு[5] [॥*] முட்டுகில் லிரட்டி [॥*] இவச் சிருந்வன்
விழுகாறெடத்து[6] எப்பிச்சு கொடுப்புவரின்றவ[7]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! The following (is) the sacred transaction made in the year when Jupiter was in Mithuna:—

Vēṅgaḍavaṉ Aḍigaḷ-Nambi of Mērchchēri and Dēvaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Iḷamaṉ gave together forty-two *achchu*, for bathing the god of Tiruvāṟṟuvāy with ghee. With the interest accruing from these *achchu*, deposited in the hands of the two persons performing worship in the temple, there (shall be supplied), three *nāḷi* and (one) *uḻakku* of ghee, (as measured) by the *iḍaṅgaḷi*, for the bathing of (the god); ten *nāḷi* of rice, (as measured) by the *uḻakku*, for offering; two *nāḷi* of rice, out of the balance rice, shall be for the persons performing worship; and (with the rest) six persons shall be fed. In (case of) default, double the defaulted amount (shall be given). The person who keeps these *achchu* shall entrust the quantity (of ghee and rice) to the persons who conduct the Vishu (festival).[8]

No. 51.—An inscription of the Vishnu temple at Tirupptisaram.

This unfinished inscription in Tamiḻ characters is engraved on the west base of the second *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tiruppatisāram. Its interest consists in informing us that Viḻiñam was renamed Rājēndraśōḻapaṭṭiṇam and continued to be called by that name at so late a time as the date of the record *viz.* Kollam 304.

Tiruppatisāram is a village in the Tōvāḷai taluk of the Padmanābhapuram division and is famous for its Vishṇu temple which is celebrated in the songs of the Nālāyiraprabandham. The name of the village figures as Tiruppatisāram in the inscription and Tiruvaṇpartśāram in the Vaishṇava scriptures.

1 Cancel ந் after இளமண்.

2 The letter ண் is an interlineation.

3 Read நாற்பத்திரண்டு.

4 For கொடுத்த்த read கொடுத்த.

5 நெய்யாடுவு and ஊட்டுவு are used in the sense of நெய்யாடுவதற்கு and ஊட்டுவதற்கு.

6 Read விழுக்ஷாறிடத்து.

7 There is some error in the incising of the last six letters.

8 It looks as if the expenses are in connection with Vishu celebrations.

Text.

1. கொல்லம் ௩௱௪ மாண்டு திருப்பரிசாரத்து[1] வீற்றிருந்தருளிந எம்பெரு மா[னு]க்கு விழிஞமாந இராஜெந்த்ரசொழபட்டணத்து வியாபாரி னாதன்செட்டி[2]

Translation.

In the Kollam year 304, Nādaṉśeṭṭi, a merchant of Viḻiñam *alias* Rājēndraśōḻapaṭṭiṉam . . . . to the god (*Emberumāṉ*), who was pleased to remain in the temple at Tiruppatisāram.

No. 52.—Rock inscription of Tiruvidaikkodu.

This inscription is engraved on a rock lying to the south of the second *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. The Grantha letters used in it are *Svasti śri Paramēśvara dēvādidēvā* in line 1. The record is not dated in any particular era; it was engraved in the month of Vṛiśchika of the year in which Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika-rāśi. Neither does it mention the reigning king of the day. But judging from the Grantha characters used, it might be assigned to the beginning of the 10th century A. D. It registers a gift of land, made by Ōmāya-nāḍu-kiḻavaṉ *alias* Ūrvēḷāṉ, on behalf of the chief of Ōmaya-ṅāḍu, for sacred lamps and offerings to the temple of Tiruviḍaikkōṭṭu-Mahādēva in Marudattūr. The last mentioned place may be identified with Iḍaimaruvattūr in the Āḷūr Pakuthy of the Eraniel Taluk in which Tiruviḍaikkōḍu is situated.

Ōmāya-nāḍu occurs also in a copper-plate inscription of the Āy chief Karunandaḍakkaṉ.[3]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] பரமெஶ்வர[4] தெ[வா]திதெ[வா][ய*]
2. விரிச்சிகத்தில் வியாழ-
3. நின்ற யாண்டு மிரிச்சிக[5] ஞாயி-
4. ற்று மருத[த்தூ]ர் திரு[விடை]ய்[க்கொ]ட்-
5. [டு மாதெ]வர்[க்*]கு ஓமாயநாட்டரைய[னை]-
6. ச்சார்[த்*]தி ஓமாயநாடுகிழவனாயி-
7. ன ஊர் வெளான் திருநந்தாவி[ளக்]-
8. [கொ]ன்று செல்வதாகவும் நாட்டி[ரு]-

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1 ப்ப is written as a group.

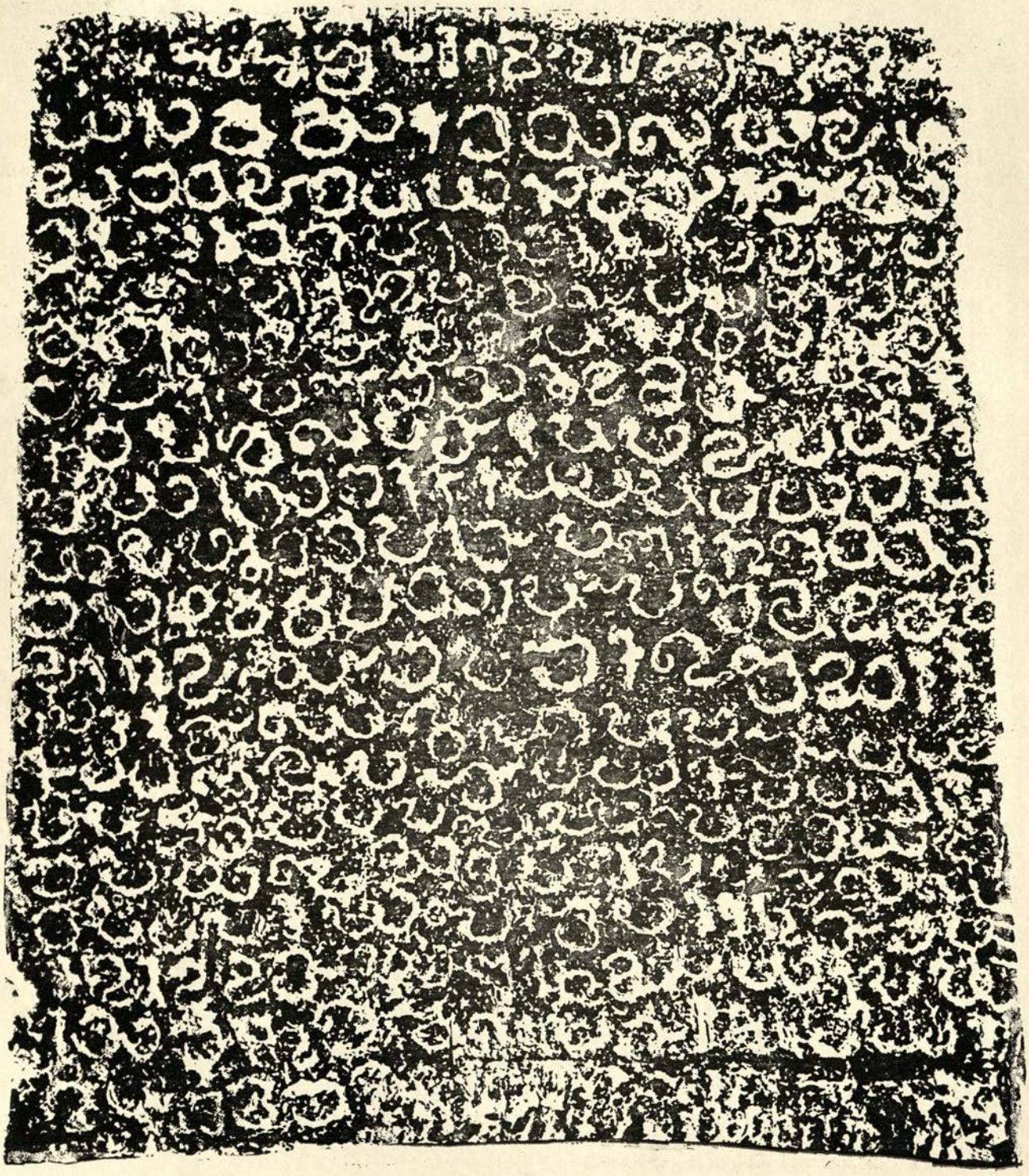
2 The inscription is left unfinished.

3 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I. pp. 5 and 12.

4 After ர there is a symbol which may stand for a punctuation mark.

5 Read விருச்சிக.

No. 52. ROCK INSCRIPTION OF TIRUVIDAIKKODU.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. Scale: One-fifth.

9. வமிர்த்தினக்காகவும்[1] அட்டின பூ-
10. மிய் மருதத்தூர் தாமரைக்குளத்தி-
11. ன்கிழ்ச் சடாதிரப்பெறையு[2] [உ]ச்ச-
12. ய்க்கு நாலொன்று பொக இறை நிக்கி
13. மிக்கதா லிலவாரமும் தொட்டி-
14. கொட்டறையும் தொட்டிகொட்டறை[யு]-
15. ம்[3] வாகைத்துடவலு மிவைய் தடி மூ-
16. ன்று மிவயிற்றுள்படு சல்லி-
17. த்துடவரு[4] மிவை தெவர்க்கு தானமா-
18. க ஒரு நந்தாவிளக்கு நாட்டிருவமி-
19. ர்திணுக்குஞ் செல்வதாக அட்டிக்-
20. குடுத்தன [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! To Paramēśvara the god of gods. In the month of Vṛiśchika of the year in which Jupiter was in Vṛiśhika-rāśi, Ōmayanāḍukiḻavaṉ *alias* Ūrvēḻāṉ, acting on behalf of the lord of Ōmāya-nāḍu, gave for maintaining one sacred lamp and for supplying daily sacred offerings to the temple of Tiruviḍai-kkōṭṭu-Mahādēva at Marudattūr, the land (called) Jaṭādirappeṟai (situated) to the east of Tāmaraikkuḷam in Marudattūr, the balance (of another land),—after deducting from it one fourth (which had been) assigned for (the requirements of) the mid-day (worship),—*viz.* Ilaivāram, Toṭṭikoṭṭarai, Vāgaittuḍaval, together comprising three *taḍi*s (in extent), and Śallittuḍuval included in this (*i. e.* the above said) lands. These lands were given as free gift to the god, for (maintaining) one sacred lamp and for conducting daily sacred offerings.

No. 53—Another rock inscription of Tiruvidaikodu.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a rock on the south side of the second *prākāra* of the Śiva temple at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language; and registers the gift of a piece of land in Kaṭṭimāṅṅōḍu in Kuṇmbūrkāvu of Nāñji-nāḍu, for offerings to the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu. The sowing capacity of the land was twelve *kalam* of seed. The donor was Vīrapāṇḍiya Āṉkuḍivēḻāṉ.

Tiruviḍaikkōḍu and Kaṭṭimāṅkōḍu are villages in the Eraniel Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram division.

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1 Read வமர்தினுக்காகவும்

2 Read பெறையும்.

3 The word தொட்டிக்கொட்டறையும் is repeated twice.

4 Read தடவலு.

5 Read வினக்கினுக்கு.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருவிடைக்கொ-
2. ட்டு மாதெவர்க்கு விரபா-
3. ண்டிய ஆன்குடி வெ-
4. ளான் விட்ட பூமி நாஞ்-
5. சிநாட்டு குண்பூர்க்காவில்
6. கட்டிமாஞ்ஞொடு நிலம்
7. பன்னிருகலம் நித்த நி-
8. ருவமிது நாழி [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Vīrapāṇḍiya-Āṉkuḍivēḷāṉ gave land (having a sowing capacity) of twelve *kalam* (of seed) in Kaṭṭimāññōḍu in Kuṇbūrkāvu of Nāñji-nāḍu, to the (temple of) Mahādēva at Tiruviḍaikkōḍu, for a daily sacred offering of four *nāḻi* of rice.

No. 54.—Inscription of the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai.

Though Tirunandikkarai is a petty village in the Kalkuḷam Taluk of the Padmanabhapuram Division, it contains very early antiquities. It is situated at a distance of 11 miles from Kuḷitturai and is noted for its rock-cut temple dedicated to Śiva and a structural monument also of the same god.

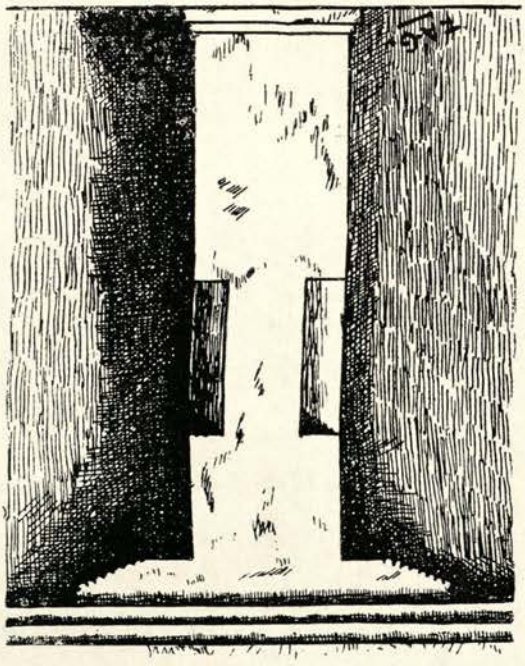
The rock-cut temple is excavated on the southern slope of a hill which lies east-west, walling off the village on the north side. At the western extremity of this cave is a cell facing the east and containing a *Śiva-liṅga* fixed to an *āvaḍai*. In front of it is a hall measuring 18 feet in length and 8 feet 3 inches in width. The cell, which opens into the hall, is slightly raised and has a flight of three steps. The south side of the hall contains a verandah which is somewhat lower in level and measures 19 feet 3 inches in breadth. It has two free pillars in the centre and two half pillars at the ends. While the western pillar is at a distance of 5 feet from the west edge, the eastern pillar is 4 feet 9 inches from the other end, the distance between the two pillars being 4 feet 9 inches. Each of the pillars is divided into three parts; at the base, which is four-sided, it measures 1′ 11″ by 2′ 11″; in the middle, which is hexagonal, each face measures 10½′ by 2′ 2″. A modern brick wall, provided with a door and window, converts the hall, verandah and the cells at the western extremity, into a closed chamber.

There are four inscriptions in all in this rock-cut cave, one on each side of the entrance and one on each side of the free pillars. Of these, the epigraph at the west entrance has been edited already in Volume I, page 292. The other three records are published below.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

SECTIONAL ELEVATION OF THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI



PILLAR IN THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE SIVA TEMPLE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

The structural monument, i. e. the Śiva temple, which is located not many yards to the south of the hill with the cave already noticed, seems to be considerably old, but renewed sometime ago when most of its early inscriptions appear to have vanished. The situation of this temple on the south bank of the Nandi river, almost fully occupying the space between the hill on the one side and the river on the other, with a fine grove of trees stretching to the east and a fresh water tank on the west, besides its solitary nature, adds much to its grandeur. The central shrine is round and adorned with a top belt of Bhūta-gaṇas. There are *dvārapālas* at either entrance and a small shrine of Gaṇēśa at the left side. The temple faces the east, has a detached *maṇḍapa* in front, a spaceous courtyard and a *śuṟṟambalam*. The front *maṇḍapa* has a hollow in its centre within which the Nandi is kept. The ceiling of this *maṇḍapa* is divided into 25 equal square compartments. While the outer 16 squares bear wood carvings of lotus flowers, the central 9 compartments are fitted with wooden images of the Dikpālas and Brahmā. The beams forming the edge of the ceiling contains bead and floral ornamentation, tastefully carved in the same material. The circular wall of the central shrine encloses within it a rectangular sanctum provided with a passage for circumambulation. The images of the *dvārapālas* are not very old. They appear to have been put in at the time of the renovation. A covered passage on the south side of the central shrine leads to the kitchen apartments of the temple.

The oldest stone images at Tirunandikkarai are those of Śiva, Vārāhī and Vaishṇavī, which were unearthed some years ago and kept under the two *aśvattha* trees in front of the temple.

The general view of the rock-cut cave and the temple, the pillars in the cave, as well as the sectional elevation and plan, are given on plates facing pages 200—1.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a pillar of the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai in the Kalkuḷam Taluk of Padmanabhapuram Division, Travancore State. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. The date of the inscription is the year of destruction of the ships at Talaikkuḷam. It has not yet been ascertained when this event occurred; Nor is it known who the aggressor was. But to judge from the characters, the record may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th century A. D. The sharp angular bents of *e* and *pa* (line 10), the almost horizontal bottom stroke of *ṟa* (*ll.* 7 and 11) and the downward *u* stroke of *ṉu* (*l.* 9) clearly point to an early date. It is to be noted that in the inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I found in the same place (see plate facing p. 291 of the *Travancore Archæological Series*), *ka* and its combined consonants are shaped with a loop at the bottom: all the other letters are also similarly highly developed, thus leaving no doubt that the subjoined inscription is very much older. The latter resembles to a great extent the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam epigraph of Māṟaṅjaḍaiyaṉ.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land by the great men of the assembly of Tirunandikkarai, to Nambi-Gaṇapati, for midnight offerings. The assembly met together at Kurundambākkam and the gift-land was constituted into a new village termed Nandimaṅgalam.

Other proper names that occur in the inscription, besides the ones noted already, are Mudukōṉūr, Pākkamaṅgalam and the Nandi river.

Talaikkuḷam is one of the Pakuthies of the Eraniel Taluk. The Tirunandikkarai inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I (A. D. 1003), whose text is given on p. 292 of Vol. I, records the gift of the village of Muṭṭam, with its name altered into Mummuḍiśōḷanallūr, to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Mahādēva and refers to the bathing of the god in the river on the day of Śatabhishaj in the month of Aippaśi.[1] In another inscription, a general of the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya is mentioned in the following words[2]:—

Rājāḍichchadēvar perumbaḍai-nāyakar Malai-nāṭṭu Nandikkarai-Puttūr Veḷḷaṅkumaraṉ.[3]

The Chōḷa general Veḷḷaṅkumaraṉ was a native of Puttūr which was a village in Malai-nāḍu on the bank of the river Nandī.[4] Just as in 'Ariśiṟkarai-Puttūr' (a place celebrated in the Dēvāram hymns, wherein it is said in clear and unmistakable terms that the place was situated on the bank of the river Ariśil), Nandikkarai-Puttūr, of which Veḷḷaṅkumaraṉ was a native, must be taken to denote 'Puttūr on the bank of the river Nandi'. That Nandi, like the Ariśil, was a river is made clear in the description of the boundary of the land granted, where occurs the phrase "*Nandiy-āṟṟukku-vaḍakku*" "*i. e.* to the north of the river Nandi." I am informed that at present there is a village called Puttūr on the Nandi river not very far from Tirupparappu. With this, the native village of the Chōḷa general Veḷḷaṅkumaraṉ has to be identified. Nandimaṅgalam still retains its name unchanged as does Tirunandikkarai. The former is at a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the latter and is on the east bank of the Kōdaiyāṟu river. Mudukōṉūr mentioned in this epigraph, as forming the northern boundary, is now called by the slightly altered name Mudukannūr and lies to the north of the hill with the rock-cut cave. It is at this place that the Nandi river, which takes its rise on the north-east slopes of the Mukaḷiyaḍi hill and flows westwards past the Śiva temple and the cave, joins the Kōdaiyāṟu. Pākkamaṅgalam is the only place that is now no longer in existence.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருநந்திக்க[ரை]
2. பெருமக்களுந் த[ளியா]ள்வாணு-
3. ங் குருந்தம்பா[க்க]த்து கூடி
4. [த]லைக்குளத்துக் கலம-
5. ற்றயாண்டு [ஸ்ரீ] நந்திம-
6. ங்கலமென்று [பெ][ரு*]ம்ஞ்[5]
7. செய்து நம்பி கணபதி-

1 *Travancore Archæological Series* Vol. I. p. 292.
2 Director-General's Annual for 1915, p. 180.
3 This general built of stone the Śiva temple at Mauligrāmam *i. e.* the modern Grāmam in the Tirukoilur Taluk of the South Arcot District.
4 The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao was of opinion that Nandikkarai-Puttūr should not be taken as Puttūr on the bank of the river Nandi. (see. p. 291, Vol. I. of *Travancore Archaeological Series*).
5 Cancel ம்.

8. க்கு குடுத்தொ மிதுக்கு
9. எல்லை யாற்றுக்கு கிழ[க்*]கு முதுகொனூர்[க்*]கு
10. தெற்கு பாக்கமங்கலத்து[க்*]கு மெ[ற்*]கு
11. நந்தியாற்று[க்*]கு வட[க்*]கு இவ்வெல்லை
12. [க்கு எகப்பட்டது]
13. அரை-யாமத்
14. திருவமி[ர்*]து

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The greatmen of Tirunandikkarai and the manager of the temple (taḷiyāḷvaṉ), met together at Kurundambākkam in the year when the ships at Talaikkuḷam were destroyed, conferred the name of Śrī-Nandimangalam (on a certain piece of land) and gave (it) to Nambi Gaṇapati. The boundaries of this are to the east of the river, to the south of Mudukōṉūr, to the west of Pākkamaṅgalam and to the north of the Nandi river. (The lands) lying within these boundaries (are assigned) for midnight sacred offerings.

No. 55.— Inscription in the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai.

This inscription is engraved on a pillar of the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai in the Kalkuḷam Taluk. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. The date of the inscription is not given; but to judge from the characters both of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the Grantha letters, it may be said that it belongs to the latter half of the 8th or the first part of the 9th century A. D. The only Grantha letters used in the inscription are *svasti śrī* (lines 1 and) and *Bhaṭṭāra* (line 2). The shape of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters is quite similar to No. 54.

The object of the inscription is not clearly expressed and is not free from doubt. It may be tentatively assumed that it registers gifts of lands made by Nārāyaṇaṉ Śivākaraṉ, a native of Mangalachchēri, to the shrine of Tiruvallavāḻ-Bhaṭāra and to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭāra, for worship, for wages to drummers, and temple servants, and for *bali* offerings, lamp etc.

Mangalachchēri occurs in line 369 of the Tiruvalla plates.

The proper names of places mentioned in this record are:—

Pāḻaikkōḍu in Kavaiyelmaṅṅa-Maṇṇūr.
Vāḻaikkōḍu and Śūḻikkuṇḍaṟai
Iḍavēli-Eṟumaṇai
Muṭṭukōḍu
Paḍamparai in Pilaiyūr
Kāraikkōḍu in Alaimaṇṟam
Aruvukkarai
Nelvēli
Veṭṭiyūr-maruttai
Perunīr-Neḍuṅgeṉpākkamaṅgalam
Peruman-Iṟṟachchai

Tuvvakkāḍu
Mēṟkinkarai of Muṭṭam
Tenkarai of Iḍai-Araṅgam
Perinūr
Īyāṉamaṅgalam
Mēṟkōḍu
Kōmūr

Of the places mentioned above, Vāḷaikkōḍu may be identified with Vāḷōḍu in Tiruvidāṅkōḍ-Pakuthy, Kāraikkōḍu with a village of that name in Talaikkuḷam and Aramanai Pakuthies. Aruvikkarai is a village in the Kalkuḷam Taluk; and Nelvēli belongs to Naṭṭālam Pakuthy. Mēkkōḍu is a village in the Kalkuḷam Taluk and Muṭṭam is near Talaikkuḷam in the Eraniel Taluk.

Text.

1. [வ்வஹி ஸ்ரீ] [॥*] திருநந்திக்கரை திருவல்ல-
2. [வாழ்] ஶ்ரீரகர்க்கு மங்கலச்செரி நாராயணஞ்
3. சிவாகர[ன் அமைச்]ச பூமி [திருநந்திக்க]-
4. ரை [படார]ர் குடுத்த பூமி[।*][கவ]யெல்ம-
5. [ங்ங மண்ணூ]ர்ப் பாலேகொ டிருகலம்[।*] வாழைக்கொட்-
6. டு பெரறையுந் துடவலும் சூழிக்குண்ட-
7. றைக் கலம் பாடு[।*] மிடவெலி எரும[ன]யான
8. [1]கலம்பாட்டி லுரூவும் மற்றுள்ளது-
9. ம்[।*] முட்டுகொட்டுகுளத்தின்கிழ் கலம் பி-
10. [லே]யூர் படம்பறை யலேமன்றத்து காற-
11. கொட்டு புதுச்செ கலனெ தூணி [।*] அறுவுக்க-
12. [ரை வயலுங்] கரையும் துவ்வக்காட்டாரமாச்செயு
13. வியாலிக் கு[ள]வறை மா-
14. வறை துடவல் [வெ]ட்டி யூ-
15. [ர்]மரு[த்]தை நெல்வெலி ப-
16. றம்பு பெருநிர் நெடி-
17. ங்கண்பாக்கமகல-
18. ம் வயலும் கரையும்
19. பெருமண் ணிற்றிச் செ-
20. யிருகலம்[।*] முட்டத்து-
21. மெற்கின் கரை [யிடை அர]
22. ங்கம் தென்கரையும் பெறி-
23. னூர் பந்நிருகலம் தெ-
24. ன்கரையு [।*] மியானமங்க-
25. ல மிருகலம்[2] [।*] மெற்கொ-
26. ட்டு வரையறை கொமூ-
27. ரொன்பதின் கலம் [॥*]
28. இந்நிலத்திற் சா-
29. ந்திப்புற[1] நாற்-

1 ட looks like ன.

2 ல is corrected from ம.

3 Read சாந்திப்புறம்.

No. 57. - PILLAR INSCRIPTION IN THE ROCK-CUT SHRINE AT TIRUNANDIKKARAI.

Scale: One-fourth.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

30. கல முவச்சகட்-
31. கைங்கலம் தி-
32. ருக்கொயிலுடை-
33. யார்க்கும் பலி-
34. வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[1] யரிக்குந் துடைக்கும-
35. [வர்க்]குமாய் ஐங்கல[2] மிக்க-
36. நிலத்தா னியதிப்படி
37. அறுநாழி யரிய[3] நந்தாவி-
38. ளக்குஞ் செல்வித [॥*] இச்செல-
39. [வு விலக்கு]வார் முழிக்கள [க*]ச்ச . .
40. . .[4]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The lands assigned at Tirunaṇḍikkarai to (the temple of) Tiruvallavāḷ-Bhaṭārar,[5] by Nārāyaṇaṇ Śivākaraṇ of Maṅgalachchēri and those to the Bhaṭāra of Tirunandikkarai are:—

Pālaikkōḍu in Kavayelmaṅña-Maṇṇūr, (with the sowing capacity of) given two *kalam* (of seed);

Pēraṟai and *tuḍaval* (lands) in Vāḷaikkōḍu and Śūḷikkuṇḍaṟai, (with the sowing capacity of) (one) *kalam* (of seed);

uṟā and other (lands) in Iḍavēli-Erumaṇai (with the sowing capacity of) (one) *kalam* (of seed);

(land with the sowing capacity of) *kalam* (of seed) to the east[6] of the tank at Muṭṭukōḍu; Paḍambaṟai in Pilaiyūr and Puduchchai in Kāraikkōḍu of Alaimaṇṇam, (together having the sowing capacity of) (one) *kalam* and (one) *tūṇi* (of seed);

the *vayal* and *karai* (lands) of Aṟuvukkarai and the field (measuring) half a *mā* in Tuvvakkāḍu;

the *kuḷavarai*, *māvarai* and *tuḍaval* of Viyāli; the land called Veṭṭiyūr-Maruttai;

the *paṟambu* (lands) of Nelvēli;

the *vayal* and *karai* (lands) of Perunīr-Neḍuṅgaṇpākkamaṅgalam; Īṟṟachchai in Peruman (having the sowing capacity of) two *kalam* (of seed);

Meṟkiṇkarai of Muṭṭam, Teṇkarai of Iḍai-Araṅgam and Perinūr (together having the sowing capacity of) twelve *kalam* (of seed);

Teṇkarai and Īyānamaṅgalam (with the sowing capacity of) two *kalam* (of seed); and

Varaiyarai in Mēṟkōḍu and Kōmūr (with the sowing capacity of) nine *kalam* (of seed).

1 Cancel the syllables வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ. From here, the writing is in different hand. Hence the insertion of these syllables.

2 Read கலம்.

3 Read யரியும்.

4 The few syllables at the end are not intelligible to me. We would expect தச்சுப் படுவார்.

5 There must have been set up an image of the god of Tiruvallavāḷ in this temple.

6 *Kuḷattiṇkīḻ* might also be rendered 'under or fed by the tank.'

From these lands, four *kalam* were set apart for worship (*śāntippuṟam*), five *kalam* for drummers, and five *kalam* for those who are in charge of the sacred temple, for the rice (required) for *bali* offerings, and for those who clean.

From the rest of the lands, six *nāḻi* of rice shall be given daily and (one) perpetual lamp maintained. Those who obstruct these expenses [shall be subject to] the punishment of (the assembly of) Mūḷikkaḷam.

No. 56.—Inscription in the rock-cut cave at Tirunandikkarai.

The subjoined inscription, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and the Tamiḻ language, is engraved at the right of entrance into the cave at Tirunandikkarai in the Kalkkuḷam Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram Division. It registers a gift of nine buffaloes for maintaining one sacred lamp in the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Bhaṭāra. The donor was the chief Śittakuṭṭi-Ambi *alias* Aññūṟṟuva-Muttaraiyaṉ of Vēykōṭṭumalai in Nāñji-nāḍu. The date of the record is given as the year in which the ships at Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvaram were destroyed. It is not known when this event took place. Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvaram is a village near Kaḍigaipaṭṭinam in the Eraniel Taluk. To judge from the characters, the record cannot be earlier than the 12th century A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கறைக்கண்-
2. ட ஈஸ்வரத்துக் கலம-
3. ற்ற யாண்டு திருநந்தி-
4. க்கரை ஆட்டாரகர்க்கு
5. நாஞ்சிநாட்டு வெய்கொ-
6. ட்டு மலையுடைய
7. சித்தகுட்டி அ-
8. ம்பியாயின அஞ்ஞூ-
9. ற்றுவ முத்தரையன்
10. நிசதம் உரிப் நெய்
11. எரிவதாக வைச்ச திரு-
12. நந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று-
13. க்கு வைச்ச சாவா மூவா எ-
14. ருமை ஒன்பது இவை பெ-
15. ருமக்களுக்குச் சமைஞ்[ச]
16. இடையன் . . . மங்கல-
17. வன் பவித்[தி]ரன்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year when the ships at Kaṟaikkaṇḍīśvaram were destroyed, Śittakuṭṭi-Ambi *alias* Aññuṟṟuva-Muttaraiyaṉ of Vēykōṭṭumalai in Nāñji-nāḍu gave, for being burnt daily with (one) *uri* of ghee, one sacred lamp and nine buffaloes which neither die nor grow old. These (were left in charge of) the shepherd Pavittiraṉ of . . . . maṅgalam, appointed by the great men.

No. 56. ROCK INSCRIPTION OF TIRUNANDIKKARAI.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale: One-seventh.

No. 57.—Minchirai-matam plates.

This inscription in Vaṭṭeḻuttu is engraved on two broken copper-plates which belong to the Miñchirai-maṭha. First plate measures 1′ $6\frac{1}{8}''$ × $2\frac{1}{2}''$ while the second measures 1′ $5\frac{1}{4}''$ + $2\frac{1}{2}''$. There is a ring hole bored $4\frac{1}{8}''$ inside from the margin. The engraving has been neatly done. The inscription consists of two parts, of which the first gives details of an income of 67 *achchu* set apart for feeding persons on *dvādaśi* days of the 12 months of the year. Provision is made only for 17 *dvādaśis*. This portion is said to have been engraved on copper-plate in the month of Tulā of the year in which Jupiter was in Kumbha. The details given are insufficient for calculation. The second part registers gifts made for feeding on other occasions, such as Tiruvōṇam, Pūrṇimā, Ayana-Saṅkrānti, *pratipat* and birth or anniversary days of some of the persons.

The age of the inscription may be roughly estimated, on purely palæographical grounds to be the beginning of the 13th century A. D.

Śirāttam occurring in this inscription has been taken as a variant of *śrāddha*, on the ground that provision is made for feeding on birth days (*piṟandanāḷ*). *Piradipadam* stands for *pratipat*, *i. e. śu* or *ba.* 1. In the case of grants made for *śrāddha*, the names given in the record may be regarded as those of persons on whose behalf the donations were made.

The contents of the inscription may be conveniently given in the form of a list as under:—

Month.	Days of feeding.	Names of persons or places.	Money granted.
Kanni	śu. 12	Tirivikkiraman Veḍima .. n of Ālaippuram	4 achchu
Do.	ba. 12	Valampuri-Bhaṭṭar	3 Do.
Tulā	śu. 12	Do. of Poḍikaṇṇam	4 Do.
Vṛiśchika	ba. 12	Amma of Polikaḍam	4 Do.
Dhanus	Do.	Kuḷataṟa	4 Do.
Do.	śu. 12	Kāḷayil	4 Do.
Makara	ba. 12	Kīḻchēri	4 Do.
Kumbha	Do.	Śeṇbagachēriyavaṇ	4 Do.
Do.	śu. 12	Kōvaṇ Śuvara-baṭṭadiyār	4 Do.
Mīna	ba. 12	Kaṇḍaṇ Nāraṇan of Vaṭṭam	4 Do.
Mēśha	śu. 12	Amma of Kaliṅgal	4 Do.
Ṛishabha	Do.	Do. of Ākkirānam	4 Do.
Do.	ba. 12	Madilkkal	4 Do.
Mithuna	Do.	Irumbaiyil	4 Do.
Kaṭaka	śu. 12	Amma of Kāviṇkal	4 Do.
Do.	ba. 12	Nīlakaṇḍan of Iḍamana	4 Do.
Siṁha	Do.	Amma of Vaṭṭam	4 Do.
		Total.....	67 achchu.

Month.	Occasion of feeding.	Name of person or place.	Money granted.
Tulā	Tiruvōṇam	Neydalpara	4 achchu
Vṛiśchika	Paurṇimā	Bhaṭṭar of Kīḻkuṇṇam	5 Do.
Dhanus	Do.	Amma of Punnamaṇ	4 Do.
Makara	Do.	Amma of Pālam	4 Do.
Kumbha	Do.	The *paruḍaiyār* of Kuḷataṟa	4 Do.
Mīna	Do.	Teṅṅañchēri	2 Do.
Kaṭaka	Do.	Gaṅgādiraṇ of Ālaippuram	4 Do.

Dēvaṇ Tiruvikkiraman of Achchitta(Achyuta) maṅgalam gave 10 achchu.

The feeding days for this money are:—

Month.	Occasion of feeding.	No of persons to be fed.
Tulā	*ba. di. pratipat*	12
Mithuna	*ba. di.* 8	12
Kanni	*ba. di.* 10	3
Kumbha	*śu. di.* 12	3

Month.	Occasion.	Name of person or place.	Money granted.
Kanni	*ba. di.* 13	Gaṅgādiran of Ālaippuram	4 achchu (for *Śrāddha*)
Ṛishabha	*śu. di.* 3	Śaṅ . . ṇaṇ of Ūr	4 Do. (for *Śrāddha*)
Dhanus	Tiruvōṇam	Kuṇṇil	4 Do.
Kumbha	Do.	Śrī Kumān of Kallūr	4 Do.
Kaṭaka	Ayana-Saṅkrānti	Muḍakkatti	4 Do.
Mīna	Tiruvōṇam	Gaṅgādiran Kaḍamman	4 Do.
Makara	Ayana-Saṅkrānti	Amma of Kuṇḍam	4 Do.
Do.	Do.	Amma of Mayākkal	1 Do.

Month.	Occasion.	Name of person or place.	Money granted.
Simha	*ba. di.* 3	Kāḷavil	4 achchu
Mīna	*ba. di.* 6	Tekkaṇakadēvan of Madilkkal	2 Do.
Vṛiśchika	*Paurṇimā*	Do.	1 Do.
Mīna	*śu. di.* 3	Kitta . . . . . lam of Mēlpuṟakkāḍu	4 Do.
Kumbha	Kārttikai	Gaṅgādiran of Poṭṭakaṇṇam	4 Do.
Simha	*ba. di.* 8	Kōḍagārappaḷḷi	2½ Do.(*Śrāddha*)
Mithuna	Bharaṇī	Kūḍagārappaḷḷi	2 Do. (to feed three persons)
Kaṭaka	Rēvatī		(to feed three per-
Vṛiśchika	. . . .	Amma of Kuṉṟiṉmēl	24 Do. sons)

Note:—

For each person one *nāḻi* of butter-milk and one slice of cocoanut were ordered (to be given).

Minchirai Matha Plates.

1 ஹரி வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கன்னி ஞாயிற்று பூரபக்ஷத்து[1] தூவாதெசி[2] [3]ஆலபுற
த்து திரிவிக்கிரமர் [வெடிம.[4] ன்[5] அச்சு நாலு [॥*] கன்னி ஞாயிற்
றமரபக்ஷத்து துவாதெசி வலம்புரி பட்டர் அச்சு மூன்று[6]

2 துலா ஞாயிற்று பூரபக்ஷத்து துவாதெசி பொடிகண்ணத்தில் . . . [அ
ச்சு நா]லு விரிச்சிகஞாயிற் றமரபக்ஷத்தில் துவாதெசி பொலி[க]ட
த்தி லம்ம அச்சு நாலு[7]

3 தனு ஞாயிற்று அமரபக்ஷத்து தூதெசி[8] குளதற அச்சு நாலு ॥ தனு
[ஞ]ாயிற்று பூபக்ஷத்தில்[9] தூதெசி[10] கால[யி]ல் அச்சு நாலு ॥
மகரஞாயிற் றபரபக்கத்தில் தூதெசி[10]

4 கிழசெரி அச்சு நாலு ॥ கும்ப ஞாயிற் றமரபக்க[த்*]தில் தூதெசி[10] செ
ண்பகசெரி[ய]வன் அச்சு நாலு ॥ கும்ப ஞாயிற்ற பூரபக்கத்தில் தூ
தெசி[10] கொவஞ்சுவர பட்டதியாரச்சு நாலு ॥

1 Here and in other instances, read பூர்வ for பூர.

2 வா is entered slightly below the line. It seems to have been inserted later. Read துவாதசி.

3 The ஆ looks like ஊ.

4 The plate is broken into two pieces after ம.

5 A small bit at the top of the plate is here lost.

6 The length of மூ is clearly indicated. There is a punctuation mark at the end.

7 There is a punctuation mark here.

8 Read துவாதெசி.

9 Read பூர்வபக்ஷத்தில்.

10 Read துவாதெசி.

5 மின ஞாயிற்று [1]ற்றமரபக்க[த்]தில் துவாதெசி வட்டத்தில் கண்ட நாரா
ணன் அச்சு நாலு ॥ மெட ஞாயிற்று பூரபொக்கத்தில்[2] துவாதெசி
க்கலின்க லம்ம அச்சு நாலு ॥

6 இடப ஞாயிற்று பூர்வபக்க[த்*]தில் துவாதெசி ஆக்கிராநத்தி லம்ம அ
ச்சு நாலு ॥ இடப ஞாயிற் றமரபக்கத்தில் துவாதெசி மதில்க்க லச்ச
நாலு ॥

7 மிதின ஞாயிற்று அமரபக்கத்தில் துவாதெசி இரும்பயி லச்சு நாலு ॥
கர்கடக ஞாயிற்று பூரபொக்கத்தில்[2] துவாதெசி காவின்க லம்ம அச்சு
நாலு ॥

8 கர்கடக ஞாயிற் றபரபக்கத்தில் துவாதெசி இடமன நிலகண்ட னச்சு
நாலு ॥ சிங்ங ஞாயிற் றபரபக்க[த்*]தில் துவாதெசிவட்டத்தி லம்ம
அச்சு நாலு ॥

First plate: Second side.

9 கும்ப வியாழம் துலா ஞாயிற்று இச்செப்பெடு வெட்டி[3]

10 ஆக அச்சு எம்பெருமான் பக்கல் சென்றது[4] அறுபத்தெழு ॥ துலா ஞா
யிற்று திருவொணம் நெய்தல்பற யச்சு நாலு ॥ விரிச்[சி]க ஞாயிற்று
வொ[ர்*]ண்ணமாதி கிழ்குன்றத்து

11 பட்டர் அச்சு அஞ்சு ॥ தனு ஞாயிற்று வெளணா-ாதி புன்னம ணம்ம அ
ச்சு நாலு ॥ மகர ஞாயிற்று வெளணா-ாதி பாலத்தின் [ன]ம்ம அச்சு
நாலு ॥ கும்ப ஞாயிற்று வெளணா-ாதி கு-

12 ளத்[த]ற பருடையா ரச்சு நாலு ॥ மின ஞாயிற்று வெளணா-ாதி தெங்ங
ஞ்செரி அச்சிரண்டு ॥ கர்க்கடக ஞாயிற்று வெளணா-ாதி அலிபுறத்து
கெங்ஙாதிரனரனச்சு[5] நாலு ॥

13 அச்சித்தமங்ஙலத்து தெவந்திருவிக்கிரமன் கல்ப்பிச்ச அச்சு பத்து பத்த
ச்சினு மூட்டுந் நாள் துலா ஞாயிற்று அ-

14 பரபக்ஷ பிறக்கின்ற பிரதிபத்தத்தின்னுள் பந்திரண்டினை ஊட்டுவு[6] மிது
ந ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்து அட்டமி நாள் பந்திரண்டினை

15 ஊட்டுவு[6] கன்னி ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்து தெசமி நாள் மூவர் ஊட்டுவு[6]
கும்ப ஞாயிற்று பூர்வ பக்கத்து துவாதெசி நாள் மூவர்

16 ஊட்டுவு[6] ॥ கன்னி ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்தில் திரயொதெசி ஆலிபுற
த்து கெங்ஙாதிரன் சிராத்த மச்சு நாலு ॥

Second plate: first side.

17 இடபஞாயிற்று பூர்வபக்கத் திருகிய சிராத்தம் மூரில் சங் . . ணனச்சு
நாலு ॥ தனு ஞாயிற்று திருவொணம் குன்றில் அச்சு நாலு ॥

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1 Replace *ற்ற* by *அ*.

2 Read பூர்வபக்கத்தில்.

3 This line should be taken to the end of the plate.

4 Read சென்றது.

5 The syllables *ரன* are repeated twice.

6 Read ஊட்டவும் or ஊட்டுவதற்கும்.

18 கும்ப ஞாயிற்று திருவொணம் கல்லூர் சிரிகுமா னச்சு [நாலு*] கர்கடக
ஞாயிற் றயன சங்கிராந்தி முடக்கத்தி அச்சு நாலு ॥

19 மின ஞாயிற்று திருவொணம் கங்ஙாதிரன் கடம்மன் . . .[1] [நாலு] ॥
மகர ஞாயிற் றயனசங்கிராந்தி குண்டத்திலம்ம அச்சு நாலு ॥

20 மகர ஞாயிற்று அயன சங்கிராந்தி மயாக்க லம்ம அச்சொ[2] . . சிங்ங
ஞாயிற்று அபரபக்கத்து திருதிய காளயில் சிராத்த மச்சு நாலு ॥

21 மினஞாயிற் றபரபக்க[த்*]தில் சட்டில் மதில்கல் தெக்கனகதெவன் அச்சி
ர . .[3] விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று வெளணாமாதி மதில்கல் தெக்கினகத்தெ
வன் அச்சொன்று ॥

22 மின ஞாயிற்று பூர்வபக்கத்தில் திருதிய மெல்புறக்காட்டுக் கித்த . . லம
ச்சு நாலு ॥ பொட்டகண்ணத்தில் கெங்ஙாதிரன் பிறந்த நாள் கும்ப
ஞாயி-

23 ற்று கார்த்திக அச்சு நாலு ॥ சிங்ஙஞாயிற் றபரபக்கத்தி லட்ட . .[4]
கொடகாரப்பள்ளி சிராத்த மச்சு யிரண்டர[॥*]

Second plate: second side.

24 கூடகாரபள்ளி மிதுன ஞாயிற்று பரணி நாளி சிராத்த[த்*]தின் [னி]ர
ண்டு [।*] மூவர் வாட்டுவு [॥] கர்கடக ஞாயிற் றிரவதி நாள் மூவர்
வானடுவு[5]

25 விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற் றாட்டுவான் குன்றின்மெ லம்ம வச்ச அச்சு இருபத்து
நாலு சென[த்*]தின்று நாழி நாழி மொரு மொரொ மூ-

26 றி தெங்ஙாயும் கல்பிச்சு[6] ॥

No. 58.—Palaiyur plate of Kollam 918.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a single copper-plate belonging to the Pālaiyūr church and it was obtained by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao for taking impressions. I edit it from one set of facsimiles prepared by him. The plate measures 1′ 4$\frac{7}{8}$″ by 2$\frac{1}{2}$″. The writing, which is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of the period to which the record belongs, commences on the first side, and after two lines, is continued on the back, where 7 lines are engraved and then finished on the first side. The last section, which contains 6 lines of writing is engraved in a direction opposite to that of the commencing lines. On the first side, just where the record begins, a Cross in double lines is also incised.

This inscription is dated in Kollam 918 and in the month of Mīna. The incising has been made very carelessly and consequently there are many mistakes. It registers the complete purchase, with libation of water, of a free hold property, by the Vicar of the Pālaiyūr church, from Rāmaṇ Paṅṅaṇ and his brothers of Achchāḻiyam, a hamlet of that village.

1 The gap may be filled with the syllables அச்சு.
2 The missing letters are ன்று.
3 Here the missing letters are ண்டு.
4 Restore மியில்.
5 The symbols for வானடுவு are clear, though வாட்டுவு would suit the occasion.
6 Read கல்ப்பிச்சு.

The writer of the document and the witnesses to the transaction are Kēraḷaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Kōṅgāḍu, the residents of Talappaḷḷi and Chavulakkāḍ, the *mūttavar* (*i. e.* the elders) of Mammambi and the Kaimmāḷ of Kūttampaḷḷi.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Pālaiyūr is one of the aṁsams of the Ponnāni Taluk, Malabar district[1]. It is reported to contain one of the seven earliest churches erected in the district[2]. Kōṅgāḍ is 10½ miles north-west of Palghat.[3] Talappaḷḷi is also in the Ponnāni Taluk.[4] Chavulakkāḍ may be identified with the modern Chāvakkāḍ, 15 miles south-east of Ponnāni.—

In another document belonging to the same church, Iriñṅapuram figures[6] and this place is also a village in the Ponnani Taluk.[7] I am not able to trace where Mammambi and Kūttampaḷḷi are situated.

Kammaḷ is another form of the word Kaimmaḷ which in Malabar is used as a title of nobility.[8] It occurs in an *ōlai* (cadjan) document of the Jacobite church at Agapparambu[9] near Aṅgamāli, a station in the Shoranur-Cochin section of the South-Indian Railway.

In the Travancore Census Report for 1901, p. 270, the word Kaimmaḷ is explained as follows:—

"An ecclesiastical dignitary comparable to the *mahant* of Tirupati having supreme control over the Kūḍalmāṇikkam shrine at Irinjalakkuḍa in the Cochin State. He is by birth a Nāyar of the Kuruppu subdivision raised to the sacerdotal dignity and social privileges of a Brahmin Sanyāsi, by means of an elaborate purification ceremony known as *avarōdhana*. The Kaimmal is appointed by the Mahārāja of Travancore whom he represents at the temple, of which he is in charge."

Text.

1 கொல்லம் [கூ]றஅ-மத மீனஞாயற்றில் எழுதிய அட்டிப்பெற்றுலக் கருணமவது[10] [॥*] பாலயூர் தெசத்த [அச்சழித்த]

2 கும்மனிய்ப்பறம்பின்ன தெக்கெப்புறம் இம்பொணன்[11] கல்லட்ட அதிற் க்கதெக்கொட்டும் [।*] பள்ளிபறம்பின்ன வடக்-

3 கெ அதிற்க்க வடக்கொட்டும் [।*] படிஞ்ஞாற எடவழிக்க கிழக்கொட்டும் [।*] கி[ழ*]க்கெ அற்க்க[12] படிஞ்ஞாட்டும் [।*]

1 Logan's Malabar, p. 666.
2 *Ibid* p. 199.
3 Sewell's *lists* of *Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 252.
4 Logan's Malabar, p. 497.
5 Sewell's *lists* of *Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 250.
6 Above, p. 83.
7 Logan's Malabar, p. 666
8 The Cochin State Manual, p. 202.
9 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I. p. 303.
10 Read கரணமாவது.
11 The existing traces admit only this reading.
12 Read அதற்க்க as in line 2.

4. இ நாலதிற்க்க அகத்தகப்பெட டத [1]எப்பியெற்பெட்டதும் அந்து நால றகண்டு யெடம் அற்த்தவும்

5 வாங்ங்ி அட்டிப்பெற பிறமுதெலொதகமயி[2] எழுதிகொடுத்தான் அச்சழி த்த ராமன் பங்ஙனும்

6 தம்பிமரும்[3] [॥*] அம்மாற்க்க[4] இச்சொன்ன பலியூற்[5] தெசத்த அச்சா ழியத்த கும்மனிப்ப[6]

7 ன்ன தெக்கெப்புறம் கல்லிட்டதிற்க்க தெக்கொட்டும் [।*] பள்ளிபறம்பி ன்ன வடக்கெ அதிற்க்க

8 வடக்கொட்டும் [।*] படிஞ்ஞாற எடவழிக்க கிழக்கொட்டும் [।*] கிழ க்கெ அற்க்க[7] படிஞ்ஞாட்டும் [।*] இந்-

9 நாலதிற்க்ககத்தகப்பெட டத [8]எப்பிற்பெட்டதும் அந்து நாலறகண்டு யெ டம் அற்த்தவும் கொடுத்த

10 அட்டிப்பெற பிறமுதலொதகமாயி எழுதிச்சு கொண்டன்[9] பலியூர்[10] ப ள்ளி வெகரியும் பொறத்திக்காரும் [॥*] இம்மாற்க்கமெ

11 இச்சொன்ன பறம்ப அந்து நாலறகண்ட யெடம் அற்த்தவும் வாங்ங்ி பிற முதெலொதகமாயி எழுதிகொடுத்தான் ராமன் பங்ஙனும்

12 தம்பிமரும்[11] அம்மற்க்கமெ[12] இச்செ[ர*]ன்ன பறம்ப அந்து யெடம் அற்த்தவும் கொடுத்த பிறமுதெலொதகம[ர*]யி எழுதிச்சு

13 கொண்டன்[13] பாலயூர் பள்ளி வெகரியும் பொறவற்த்திக்காரும் இம்ம ற்க்கமெ[14] அறியும் பலதக்கி[15] தலப்பெள்ளி-

14 யரு வெற்காவெக்கரு கூடவ்வும் சவுலக்கட்டில்[16] நட்டரு[17] மம்மம்பில் முத்தவ்வெரும் கூத்தாம்பெ-

15 ள்ளி கம்மளும் அறிகெ கொங்ஙாட்டில் கேரளன் கண்டர் கய்யெழுத்த

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1 Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.

2 Read மாய்.

3 Read தம்பிமாரும்.

4 Read அம்மார்க்கம் or அம்மார்க்கமே.

5 Read பாலியூர்.

6 Read கும்மனிப்பறம்பி .

7 Read அதிற்க்க.

8. Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.

9 Read கொண்டான்.

10 Read பாலியூர்.

11 Read தம்பிமாரும்.

12 Read அம்மார்க்மே.

13 Read கொண்டான்.

14 Read இம்மார்க்கமே.

15 The length of த seems to be omitted. தாக்கி is an altered form of சாகி.

16 Read சவுலக்காட்டில்.

17 Read நாட்டாரும்.

Translation.

(The following is) the deed[1] of purchase of a free-hold property written in the month of Mīna of the Kollam (year) [9]18:—

Having received the then price (*artha*), Rāmaṉ Paṅṅaṉ of Achchāḷiyam and his brothers wrote and gave, with libation of water,[2] the *aṭṭippēṟu* (deed) of all kinds of lands, four and a half *kaṇḍu*[3] (in extent), lying within these four boundaries, *viz* to the south of the stone[4] boundary of Imboṇaṉ on the southern side of the land called Kummani-Paṟambu[5] in Achchāḷiyam of Pālaiyūrdēśam: to the north of the northern boundary of the land called Paḷḷi-Paṟambu: to the east of the western bye-path: and to the west of the eastern boundary.

The Vicar of the Pālaiyūr church and the *porattikkārar* having paid the then price, obtained with libation of water the written deed (*aṭṭippēṟu*) (conveying) all kinds of lands, four and a half *kaṇḍu* (in extent), lying within these four boundaries, *viz.* to the south of the stone boundary on the southern side of the land called Kummani Paṟambu in Achchāḷiyam of Pālaiyūr-dēśam,— to the north of the northern boundary of the land called Paḷḷi-Paṟambu: to the east of the western bye-path: and to the west of the eastern boundary,—thus described above.

In this manner, Rāmaṉ Paṅṅaṉ of Achchāḷiyam and his brothers, having received, with libation of water, the then price, wrote and gave this said *paṟambu*, four and a half *kaṇḍu* (in extent).

In that manner, the Vicar of the Pālaiyūr church and *Poravarttikkārar* having given the then price of this said paṟambu-land, obtained the written (deed).

The several witnesses who knew (the transaction) thus made are the people of Talappaḷḷi, ...[6] the residents of Chavulakkāṭṭu-nāḍu, the elders (mūttavar) of Mammambi and the Kaimmaḷs of Kūttampaḷḷi. (This is) the signature of Kēraḷaṉ Kaṇḍar of Koṅṅāḍu, who wrote (the deed) to their knowledge.

No.59[1] — Trivandrum museum plate of Kollam 697.

The subjoined inscription in eight lines is edited from one set of impressions kept in the Trivandrum museum. It is not known from whom the plate was obtained for taking estampage.

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1 Dr. Gundert takes '*aṭṭippēṟu*' or '*aṭṭipperṟōlakkaraṇam*' to mean 'a complete purchase of a free hold, title deeds of free hold property'.

2 *Pira-mudal-udaṉamāy koḍuttāṉ* or *koṇḍāṉ* literally means the procedure of giving or receiving with libation of water (*udaṉam*) the property (*mudal*) of others (*pirar*).

3 *nāl-ara-kaṇḍu-eḍam* may either mean that the land had (the sowing capacity of four and a half *kaṇḍu*) or that its yield was four and a half *kaṇḍu*. If *kaṇḍu* is a change from *kaṇḍam*, it would mean a quantity of land.

4 The literal meaning of *kallaṭṭ-adaṟkku* or *kalliṭṭ-adaṟkku* is 'the boundary made by depositing stones'.

5 *Kummani* may be an adaptation of the English word 'company'. *Paṟambu* means' a hill or land'.

6 The meaning of the word ⵙⵡⵕⵒⵔⵙⵔⵡⵙⵔⵣ or the correction to be made in it remains to be determined.

The Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet, in which it is written, is neatly executed. It presents some peculiarities which are worth noting. The language of the inscription is Tamiḻ allied to Malayāḷam; but the forms that occur are rare and not easy to understand. The translation given below is consequently tentative.

Ṟ is shaped in the form of a small square unconnected at the left bottom: it is formed like the English letter B, but disjoined at the left bottom: *ṇa* is sometimes written without any distinction between it and *ta* and sometimes it gets a loop at the commencement. Though the vowel *i* and the combined consonant *lai* are similar in their formation, yet they can be distinguished. The modern *ai* symbol stands for *ña* in this record. Little difference is made between *ka* and *cha*. There are two forms of *ṅ*, one with a closed loop at the beginning and the other without it. *Na*, *pa*, and *va*, are hardly distinguishable. The length of a letter is indicated by the addition of a separate symbol resembling *ṭā*. The *u* sign in this epigraph is a small convex curve: it is added to the bottom of such letters as *r*, *ṟ*, *t*, *k*. This method of shaping *ru*, *ṟu*, *tu*, and *ku* is quite peculiar. *Ku* is twice formed like *le*. At the end of the record is figured a conch and an axe.

Since the grant registered is in favour of the temple of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇamūrthi of Tirunāvāykkuḻam, the plate may be said to have come from there.

A word may now be said as to the probable significance of some of the fiscal terms used in this record.

Parivāram means retinue. It may correspond here to retainer's fees.

The late Mr. Nagam Ayya noted that the term '*saṅketam*' is applied to the property of the Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmy. He has furnished the translation of a cadjan *neeṭ* dated 22nd Kumbham 810 M. E. issued by the Travancore Sovereign to the ryots of Nāñji-nāḍu.[1]

Śeṅgōma may be regarded as a corruption of the word *śeṅkōlmai*. From the use of the term in this document it may be taken to mean 'the fee for just Government'.

Talai-vilai may be an equivalent of *iṇavari* which occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil districts.

Muppaṟa-munnāḻi may be a tax of three *nāḻi* on every three *paṟai*. The purpose for which this was raised is not known. It is comparable to *vaṭṭi-nāḻi* of the epigraphs of the Tamil districts.

It is possible that *ettukuttu* stands for *eḻuttukuttu*. If it is, it may correspond to *rāyasam* (*i. e.* writing fees).

Aṅgam means part. Perhaps it denotes the fee levied for the maintenance of the seven component parts of administration (*saptāṅga*).

1 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. pp. 302-3.

Āṇḍugaḷ-aḍuvu may stand for the annual incomes (*aḍaivu*).

Śuṅgam means 'tolls' and hence the fee paid by toll keepers on their income.

Taragu is the fee paid by those who act as brokers.

Palæographically, the record is of great importance, though there is not much of historical matter in it.

Text.

1 காலம்[1] கூராகூயள[2]-ாமத இடபஞாயறு பத்து செந்ற திங்களாழிச்சயும் தி
ருவொணமும் பஞ்சமியும் இந்நாளால் நமுக்குள்ள தி-

2 ருநாவாயிக்குளத்து சங்கரநாராயணமூர்த்தியையும் பிராகாரம் அடக்கி
வத்துகிறுத்தியம் யெப்பெற்ப்பட்டதும் அ-

3 க்கயூராராய் தெவன்னு பூவொடும் நிரொடும் தானம் கொடுக்கயில் ஆசந்தி
ராக்க காலமெ சந்ததிபிரவெசமெ தெவனெ பூசிச்சு ய-

4 ச்சய்தியிவ்வொலிக்கெ யுப்படத்தி கொக்களெ ரக்கிச்சு வத்துவகைகளும்[3]
பாரிச்சு பரிவாரம் பரிச்சு சங்கெதம் அடக்கி நம்முடெ

5 சொருவத்தெக்குள்ள செங்கொமையும் தலவெலியும் அஞ்சிமூலமும் முப்ப
றமுந்நாழியும் மெத்துக்குத்தும் அங்கம் சுங்கம் தர-

6 கு[4] அடக்கி ஆண்டுகள்ளடுவும் தட்டடுவும் பரிச்ச அசண்டவடு ஆக்கி[5] மெ
கரசண்டவ்வடு [ஆ]க்கி பாரிச்சு கொள்-

7 ளுமாறும் அகயூராறெ தெவந்து சறுவ்வ சுவாதந்திறம்மாயி நடந்து
கொள்ளுக வெந்து வச்சு தர-

8 றெமெல் செரிமெல் விலயெழுதி விடுகயும் செயிது.

Translation.

On this day of Tiruvōṇam *i. e.* the tenth, expired, of the month of Ṛishabha e of the Kollam year 697 corresponding to Monday, and the fifth *tithi* since we, the people of Akkaiyūr, gave as a free gift, with flower and water, our right over the temple of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇamūrtti of Tirunāvāykkuḷam and over all kinds of properties lying within the *prākāra* (of that temple), to Dēvaṉ and had this fact entered in this deed, this Dēvaṉ shall, as long as the moon and the sun last and in his own lineage, perform the worship, protect the cows, manage the properties, take care of the attendants, control the *saṅkēta*, and realise the *āṇḍugaḷ-aḍuvu* and *taṭṭugaḷ-aḍuvu* inclusive of *śēṅgōma*, *talaivilai*, *añjumūlam*, *muppaṟa-munnāḻi*, *ēttukuttu*, *aṅgam*, *śuṅgam* and *taragu* which are due to our king . . . . . The people of Akkaiyūr conveyed with libation of water their right over the *Śēri* to Dēvaṉ so that he may, with all freedom, conduct the same.

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1 Read கொல்லம். In all cases, anusvāra is used for final *m*.

2 The symbol for 10 is written on the top of 9.

3 Read வத்து-வகைகளெயும்.

4 *Ku* is differently shaped here.

5 The meaning of this phrase is not clear: it is left untranslated.

No. 60.—An inscription in the Siva temple at Sivagiri.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the north, west and south bases of the court within the temple of Śivagiri. It is engraved in the Tamiḻ characters and the Tamiḻ language of the period to which it belongs; and relates to an investment of a grant of money made by a Brāhmaṇa lady named Kaṇḍaṉ Tiruvikkirami, the wife of Pūṅgāmaṉ Aiyyaṉ, a native of Pālaikkōḍu in Tiruvidāṅkōḍu, for feeding the *agnihōtrins* assembling in the temple of Śivagiri-Mahādēva, for offerings to the god and for feeding other Brāhmaṇas, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight in the month of Kanni of each year. The record states that the money was given over to a certain Nārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ of Dēvaṉśēri, on condition that he and his descendants should give annually four *kalam* of clean paddy to the temple through its supervisor Gaṇapati Ādichchaṉ and after him through the eldest of his eldest son's lineage, so that one *paḍagāram* of it might be set apart for the *agnihōtrins* and the supervisor, one half of the rest used for the offerings of the god and the other half for feeding Brāhmaṇas on the 13th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Kanni, each year. As usual, at the end of the inscription occurs the penal clause that if, in respect of the payment, default was made once, double the defaulted quantity should be paid; if the default occurred twice, there should be a fine in addition to the payment of double the defaulted quantity; and if default occurred a third time also, the land should be taken up for management by the *agnihōtrins* and the supervisor, and the expenses correctly met.

Without further details, it is not possible to fix the exact date of the inscription, which is stated to be a year in which Jupiter was in the Kanni-rāśi, and the month Mēsha.

Text.

1 ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கன்னியில் வி[யா*]ழம் நின்ற மெடஞாயிற்று செய்த செயகடவொலைக்கரணமாவிது திருவிதான்கொட்-

2 டு பாலைகொட்டு பூங்காமன் ஐய்யன் ஸ்ப[ா*]ம்ணி கண்டன் திருவிக்கிரமி நெல்வெலியொடு ஸுஶிஷ்டத்தொடு

3 இடைப்பட்ட ஸ்ரீஸங்களில் அஸ்நிஹொத்ரிகட்கு கன்னி ஞாயிற்று அவரவக்ஷத்தில் த்ரயொ-

4 தஶி நாள் சிவகிரிமஹாதெவர் திருவாதல்மாடத்தில் மெய்காட்டின அஸ்நிஹொத்ரி[ஸஹெ]க்-

5 கு கல்ப்பிச்ச இவ்வச்சு மூன்று சலாகையும் அச்சு பத்து [॥*] இவ்வச்சு பத்துந் தெவன்செரி

6 நாரா[ய*]ணனரங்ஙன் கைக்கொண்டு எழுதிவைச்ச தன்னிடெ பூமி இரணிசிங்ங[ந]-

7 ல்லூர்ச் சிதைவாய் குளத்தால் நிருண்டு நெல்விளைவிது காலறை[க்*]கு எல்லை ெ[ம]-

8 ழுக்குதுடவல்லுக்கும் எலியுண்ணிக்காலறைகட்கும் காலகஞ்சாட்டு முக்கி-

9 ன்னும் வட்டத்தின்னு[ங்] காலறைத்துடவல்கட்குந் நடுவில் கிடந்த கால-

10 றை தடி யொன்று விரிவு நிலந் தூணியில் தனக்கொள்ள நிலம் நால் குறு-

11 ணி இருநாழி உரி மெலும் ஆண்டுவரையுங் கன்னி ஞாயிற்று சுவரவக்ஷத்-

12 தில் த்ரயொதஶி நாள் திருவாதல்மாடத்தில் நால்கலஞ்செது நெல் சுத்ய-

13 க்ஷ[ஞ்*]செய்யின்ற தெவன்செரி கணவதி ஆதிச்சன்னு அளவு கொடுப்பிது [॥*] இந்நெல் நால்கலமும் கணவதி ஆதிச்சன் கைக்கொண்டு மெய்காட்டிய சுஹ்நிஹொத்ரிகளும் சுத்ய்க்ஷனும் ஒரு படகாரங் கொண்டு தெவ[ர்*]க்கும் பா-

14 [தி] திருவமிதின்னும் கொண்டு பாதி ப்ராஹ்மணரமிர்து செய்ததின்னுங் கொடுத்து வருவிது [॥*] கணவதி ஆதிச்சன்னிற் பின்னையும் தன் தந்தானத்தில் முத்தவன்வழி முத்தவன் செலுத்தி வருவிது [॥*] இம்மார்க்கமெ நாரா[ய*]ணனரங்ஙனும்

15 இந்நெல் நால்கலமும் ஆசந்த்ரயாரவக் சந்ததி வ்ரவெஶமெ ஆண்டுவரையும் முட்டாதெ அளவுகொடுத்து வருவிது [॥*] இம்மார்க்கஞ் செலுத்திவருமெடத்து ஒ[ரு*]க்கால் முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி கொடுப்பிது [॥*] இரண்டுதுடை முட்டுகில்

16 முட்டிரட்டியுந் தெண்டமும் வைப்பிது [॥*] முன்றுதுடை முட்டுகில் சுஹ்நிஹொத்ரிகளும் சுத்ய்க்ஷனுங்கூடி இந்நிலம் நால் குறுணி இருநாழி உரியுஞ் சுட்டி அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு இச்செலவும் முட்டா-

17 தெ செலுத்தி வருவிது [॥*] சுத்ய்க்ஷன் இம்மா[ர்*]க்கமெ ஆண்டுவரையும் இந்நெல் நால் கலமும் முட்டாதெ நாரா[ய*]ணனரங்ஙன் செலுத்துமாறு இந்நிலத்தின்மெல் எழுதி-

18 வைச்சமைக்கு இக்கல்வெ[ட்டாகும்] [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The order prescribing the duties to be performed, made in the month of Mēsha of the year in which Jupiter was in Kanni is (as follws):—

The Brāhmaṇa lady (named) Kaṇḍaṉ Tiruvikkirami, wife of Pūṅgāmaṉ Aiyyaṉ of Pālaikkōḍu in Tiruvidāṅkōḍu gave ten *achchu* and three *śalāgai*, to the assembly of (such of) the *agnihōtrins*, among the *agnihōtrins*, residing in the villages lying between Nelvēli and Suchindram, who appear in person in the hall at the entrance to the temple of Śivagiri-Mahādēva, on the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanni. Nārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ of Dēvanśēri having received on hand these ten *achchu*, wrote and gave his land called Kālaṟai, regularly cultivated with paddy and fed with water from the ruined tank of Raṇaśiṅganallūr, and lying within the boundaries viz. Meḻukkuttuḍaval, Eliyuṇṇikālaṟai, Kālaganchāṭṭumūkku, Vaṭṭam and Kālaṟaittuḍaval, measuring one *taḍi* in extent and having the sowing capacity of one *tūṇi* of seed. Of this,

the land which belonged to him had such an area that could be sown with four *kuṟuṇi*, two *nāḻi* and (*one*) *uri* (*of seed*). From this land, he had to measure and give annually, on the day of the thirteenth *tithi* in the second fortnight of the month of Kanni, in the hall (*maḍam*) at the entrance (into the temple), to Gaṇapati Ādichchaṉ of Dēvanśēri, who does the work of supervision, four *kalam* of good paddy. Obtaining in his hand this (quantity of) four *kalam* of paddy, Gaṇapati Ādichchaṉ shall, after reserving one *paḍagāram* for the *agnihōtrins* who appear in person (at the hall of the temple) and for the supervisor, give one half (of the balance) for the offering of the god and the (other) half for the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas.

After Gaṇapati Ādichchaṉ, the eldest in the lineage of his eldest son shall continue to distribute (the quantity of paddy). In this manner, Nārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ and the (members of his) lineage shall, as long as the moon and the stars exist, annually measure and give without (making any) default, the four *kalam* (of paddy). In effecting payments in this manner, if default occurred once, double the defaulted quantity should be paid; if default occurred twice, along with double the defaulted quantity a fine also should be paid; and if default was made three times, the *agnihōtrins* and the supervisor should assemble, take up the management of this land with the sowing capacity of four *kuṟuṇi*, two *nāḻi* and (one) *uri* (of seed) and should meet without default these expenses. This writing on stone evidences that the supervisor had, in this manner, got Nārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ to write and give from his lands annually, without default, this (quantity of) four *kalam* of paddy.

No. 61.—Eraniel inscription of Kollam 857.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a stone set up in the bazaar street at Eraniel. It is in the Tamiḻ alphabet and language, and relates to the opening of a bazaar with shops in the quarter called Śeṇbagarāmaṉ-Pudukkaḍai in Raṇaśiṅganallūr i. e. Eraniel, on the authority of an order (*nīṭṭu*), evidently of the king issued to the *ūrār* and the residents of the place. The shopmen were required to pay the customary dues and to maintain two charitable institutions viz. two *maṭhas*, erected in the western and eastern streets, by the collection of the *kuttu* of paddy on every *podi* and one *piḍi* on every *śumaḍu* of paddy, sold in the brokers' shops. It has to be noted that officials were expressly prohibited from entering shops, distraining property and causing inflictions to merchants. Even at the present day Eraniel is noted for its market held on every Monday: it is largely attended.

The date of the record, i. e. Kollam 857, takes us to the time of the famous Umaiyammai-Rāṇi.

A few words employed in the inscription deserve to be noted. *Deṇḍu* is another form of *daṇḍa* 'a stick or rod': it is used here in place of *taḍi* or *kōl* which are often employed in Tamiḻ epigraphs: it means 'rods for measuring lands'. The length of this rod differed in different places. *Śimaḍu* or *śumaḍu* means a bundle or weight generally carried on heads. From it, is derived the term (*śummāḍu* which means

'a pad for carrying burdens'. *Piḍi* answers to the Sanskrit *mushṭi*, which is sometimes used in Tamil inscriptions in the form *muṭṭi:* thus it means 'a handful'. *Podi* is a big load and *kuttu* means 'a double handful of grain'. '*Maruśādi*' stands for '*maryādai*' and means 'established custom'. '*Āṉavāḷ*' or '*āṉayāḷ*' (literally 'one mounted on an elephant' is a technical term meaning 'the manager of a temple, generally a Brahman'.[1] Though *kūḻ* generally means 'pulp prepared out of rice, ragi (millet) etc, it denotes here 'grain' and may be taken to be a shortened form of the word '*painkūḻ*'; hence '*kūḻkkaḍai*' indicates 'grain stalls'. It is not unlikely that *nāṭṭu-kal* mentioned in the inscription refers to hero-stones: there are several references to them in the ancient Tamiḻ works. Many such stones are found round about Eraniel. *Nīṭṭu* is another technical term which means 'royal order', issued by the kings of Travancore.

Text.

1 அாநுயஎ ௵ மார்க-
2 ழி ௴ உாக உ இரணி-
5 சிங்கநல்லூர் செண்-
4 பகராமன் புதுக்கடை
5 யில் கடையும் கடைய-
6 றையும் கெட்டுவா னில-
7 ம் பொத்தியான்கொண-
8 த்து குளத்துப் பொகிந்ற-
9 தென்வடல் பெருவழி-
10 யில் நாட்டு கல்லினு
11 மெக்கு பட்டாலியர் கி-
12 ணத்தினு ஷையா-
13 ர் இட்டமடத்தினும் கிள-
14 க்கு கிளமெல் இராச-
15 பெருவழிக்கு தெண்-
16 டு இரண்டும் நிக்கி
17 வடக்கு தெண்டு இ-
18 ரண்டரையும் ஷை
19 பெருவழிக்கு தெ-
20 க்குத் தெண்டு இ-
21 ரண்டரையும் ஷை
22 பெருவழியில் தெ-
23 க்கணைய தெக்கெ-
24 ப்பாகித்து ஆறு தெ-
25 ண்டு நீளத்தில் மூ-
26 ந்று தெண்டு வீதியி-
27 ல் கூழ்க்கடையும்
28 ஆக இவ்வகைப்ப-
29 டியொள்ளதறையில்

1 *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. III, glossary, p. iv. Perhaps '*āṉaiyāḷ*' is equivalent to '*ājñāpaka*'.

Second face.

30 கடையும் க-
31 டையறையு-
32 ம் கெட்டிக்-
33 கூழ்க்கடை-
34 யும் கெட்டி
35 கிள்மருசாதி
36 ஒள்ள இறையு-
37 ம் இறுத்து வா-
38 ணிபமும் செ-
39 ய்து பொருமா-
40 றும் மெல்ப்ப-
41 டி கடையிலு-
42 ம் கடையறை-
43 யிலும் ஆனவா-
44 ளும் அதிகா-
45 ரியெடெ ஆ-
46 ளும் கெறிப்-
47 பணையம் எ-
48 டுக்கையும்
49 உபத்திரகம்
50 செய்கையு-
51 ம் செய்ய ரு-
52 தென்னு
53 ஷெ கடையி-
54 லும் கடைய-
55 றையிலும்
56 இருந்த வ-
57 ாணிபமு-
58 ம் செய்து

Third face.

59 ஆசந்திரதாரவெ சந்ததி-
60 ப்பிறவெசவெ கீள் மருசா-
61 தி நடந்து பொந்த வண்-
62 ணம் நடந்து பொரு-
63 மாறும் ஷெயில் தர-
64 கு கடையில் நெல்லு
65 விக்கிந்த நாள் உமை-
66 யொருபாக முதலியா-
67 ர் மடத்தினு பொதிக்கு
68 க்குத்து நெல்லும் சிம-
69 ட்டினு பிடி நெல்லு-
70 ம் எடுத்து மெல்த்தெ-
71 தருவில் மடத்திலெக்-
72 குப் பாதியும் கீளத்தெரு-

73 வில் மடத்திலைக்குப் பா-
74 தியும் ஆக[த்*] தற்மச் சிலவு-
75 ம் நடத்திப் பொருமாறு-
76 ம் இவ்வகைப்படியெ நட-
77 ந்து பொருமெயெடத்து
78 இதினு யாதொரு கால-
79 ம் யாதொருத்தர் அகித-
80 ம் செய்யிந்நவர் கெங்-
81 கைக் கரையில் காரா-
82 ம் பசுவைக் கொந்-
83 ந தொழ்சத்தைக்
84 கைய்யெற்றுக் கொ-
85 ள்ளும்மாறும் செ-

Fourth face.

86 ய்க யிது அ-
87 ாநுயஎ ௵
88 மார்கழி ௴ம்
89 உ௰க உ கற்பி-
90 ச்சைமைக்கு
91 மெப்படி செ-
92 ண்பகராம-
93 ன் புதுத்தெ-
94 ருவில் மெல்-
95 த்தெருவில்
96 செட்டிகள்
97 ஊராருக்கு
98 நிட்டெழுத்து
99 விடுக யெந்-
100 று திருவுள்ள-
101 மாயது

Translation.

On the 21st day of Mārgaḷi in the year 857, for opening a bazaar and building shops, in the quarter known as Śeṇbagarāmaṉ-Pudukkaḍai in Raṇaśiṅga-nallūr. (the following) lands (were given):—

to the west of the stone set up in the big road running south-north and leading to the tank of Pottiyāṉkōṇam;

to the east of the well of Paṭṭāliyār and of the *maḍam* built by the same person;

to the north, excluding the two *deṇḍu*, of the big road called Rāja-peruvaḷi running east-west, two and a half *deṇḍu* in extent;

to the south of the same big road, two and a half *deṇḍu* in extent, and cutting off on the south side of the same big road (and taking) six *deṇḍu* in

length and three *deṇḍu* in width *kūḷkaḍai* (i. e. shops for selling grains), shall be formed.

On the ground obtained in this manner, bazaar and shops shall be built, grain stalls erected and merchandise conducted, paying taxes according to established scale.

Āṇavāḷ (i. e. men mounted on elephants) and servants of officers shall not get into the said bazaars and shops, distrain (property) or cause other inflictions.

Persons shall live in the said bazaar and shops, do merchandise and as long as the moon and the stars exist conduct themselves in the said manner, following the established custom.

On days when paddy is sold in brokers' shops, one *kuttu* (*i. e.* double handful) of paddy on every *podi*, and one *piḍi* (*i. e.* handful) of paddy on every *śimaḍu* shall be taken; for the *maḍam* of Umaiyōrupāga-Mudaliyār. From (the accumulated quantity), one half shall be given to the *maṭha* in the western street and the other half to the *maṭha* in the eastern street. Thus shall the expenses of the charity be maintained.

When they conduct themselves in this manner, if any one causes at any time any obstruction, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

This was ordered on the 21st day of Mārgaḷi of the year 857; and a *nīṭṭu* was also graciously ordered to be issusd to the Cheṭṭies and the *ūrār* residing in the western street of Śeṇbagarāmaṉ-Pudukkaḍai.

No. 62.—Eraniel inscription of the Kollam year 929.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab set up near the Piḷḷaiyār temple at Eraniel. It is dated in the Kollam year 929, current, and Śaka 1675, expired, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka-rāśi. Complete details of date are given. The record registers the fact that a certain Keṭṭumāṟiyāḍum-Perumāḷ-Pichchaippiḷḷai-Mūppaṉār living in Kīḻatteru (i. e. the eastern street) of Raṇaśiṅganallūr (i. e. Eraniel), obtained on mortgage with possession, five items of land called Valiya-Kuṇḍarai, Nariyaṉporṟai, Vēmbaḍi and Aravāḷ and assigned their incomes in favour of the Piḷḷaiyār temple, for baling water into a stone trough, for maintaining a flower-garden and supplying garlands to the gods, for feeding persons on *dvādaśi* days, for sacred lamps and for performing *abhishēka* to the gods on *pradōsha* days. The boundaries of each piece of land, its extent in *taḍi* (*i. e.* measuring rods), its sowing capacity and the assessment in kind and money (*kaḍamai* and *paḍivu*) payable on it, at each harvest, are also furnished together with the details of expenditure to be met from the incomes accruing from the lands.

This inscription employs several symbols. It is worthy of note that the signs used for *kalam*, year, hundred and thousand closely resemble each other though with minute differences. Same is the case with the symbols for *āga* and *ariśi*. Little or no difference exists in the symbols for *nāḷi*, *nilam* and *tēdi*: as also for *paṇam* and *māsam*. From this inscription, it is seen that 2 *uḻakku* made 1 *uri*, 2 *uri* made 1 *nāḷi*, 10 *nāḷi* made 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 15 *kuṟuṇi* made 1 *kalam*. A separate symbol is used to denote 1/20th of a *paṇam*.

It has been already noted that *kaḍamai* was the assessment proper on lands, which in most cases was paid in kind. The present epigraph introduces a new word in land tenure. It is '*padivu*' which was paid in *paṇam* during every harvest season, just like *kaḍamai*. From the Tanjore inscriptions of the early Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, we know that certain lands paid their assessments in kind alone, while in other cases this payment was effected both in kind and in money. In the subjoined record, it is seen that for certain lands payment in kind alone is given while in the case of others *padivu-paṇam* had also been paid. It is not therefore unlikely that the *padivu-paṇam* was a part of the assessment due to Government. *Vāśi* is another term that requires special notice, since its proper significance has not yet been ascertained. In a large number of instances where it occurs in inscriptions, this word is found along with the verb '*ēṟṟi*' which means 'adding'. Thus there is not much doubt that the term denotes 'an additional amount or quantity'. 'Excess' will be a very appropriate term for it in English. In one of the Tanjore inscriptions for paying 7 *kuṟuṇi*, 4 *nāḷi*, 3 *uḻakku*, 1 *āḻakku* and 2½ *śēviḍu* it is stated that adding *vāśi*, 2 *tūṇi*, 4 *nāḷi*, 1 *uri* and 1 *āḻakku* of paddy should be given to make the amount full.[1] It is necessary to state that *vāśi* (excess quantity) does not go into account, but is added merely to meet any possible deficiency that may be found in measurement. The word may be derived from the Sanskṛit *vyāji* which means 'the amount or quantity claimed to compensate any possible error in measuring, counting etc' and it must have been given to meet the differences between the standard weight and measures and those used in the market.

1 The text of this inscription (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 127) which uses the word '*vaśi*' reads "போனகப்பழ நெல்லு ஏழுகுறுணி நாழி மூழக்கே ஆழக்கே யிரு கெவிடரையும் இவை பூரியாக வாசி ஏற்றி பூரிநெல்லு இரு தூணி நாழி உரி யாழக்கும்" and this has been rendered (*Ibid*, p. 129) into (Altogether the requirements are) "seven *kuṟuṇi*, four *nāḷi*, three *uḻakku*, one *āḻakku* and two *śeviḍu* and a half of old paddy for boiling or,— having added an increment,— two *tūṇi* four *nāḷi*, one *uri* and one *āḻakku* of mixed paddy (*pūri-nellu*)". This translation requires alteration in some respects. Firstly, there is no word in the text for 'for boiling': perhaps it is the rendering of '*pōṇagam*'. We may state that '*pōṇaga-paḻa-nellu*' means 'old paddy for food'. Its definition is afforded in '*pōṇagam-eṇpadu tāṉ-uṇand-unnal*", where '*pōṇagam*' means 'food'. The word occurs in many inscriptions in none of which the sense of ' for boiling' could be obtained. Secondly, the words "*ivai-pūriy-āga*' is omitted in the translation; but '*pūri-nellu*' has been rendered into 'mixed paddy'. "*Ivai-pūriy-āga*" and "*pūri-nellu*" have to be taken to mean "to make it full or fully measured" and "the full (quantity) of paddy". Thus, from the very passage, we can understand that the quantity of paddy with '*vāśi*' realy amounts to the required measure; and the excess represents the total difference between the quantity as measured by the standard State measure (which would be called the *kōyil* measure) in which the payment had to be made and the quantity as measured by the measure in use in the market.

The terms *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* are still in use in some parts of the Tamiḻ and Malayāḷam countries where they denote 'single and double crops'. With *pādi-vāram*, compare *mēlvāram* and *pādippāḍu*.

Text.

1 ஹரி: [॥] நன்றாக [॥*] குருவெ துணை [॥*]
2 சகாத்தம் கஹ்ஸாஎ௰௫ சென்ற கற்-
3 கடக வியாழம் நின்ற கொல்லம்
4 கூ௱உ௰[கூ] ௵ தைமீ கஉ வியாழஉா-
5 ழ்சயும் பூயவும் அபரபட்சத்து திதிகயும்
6 கெற் [த்த]பகரணவும் விழ்கம்பநித்ய-
7 யொகவும் இந்நாளால் இரணியசி-
8 ங்கநல்லூர் தெசத்து கிழ்த்தெருவில்
9 கெட்டுமாறி ஆடும் பெருமாள் பிச்சப்பிள்ளை
10 மூப்பனாரென் ஷெதெருவில் பிள்ளையார்
11 கொவிலில் மகாதெவர்க்கும் பிள்ள-
12 யார்க்கும் ஷெகொவில் கிண[ற்]றில் வெள்-
13 ளம் பகல் ௩௰ நாழிகயும் வெள்ளம் இ-
14 றச்சு விடவும் நந்தாவனப் பணிவிடை
15 பாத்து மகாதெவர்க்கும் பிள்ளயார்க்கும்
16 தினசரி உ கட்டிமாலை கெட்டிவைக்கிற
17 பண்டாரத்துக்கும் துவாதெசி ஊட்டு-
18 க்கும் திருவிளக்குக்கும் பிறதொழத்துக்கும்(க்)
19 கல்லுவெட்டி நாட்டுகையில் இதுக்கு விட்ட்
20 வக [॥] கூ௱உ௰ ௵ பைங்கூனி-மீ ம் கஉ பண்-
21 டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்க[ளொடு ஷெய]-
22 ான் கஹ்ஸாஎ௰கூ பணத்துக்கு உ[றா ஒ]-
23 [ற்றி]யாக வெண்டின நிலம் தலைக்குளத்து [தி]-
24 [ரு]விதாங்கொட்டு குளத்தின்கீழ் வலி-
25 யகுண்டறை தடி க-ம் ௰உ-குறுணிக்கு [॥*] எல்கை-
26 க செறியக[ல்ல]றைக்கு கண்ணபி[ளயறை]-
27 க்கு மடத்தடிபறம்புக்கும் குளத்தடிக்கும் கு-
28 ளத்தடிக்கும் செறிய குண்டறைக்கும் நடுவி-
29 ல் கிடந்ந வலிய குண்டறை தடி க-ம் ௰உ-
30 குறுணியும் [॥] கூ௱௰உ-௵ மாசிமீ உ௰எஉ பண்-
31 டாரக்காரியம் செய்வார்களொடு ஷெ-
32 யான் சா௫௰ பணத்துக்கு உறா ஒ[ற்]றி வெ-
33 ண்டின நிலம் கடியபட டணத்து பெரிய-
34 குளத்தின்கீழ் பூவாகுடிபற்றில் நரியன்-
35 பொற்றை தடி க-ம் ச-குறுணிக்கு எல்கை பிள-
36 யறைக்கும் கவாத்தலைக்கும் பண்டாரவசலு-
37 க்கும் நரியன்பொற்றைக்கும் நடுவில் கிடந்ந ந-
38 ரியன்பொற்றை தடி க-ம் ச-குறுணியும் [॥*] கூ௱௰உ-
39 ௵ மாசிமீ உஎஉ பண்டாரக்காரியம்
40 செய்வார்களொடு ஷெயான் ௩௱௩௰உ

41 பணத்துக்கு உரு ஒ[ற்*]றி வெண்டின நிலம் கடிக-
42 பட்டணத்து பெரியகுளத்தின்கீழ் பூவாகு-
43 டிப்ப[ற்*]றில் நாக்கலம்பாடு தடி க-ம் கூ-குறுணிக்கு
44 எல்கை ஆறடிக்கும் நீர்பொகுங்காலுக்கும்
45 ஷ்டி நீர்பொகும் காலுக்கும் மறுமுறிநாற்-
46 கலம்பாட்டுக்கும் நடுவில் கிடந்த நாக்க-
47 லம்பாடு தடி க-ம் கூ-குறுணியும் [॥*] கூலிகவுடை
48 மீ சவ பண்டாரக்காரியஞ் செய்வ-
49 ர்களொடு ஷ்டியான் கூறி பணத்துக்கும் உ-
50 ரு ஒ[ற்]றி வெண்டின நிலம் ஞாறைகொடு
51 இலஞ்குளத்தாலும் சனிகுளியா லு[ம்*]
52 வெம்படி தடி க கூ-குறுணிக்கு எல்கை கி-
53 டுங்கண்ணினும் கன்ம . .
54 × × × ×

Second face.

55 நிலத்தினும் நடு-
56 வில் கிடந்த வெம்-
57 படி தடி க கூ-குறுணி [॥*]
58 தலைக்குளத்து நா-
59 ராயணன் அழ-
60 களைடு நாஞ்-
61 சினாட்டு பூதப்-
62 பாண்டி அணை-
63 ஞ்சபெருமாள் ஆசு-
64 ல-வுடை [அற்]பசிமீ
65 ம் கூவ உரு ஒ[ற்*]-
66 றிக்கூக் [கி]காண்-
67 ட நிலத்துக்கும் கூலிவுடை
68 அற்பசி மீ ல-
69 வ ஷ்டியான் சொ-
70 ரா ஒற்றிக்கு கொ-
71 ண்டுடைய வ-
72 ண்ணமெ வ[கை]-
73 யொலை சென்-
74 பன் நிலம் தலைக்கு-
75 ளத்தின்கீழ் நல-
76 ப்பாறைமட[த்தா]-
77 லும் அய்ங்கல-
78 ம்பாட்டு . .
79 யாலும் அர-
80 வாள் தடி க-ம் சு-
81 குறுணிக்கும் எல்கை
82 இருகலம்பாட்.
83 டுக்கும் பரமத்தரு
84 வாளுக்கும் பூங்க-
85 ந்துடவலுக்கும்

86 கொம்பன் வா-
87 ய்க்காலுக்கும் கூத்த-
88 க்காலுக்கும் நடு-
89 வில்க் கிடந்த அர-
90 வாள் தடி க-ம் சு-
91 குறுணியும் [॥*] ஆசெந்தி-
92 ரதாரமெ தந்த-
93 திப்பிறதெச-
94 மெ ஆ தடி நு-
95 னல் நிலம் நு-கலம் ய-
96 நு-குறுணிக்கும் ஆ அற்ற-
97 ம் பணம் நுதுச-
98 ாஉயசுக்கு உள்-
99 ள உறு ஒ[ற்]றி ஒலை
100 ச-ம் சொரா ஒ[ற்]றி
101 ஒலை க-ம் ஆ க-
102 ரணம் நு-ம் [॥*] இ-
103 ந்த வகை நாள்
104 க-க்கு ஊ நி . .
105 ஆ மீ ம் க-க்கு ஊ
106 . . குறுணி நு-நாழி

* * * *

Third face.

107 மாசம் க-க்கு அரி குத்தப்பாடு ஊ குறுணி நு-நாழியும் [॥*]
108 நெல் க-கலத்துக்கு அரி எ குறுணி நு-நாழி [॥*] நாள் க-க்கு
109 மகாதெவர்க்கு பூசைகசு அரி நாஉழக்கும்
110 பிள்ளையார் பூசைக்கு நாள் க-க்கு அரி நா உ-
111 ழக்கு பூசைக்கு வைச்சு நெதிச்சு நம்-
112 பியான்கூறு உரி அரிச்சொறு எடுத்-
113 துக்கொண்டு செழம் சொறு இருநா-
114 ழி[யி*]ல் கல்லுத்தொட்டியில் வெள்ளம்
115 இறச்சு விடுகிற ஆளுக்கு நாழி அரிச்சொ-
116 றும் நந்தாவனபணிவுடை பாத்து மாலை கெ-
117 கட்டிவைக்கிற பண்டாரத்துக்கு நாழி அரிச்-
118 சொறும் இந்தப்படி குடிப்பாராகவும் [॥*] நாள்
119 க-க்கு மகாதெவர்க்கும் பிள்ளையார்க்கும் பூசை-
120 சக்கும் திருவிளக்குக்கு எண்ணெக்கும் ஊ நா உ-
121 ரி ஆ மீ ம் க-க்கு ஊ ச-குறுணி நு-நாழியும் [॥*] துவாதெசி
122 ஊட்டுக்கு மீ ம் க-க்கு துவாதெசி உ-க்கு ஆள்
123 யஉ-க்கு மீ ம் க-க்கு ஊ சு-குறுணி ஆ நடத்திவருவா-
123 ராகவும் [॥*] ஆ வக எ-க்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடமயும் பதிவும் வெ
124 சிலவுகண்ட ஊ ய-கலம் யஉ-நுறுணியும் [॥*] வலிய குண்-
125 டறை தடி க-ம் யஉ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடமயும்
126 வாசியும் ஊ க- கலம் யக-குறுணி ச-நாழியும் [॥*] நரியன்பொற்-
127 றை தடி க-ம் ச-குறுணிகசு பூவு க-க்கு கடம ஊ யக-குறுணியும்
128 வெ நிலத்துகசு வெ க-க்கு பதிவு பணம் கஇ உ-மாவும் [॥*] நா-

க்கலம்பாடு தடி க நூ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடம
ஊ அ குறுணி உ-நாழி உரியும் வைடி நிலத்துக்கு ஹூ க-க்கு பதிவு
பணம் க ச-மாவும் [॥*] மெம்படி தடி க-ம் நூ-குறுணிக்கு பூவு
க-க்கு கடம் ஊ நு-குறுணி உ-நாழி உரியும் [॥*] அரவாள் தடி
க-ம் சு-குறுணிக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கடம ஊ யஉ குறுணியும் வைடி
நிலத்துக்கு ஹூ க-க்கு பதிவு பணம் உவ நூ-மாவும் [॥*]
ஆ வக நு-ஞல் பூவு க-க்கு கடம ஊ ச-கலம் உ-குறுணி சு-நாழி-
யும் ஹூ க-க்கு பதிவு பணம் நு ச-மாவும் [॥*] இந்நிலத்தில பா-
ட்டக்கொட்டை பாதிவாரத்தில் ஹூ பூவுக்கு மு-
தல் ஊ ய-கலம் யஉ-குறுணி இங்நெல் பதிங்கலனை
பந்திரு குறுணியும் இந்த வகைப்படி நடத்தி-
க்கொள்ளுவாராகவும் [॥*] துவாதெசி ஊட்டுக்கு
மீ ம் க-க்கு பயறு உ-நாழி ஆ ஹூ க-க்கு பயறு உ-குறுணி ச-நாழி-
க்கு குண்டறை நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-க்கு கங்ஙாணி
பயறு குறுணியும் நரியன்பொற்றை நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-
க்கு பயறு ரு-நாழியும் நாக்கலம்பாட்டுக்கு பூவு க-
க்கு பயறு ரு-நாழியும் வெம்படி நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-க்கு
பயறு ச-நாழியும் அரவாள் நிலத்துக்கு பூவு க-க்கு பய-
று சு-நாழியும் ஆ பூவு க-க்கு கங்ஙாணி பயறு
நூ-குறுணியும் உழவன்வசம் வெண்டி துவாதெசி
ஊட்டுக்கு குடுத்து நடத்துவாராகவும் [॥*] மகாதெ-
வர்க்கும் பிள்ளையார்க்கும் பிறதொழத்துக்கு ம-
ாதம் க-க்கு பிறதொழம் உ-க்கு அவுழெகக்ட்ட
ளைக்கு மாதம் க-க்கு ஊ உ-குறுணி ஆ பூவு க-க்கு ஊ யஉ-குறுணி
க்கு [॥*] வக குண்டறை உள்ளிட்ட தடி நு-ஞல் நிலம்
நூ-கலம் யநூ குறுணியில் மாராய பலிசை உழவன்வச[ம்*]
வெண்டி பிறதொழத்துக்கு அவுழெகம் நூ-
டத்துவாராகவும் [॥*] மாறியாடும்பெருமாள்
பிச்சைப்பிள்ளை மூப்ப்னர்
இந்தப்படி நடத்திவரவெ அதி . . . .

* * * *

Fourth face.

கண்ட ஊ செழ-
காறன் எடு[த்*]துக்-
கொள்ளுவாரா-
கவும் [॥*] குறையக்க-
ண்டால் செழுக-
ாறன் ஊ கூட்டி கு-
டுத்து நடத்திக்கெ-
காள்ளுவாராக-
வும் [॥*] இந்த தற்மக
ாரியம் மூடங்கா-
மல் நடத்திவரு-
கிற ஆளுக்கு சிவ-
ஹடய பாதார-

172 கெதியும் மொ-
173 ட்சவும் உண்டா-
174 கவும் [॥*] இந்தப்படி
175 நடத்திவரவெ கெ-
176 செழகாறன் விச-
177 ாரியாம லிரிக்கில்
178 ஊரிலிருந்தும்
179 காவிலிருந்-
180 தும் செழகாரனை
181 க்கொண்டு ந-
182 டத்திவிச்சுகொ-
183 ள்ளுவாராகவும் [॥*]
184 இந்தப்படி நடந்-
185 துவரவெ இந்த
186 தற்ம்ம காரியத்து-
187 க்கு இயாவனெரு-
188 வன் அகுதம் நி-
189 னைக்கில் கெங்ை-
190 கக் கரையில் கா-
191 ாம்பசுவை.கெ-
192 கான்ற தொழுத்-
193 தை கைய்யெற்-
194 று கொள்ளுவ-
195 ாராகவும் [॥] ஸ்ரீஹரி
196 ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சிவன்(த்) துணை [॥*]

Translation.

Hari ! Be it well ! May the *guru* help !

On the 1st day of Tai in the Kollam year 929, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka and Śaka 1675 had expired, and which corresponded to a Thursday, Pushya, third *tithi* of the second fortnight, Gardabhakaraṇa and Vishkambha-nityayōga, when I, Keṭṭumāṟi-āḍum-Perumāḷ Pichchaippillai-Mūppaṉār, (living) in Kīḻatteru (i. e. the eastern street) of Raṇaśiṅganallūr-dēśam, set up a stone, engraving on it (a grant) providing for the baling of water throughout the 30 *nāḻigai* of day from the well of the Piḷḷaiyār temple to the (stone trough in the shrines of the) Mahādēva and Piḷḷaiyār in the temple of Piḷḷaiyār (erected) in the said street; for paying the *paṇḍāram* who knits 2 garlands each day and gives them to the Mahādēva and Piḷḷaiyār and supervises the work in the flower-garden; for the feeding (to be conducted) on the *dvādaśi* days; for sacred lamps; and for the expenses of the *pradōsha*.

On the 1st day of Paṅguṇi in the year 920, the above (mentioned) individual gave to the persons managing (the temple) treasury 1679 *paṇam* and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Valiya-Kuṇḍaṟai, 1 *taḍi* (in extent),

(having the sowing capacity of) 12 *kuṟuṇi* (of seed), irrigated by the tank of Tiruvidāṅkōḍu in Talaikkuḷam. This land called Valiya-Kuṇḍaṟai, 1 *taḍi* and 12 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Śeṟiya-Kallaṟai, Kaṇṇapiḷaiyaṟai, Maḍattaḍi-paṟambu, Kuḷattaḍi and Śeṟiya-Kuṇḍaṟai.

On the 27th day of Māśi in the Kollam year 912, the above (mentioned) individual gave to the managers of the (temple) treasury 450 *paṇam* and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Nariyaṉpoṟṟai, (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and (having the sowing capacity of) 4 *kuṟuṇi* of seed, in Pūvākuḍipaṟṟu under the tank of Kaḍigaipaṭṭiṇam. This land of Nariyaṉpoṟṟai, 1 *taḍi* and 4 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Piḷayaṟai, Kavāttalai, Paṇḍāravayal and Nariyaṉpoṟṟai.

On the 27th day of the month of Māśi in the year 912, the above (mentioned) individual gave 332 *paṇam* to the managers of the (temple) treasury and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Nākkalampāḍu, (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and (having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kuṟuṇi* (of seed) in Pūvākuḍipaṟṟu, irrigated by the Periyakuḷam tank of Kaḍigaipaṭṭiṇam. This land of Nākkalampāḍu, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Aṟaḍi, the irrigation channel and Naṟumuṟu-Nākkalampāḍu.

On the 4th day of the month of Tai in the year 911, the above (mentioned) individual gave 305 *paṇam* to the managers of the (temple) treasury and required to obtain on mortgage the land called Vēmbaḍi, (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and (having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kuṟuṇi* (of seed), comprised in Ilañikuḷam Śaṇikuḷi. This land of Vēmbaḍi, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kuṟaṇi* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Neḍuṅgaṇ ....

The land called Aravāḷ (measuring) 1 *taḍi* (in extent) and having the sowing capacity of) 6 *kuṟuṇi*, comprised in Malappārai-maḍam and Aiyṅgalampāḍu and irrigated by the tank of Talaikkuḷam, belonging to Vagaiyōlai-Śembaṉ and obtained on mortgage on the 12th day of the month of Aṟpasi in the year 900 by Nārāyaṇaṉ Aḷagaṉ of Talaikkuḷam and Aṇaiñjaperumāḷ of Pūdappāṇḍi in Nāñji-nāḍu, on the same terms of the mortgage dated the 3rd day of the month of Aṟpasi in the year 860. This land of Aravāḷ, 1 *taḍi* and 6 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), lies in the middle of the boundaries Irukalampāḍu, Paramattaruval, Pūṅgantuḍaval, Kombaṉ-vāykkāl and Kūttakkāl.

Thus, in all, the lands (measuring) 5 *taḍi* (in extent) (and having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kalam* and 13 *kuṟuṇi* (of seed) and the money 3426 *paṇam* with 5 mortgage deeds in all,— 4 for the latter and one other mortgage,— had to be held generation after generation, as long as the moon and the stars exist.

From these items, the expenses to be met are:—5 . . . . of paddy per day, working out to . . . . *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḻi* per month; and the monthly requirements for husking paddy come to 1 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḻi* of paddy, a year.

From the rice obtained annually at the rate of 7 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḻi* for every *kalam* of paddy, shall be met the expenses of 1 *nāḻi* and (one) *uḻakku* of rice required for conducting the worship of the Mahādēva; (one) *nāḻi* and (one) *uḻakku*

of rice required for the worship of the Piḷḷaiyār. After offering the rice in worship, the Nambiyāṉ reserve for his share the food prepared from (one) *uri* of rice. From the rest of the food, i. e. that prepared out of 2 *nāḻi* of rice, (one) *nāḻi* of rice-food shall be given to the person who bales water into the stone trough and (one) *nāḻi* of rice-food to the *paṇḍāram* who supervises the work of the flower-garden and makes garlands (to the gods).

At (one) *nāḻi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for the oil required for sacred lamps during the worship of the Mahādēva and Piḷḷaiyār, the monthly expenses come to 4 *kuṟuṇi* and 5 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For feeding 12 persons on the 2 *dvādaśis* of each month, the expenses come to 6 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy. And the total annual requirements for the seven items of expenses are derived from the *kaḍamai* and *padivu*, payable in each harvest, on the lands mentioned above and they amount to 10 *kalam* and 12 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy. This is made up as follows:—

For Valiya-Kuṇḍaṟai, 1 *taḍi* 12 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* and *vāśi* for each harvest is 1 *kalam*, 11 *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy.

For Nariyaṉpoṟṟai, 1 *taḍi* and 4 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 11 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy; the *padivu* on the same land for the year is 1½ *paṇam* and 2/20ths.

For Nākkalampāḍu, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 8 *kuṟuṇi*, 2 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy; for this land the *padivu* for the year is 1 *paṇam* and 4/20ths.

For Vēmbaḍi, 1 *taḍi* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent) the *kaḍamai* is 5 *kuṟuṇi*, 2 *nāḻi* and 1 *uri* of paddy.

For Aravāḻ, 1 *taḍi* and 6 *kuṟuṇi* (in extent), the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 12 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy; the *padivu* on the same land for the year is 2¼ *paṇam* and 3/20ths.

Thus, for the 5 items, the *kaḍamai* for each harvest is 4 *kalam*, 2 *kuṟuṇi* and 9 *nāḻi* of paddy; and the *padivu* for the year is 5 *paṇam* and 4/20ths.

The items of expenses (detailed above) shall be met from proprietor's share (*padivāram*) of the *pāṭṭam* on the said lands, viz. 10 *kalam* and 12 *kuṟuṇi*, ten *kalam* and twelve *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, realizable at the harvest time of each year.

For the yearly requirements of 2 *kuṟuṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of green pulse, calculated at the rate of 2 *nāḻi* of green pulse for each month, the sources of income are:—

1 *kuṟuṇi* of *kaṅgāṇi*-green pulse for each harvest on the land called Kuṇḍaṟai;

5 *nāḻi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Nariyaṉpoṟṟai;
5 *nāḻi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Nākkalampāḍu;
4 *nāḻi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Vēmbaḍi;
6 *nāḻi* of green pulse for each harvest on the land called Aravāḻ;

making in all 3 *kuṟuṇi* of *kaṅgāṇi* green pulse for each harvest. This quantity shall be received from the cultivators and given for conducting the *dvādaśi* feeding.

For the *pradōsha* expenses,— *i. e.* for conducting the bathing ceremony on the two *pradōsha* days of each month,— of the gods Mahādēva and Piḷḷaiyār, calculated at the rate of 2 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for each month the quantity required in each harvest is 12 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy.

Receiving from the cultivators of the lands comprised in the five items of Kuṇḍaṟai and others (having the sowing capacity of) 3 *kalam* and 13 *kuṟuṇi* (of paddy), the bathing of the gods on the *pradōsha* days shall be conducted. While Māṟiyāḍum-Perumāḷ-Mūppaṉār is conducting the expenses in this manner, ... the excess paddy found shall be taken by his nephew; and if paddy be found wanting the nephew shall make good it and conduct the expenses.

May the person who conducts this charitable act, without any default, attain the feet of Śiva and secure freedom (from births). If while this charity is being conducted (in the said manner), if the nephew fails to enquire into it, the people of the village and the temple shall enforce him to do it. While it is being done in this manner, if any one entertains bad intentions against the charitable act, he shall incur the sin of killing tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Be it well ! May Śiva help !

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1 Figures refer to pages; and 'n' after a figure to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations are used:–

ch. = *chief; co.* = *country; di.* = *district* or *division; do.* = *ditto; dy.* = *dynasty; E.* = *Eastern; f.* = *female; k.* = *king; m.* = *male; mo.* = *mountains; myth.* = *mythical; ri.* = *river; s. a.* = *same as; sur.* = *surname; te.* = *temple; vi.* = *village* or *town; w.* = *western.*

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Vol. III. Part I.

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BY

K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B. A., M. R. A. S.,
Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore State.

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STONE AND COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAVANCORE WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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MITRĀNANDAPURAM COPPER-PLATES.

No. 1. A set of five plates of the Mitrānandapuram maṭha.

The subjoined inscriptions are engraved on a set of five copper-plates, which measure 13″ by $2\frac{9}{10}$″ and have a ring-hole, 3/10″ in diameter, bored on the left margin, half an inch inside from the edge and in the middle of the width. The plates bear writing on both sides. They have no ring. On the left margin of the obverse faces, a little above the ring-hole, Tamiḻ numerals are marked. The plates belong to a Brahmin gentleman of the *Pōtti* class residing in the **Mitranandapuram** *maṭha:* but nothing is known as regards how and when they were discovered. Pandit Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛitiviśārada, obtained them for examination a few years ago; and under his supervision, good impressions of them were taken. The plates had to be returned immediately to the owner as he was not willing to part with them for any length of time. I edit the inscriptions with the help of these impressions. Judging from them, the preservation of the record may be said to be excellent as far as the middle of the second line on plate Vb., where the first inscription ends. The remaining five lines on this plate and a small bit at the end of line 2, which go to form a fresh inscription, though relating to the same temple, are not so neatly cut as the rest. In fact, three different scripts are noticeable in this set of copper-plates. Up to line 76 the writing is uniform in shape though not always in size: from the latter part of line 76 up to *Kīḻappērūr* in line 77, it is in a slightly different hand; and from *Kīḻappērūr* to the end of the plate, it varies considerably from the two previous portions.

The first part of the inscription, which is the principal one on these plates, is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of about the 13th century A. D. The alphabet employed in the subsequent portion may be called a debased form of the same script, bordering on the Kōleḻuttu characters.

The only Grantha letters used are *svasti śrī* (*l.* 1), *shṇajña* (*l.* 2), *shu* in *vishu* (*l.* 17), and *sahasra* (*l.* 67). The writing of the inscription calls for a few remarks. The first thing to notice in this direction is the want of uniformity in the size of letters.

Many letters had been omitted and afterwards entered by way of interlineation. Such are incised below the line. Two instances of them occur in line 19, one in line 25, one in line 56, and another in line 64. It is particulary worthy of mention that at the end of line 68, there is a vacant space which should have contained a number of syllables that are actually required to go with what follows, to complete the sense. The *pa* and *va* of this record are hardly distinguishable from each other: and *ya* has a very small inward loop at the left top. *Ta* is completely closed at the left side: and hard *ṟa* is shaped almost like a big zero. The bottom portion of *ṉa* is not separated. In its formation, *ṉai* (*ll.* 12, 38 and 56) resembles the letter *po* with the difference that the former has a closed downward loop at the commencement, which the latter has not. For the long *pō*, the engraver gives an open convex curve on the left side and a secondary *a* symbol on the right. The latter differentiates it from the short *po* to which it is not added (*l.* 29). It is worthy of note that the distinction between *pō* and *po* is not made

in earlier Vaṭṭeḻuttu charters like the Madras Musuem plates of Jaṭilavarman[1] and the Ambāsamudram record of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.[2] In this respect, our inscription presents points of similarity to the epigraphs of Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai[3] and Bhāskara-Ravivarman[4] in which, however, *ṟa* presents a much older appearance. A reference to the plates will show that with regard to the letters *ṅa*, *ṟu*, *tu* and *ḷai*, which are generally liable to be mistaken one for the other, our epigraph maintains clear distinction. One other point that calls for attention is that the rare symbol for *ṉo* is employed in lines 74 and 75. There is every likelihood of confounding this letter with *ku* or *kū* and as such it requires more than a passing notice. While *ku* or *kū* is disjointed at the bottom, *ṉo* is completely connected and has a bigger round loop at the commencement: the middle portion resembles the vowel *ē*.

The language of the inscription may be called the western dialect of Tamiḻ, very commonly used in the lithic records of the Malabar coast. There are certain usages which are quite peculiar to these epigraphs and, as such, they deserve notice. Tamiḻ inscriptions often employ colloquial or vulgar forms in registering stone or copper-plate documents, but they are not so profuse as those found in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu records of the Malai-nāḍu. Forms of words and phrases occurring in this inscription, as well as the sense which particular terms convey are worthy of note for a comparative study of kindred records and are also valuable as philological aids. In the name Kṛishṇajñapaḻārar occurring in line 2, *paḻārar* is an adaptation of the Sanskṛit *Bhaṭṭāraka*, which finds its way in Tamil in such forms as *Bhaṭṭārayar*, *Piḍārar* or *Paḍārar*.[5] One of the stone inscriptions of Mitrānandapuram introduces a certain Brahmaprajñābhaḻārar-tiruvaḍi,[6] another mentions Yādavēndrānubhūtippaḻārar-tiruvaḍi[7] and two others name Rāmajñapaḻārar-tiruvaḍi.[8] A stone record from Tiruvallam, dated in Kollam 411 (=A. D. 1235), brings to notice Mukundōttamapaḻāra-tiruvaḍi.[9] All these persons seem to have been vested with some authority which is not quite apparent at present. That they were entrusted with the management of temples is almost certain; and the fact that Kṛishṇajñapaḻārar of our record had ordered the re-engraving of the contents of inscriptions that existed previously, might be taken to show that they had some power in that connection. The other term *tiruvaḍi*, which they had adopted, might indicate that they were sanyāsins[10] attached to the *maṭhas* belonging to the respective temples.

1 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX. Plate facing p. 290.

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. plate facing p. 92.

3 *Ibid.* Vol. VIII. plate facing p. 236.

4 *Ibid.* Vol. III p. 72 and *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. p. 34.

5 For a short note on the etymology of this word, see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII p. 135.

6 See No. 6 below.

7 The inscription which mentions him is dated in Kollam 660 and is edited below; No. 5.

8 See Nos. 3 and 4, below.

9 This record is noticed in the Annual Report of the Travancore Archæological Superintendent for M. E. 1084. The date has been read as Kollam 430 and the name, Mukundānandapaḻārar-Tiruvaḍi. It is edited below, (No. 12).

10 The author of the Tamiḻ work *Śilappadigāram* is Iḷaṅgōvaḍigaḷ, a Chēra prince and a recluse.

Adiyārkkunallār, the commentator on the *Śilappadigāram* notes that *Aḍigaḷ* is a term applied to persons who have renounced the world[1] i. e, *sanyāsins*. We find it employed in the case of Aiyai, a female ascetic of the Jaina or Bauddha creed figuring in the work.[2] Sometimes, the term appears in the form Tiruvaḍi or Tiruvaḍigaḷ. In all cases, it seems to have indicated respectability, reverence or endearment; and, as such, we find it appended to the names of kings, queens, chiefs, elders, heads of spiritual institutions, *sanyāsins*, and gods; or used separately in referring to them. Thus, in inscriptions, we meet with forms like Bhāskaran-Ravivarman-Tiruvaḍi[3] and Śōḻaperumān-aḍigal[4] among kings; Kōkkiḻān-aḍigaḷ[5] and Aḍigaḷ-Kamban Māṟambāvai,[6] Puṉaḷttuṇai-Aḍigaḷ[7] among queens; Ayyan-aḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and Rāma-Tiruvaḍi,[8] Viḻuppēraraiyar Ayyakkuṭṭi Aḍigaḷ[9] among chiefs; Guṇavīrakkurav-Aḍigaḷ,[10] a Jaina teacher; and Tirumūlaṭṭanattu-Perumān-Aḍigaḷ[11] and Kaṟṟaḷi-Perumān-Aḍigaḷ[12] among the names of gods. From all these, it will be evident that the term could not have had the exclusive sense of a religious recluse. In his *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṇār gives a list of the great Śaiva saints that preceded him. To their names, he generally affixes the honorific plural Aḍiyār, perhaps out of respect or reverence. Among these we would specially note Appūdi-Aḍiyār Naminandi-Aḍiyār and Aiyaḍigaḷ Kāḍavarkōn.[13]

In such expressions as "*Mahādēvar dēvadānaṅgaḷum Tiruvaḍigaḷ dēvadānaṅgaḷum*,"[14] "*Tiruvaḍigaḷukku-paṅg-iraṇḍu Mahādēvarkku paṅgu aindu*"[15] and "*Tiruvaḍigaḷ śrīkōyilum nandavāṉamum*,"[16] *Tiruvaḍigaḷ* seems to denote exclusively Vishṇu temples as distinguished from Śiva shrines.[17] Besides the above mentioned usages of the term, we have to note that Aḍigaḷ or Aḍigaḷmār indicated 'a body of men' which perhaps included in it all those who performed worship in temples. That this body was separate from, but had the privilege of meeting in company with, the members of the village assembly (*sabhai*), for settling matters of moment is clear from such expressions as "*sabhaiyam aḍigaḷmārum avirōdattāl kūḍi-chcheyda kachcham*."[18] The Sanskṛit equivalent of *aḍigaḷ* is *pādāh* and its usage is to some extent, similar; *e. g.*, Pūjyapādāh, Bhagavatpādāh, Tātapādāh, Āchāryapādāh, etc. Though the application of the term *aḍiyaḷ*

1 அடிகள் என்பது துறத்தலான்.

2 See Canto 1.

3 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II., pp. 40, 41.

4 No. 381 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

5 Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 133. Here, Kōkkiḻāṉ-Aḍigaḷ is called the mother of Rājāditya.

6 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part. III. p. 226.

7 No. 168 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

8 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 67 and 68.

9 No. 168 of Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1904.

10 No. 705 of Do. for 1905.

11 No. 319 of Do. for 1904.

12 *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III. Part III, p. 228.

13 See. p. 699 of Tēvāram.

14 *South-Ind. Inscrs.* Vol. II, page 46, sect. 2, text-line 3f.

15 *Ibid* p. 527, text-line 9.

16 See Introd. to *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 41.

17 *Ibid* p. 47 text-line 9.

18 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 85.

or *Tiruvaḍigaḷ* is general, it does not appear to have been so freely used in connection with kings and bodies of men in other parts of Southern India, as in Malabar. And perhaps from this circumstance, the country of Travancore came to be called by the proper name *Tiruvaḍi-dēśam* or *Tiruvaḍi-rājya*. It is curious that Dr. Winslow explains Tiruvaḍi-rājyam as a 'society without law or justice', 'anarchy or want of Government'.

In line 3, the term Baṭṭāragar is used to denote the god at Mitrānandapuram. In this sense, it is invariably employed in Tamil epigraphs. Instances in which the term is used to mean worshippers are not rare. In the subjoined record *oḷḷa* is used for *uḷḷa*. It occurs several times *e. g. tiruchchennaḍaikkoḷḷa* (*l.* 3.) *mēlōḷḷa* (*l.* ..) *nondāviḷakkiṇoḷḷa* (*l.* 35), *amirdiuṇoḷḷidu* (*ll.* 74 & 75) and *rājabōgamoḷḷadu* (*l.* 82). In such words as *eppērppaṭṭidu* (*l.* 4.), *śelvidu* (*ll.* 6 & 57), *koḷvidu* (*l.* 17) *oḷḷidu* (*l.* 74) which stand for *eppērppaṭṭadu*, *šelvadu*, *koḷvadu* and *uḷḷadu*, we notice the change of the Tamiḻ *a* into *i*. The correct Tamiḻ from *koḷvadu* is also used once in line 25 f. For *amaitta*, the form *amaichcha* is substituted in lines 7 and 20. When a hard consonant (*valliṇam*), follows a nasal or a letter of the *mellinam*, the former is generally changed into the corresponding letter of the *mellinam* class. Several instances of this occur in this inscription. *e. g.*

k is changed into *ṅ*, in Mūṅṅilkuḍi (*l.* 42), Panaiṅṅāṭṭūr paṅṅu (*l.* 71); and Kīrttimaṅṅalam (65 f):

ch is changed into *ñ*, in Paḷañṅi (*l.* 34) and veṅṅi (*l.* 43):

t into *n*, in kiḍanna (*l.* 56) and Śēnnaṉ (*l.* 18):

and *p* into *m*, in tāmmira for tāmbira.[1]

For *aimpaṟai*, our inscription substitutes *ampaṟai* (*ll.* 12, 13, 15 and 49), *aympaṟai* (*ll.* 22) and *aympaṟai* (*l.* 53). The use of the word *taṉṟalai* (*ll.* 9 & 17) for *tanakku* is worthy of note. For the dative, *u* is added instead of *ku* in such instances as *śelaviṉṉu* (*l.* 68) *agattiyakuṇḍattiṉṉu* (*l.* 65), *amudiṉṉu* (*l.* 80) *viḷakkiṉṉu* (*l.* 80) and *vishuviṉṉu* (*l.* 17). The rules of Tamiḻ grammar would not admit the doubling of the final consonant in these instances. *Niyadi* (*ll* 5, 18) of our inscription assumes the forms *nigadi*,[2] *niśadi*, *niyadam* and *niśadam* in other records. *Ari* is used for *ariśi* in lines 19 and 34. Sometimes the connecting particle *um* is omitted e. g. *Peruṅguḷam nālkalam Tachchakkōḍu irukalaṅ-kūḍa* for '*nāṟkalamum*' *irukalamumkūḍa*. Similarly, the particle *um* is required after *nāṟkalam*, *mukkalam* and *irukalam* occurring in lines 42 and 43. The rules of *sandhi* are set at naught in such cases as *nālpadu*, *nālkalam*, *paṟaiarai*, *irukalaarai* (*ll.* 63, 64), *pūmināl* (*l.* 70) *oṉṟunāl* (*l.* 72), *pādipāṭṭāl* (*l.* 66), though the record makes use of such forms as *mūḷakku* (*ll.* 10, 17) *nāṟpadu*, *nāṟkalam*, *paṟaiyarai*, *Mēṟṟachchakhōḍu*, *nāṟpattirupaṟaiyarai*, *nāṟṟūṇi*, (*l.* 53), and *Āṉaiyaṟaiyāgiṉṟa* (*l.* 56). In *mūṉṟoṉṟu* and *nāloṉṟu*, the marked preference to forms without connecting particles, may be observed. The termination *il* is used for the locative, and *āl* either for the instrumental or for the ablative,—more probably for the latter e. g. Kōlachchaimūlai*yil* Varaiyaṟai*yāl* nel padiṉpaṟai (*l.* 13 f). *Āl* is also used for the instrumental in such phrases as *iḍaṅgaḷiyāl aṟunāḷi*.

1 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. I. p. 302.

2 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 94, *n.*

The writer of the present inscription gives the names of lands by the quantity of seed that could be sown in them. This custom still obtains in Travancore, Tinnevelly and other parts of the Tamiḻ country. Thus the term *pandiru-tūṇi-vittuppāḍu* (*l.* 46) indicates a land that could be sown with twelve *tūṇi* of seed. Instead of *vittuppāḍu*, its equivalent *viraippāḍu* is now current in such phrase as *nālukōṭṭai viraippāḍu*. Quite in the same sense, the shortened phrase *kalampāḍu* (*l.* 23 &c.) is employed in this record; and it means that the land requires (one) *kalam* (*of seed*). Sometimes, perhaps for the sake of brevity, the writer omits the term *pāḍu* and uses only *kalam e. g. Viṭṭikōḍu nilam kalam* (*l.* 38 f) where it means that the land called Viṭṭikōḍu (*can be sown with*) (*one*) kalam (*of seed*). In expressing the income derived from lands, the writer uses the words '*nilam eṇkalattāl nelpadiṉ-aim-paṟai* (*l.* 28)' *i. e.* fifteen *paṟai* of paddy (accruing) from the land (which requires) eight *kalam* (of seed) for sowing. In most cases, this form is still further shortened into *Viṭṭikkōḍu nilam kalam nel irupattiru-paṟai* (*l.* 38f) or by omitting even the word *nilam* e. g. *Mūṉṉilkōḍu nāṟkalam nel muppaḍupaṟai* (*l.* 49 f).

The term *mēloḍi*, which is often used in our inscription, is not explained in dictionaries. But its sense can, with some amount of certainty, be determined from its use. In the above paragraph, it has been shown that the writer of the present inscription indicates the incomes from lands by mentioning the quantity of paddy immediately after the lands which are again expressed by simply noting the quantity of seed that could be sown in them. In a large number of cases, the quantity of paddy is followed by such terms as *mūṉṟ-oṉṟu-mēloḍi* (*ll.* 22 f and 30) *nāl-oṉṟu mēloḍi koḷvadu* (*l.* 29), *mēloḍi mūṉṟ-oṉṟu* (*l.* 70), or merely *mēloḍi* (*l.* 45), from which it looks as if the term *mēloḍi* stands for the income derived form the lands. Mēlvāram will not be an improper equivalent of mēloḍi. And in this connection, it may be noted that there is still the usage '*mūṉṟatt-oṉṟu mēlvāram*' and '*nālil-oṉṟu mēlvāram*', current in some parts of the Tamil districts. *Oḍi* in modern Malayāḷam means "a rice field" and not the income from it. In the sense of *mēloḍi*, *ayakara* is used in line 62.

Veḷḷaṅgoḻḷi (*ll.* 11, 25, and 37), *kaḻapaṟai* (*l.* 23), *kaḻavarai* (*ll.* 23 & 50), *paṭṭattuḍavai* (*l.* 25), *eruma-āḻa* (*l.* 25), and *muṭṭaviḻai* (*l.* 25), are terms applied to indicate different classes of lands. *Purayiḍam* or *puraiyiḍam*, *i. e.* land surrounding houses (*ll.* 34 and 57), *vayal* and *karai* are also mentioned (*l.* 75). The meaning of *Purappaḍagāram* (*l.* 75) is not clear: perhaps it is a proper noun here. But in other epigraphs *paḍāgāram* and *pṉñjaippaḍāgāram* are used in a general sense.

Among the names of measures, we have *iḍaṅgaḻi*, *nāḻi*, *uri*, *uḻakku*, *paṟai*, *tūṇi*, *kaṟṟai* (*ll.* 62 and 65) and *kalam*. *Paṟai* contained according to line 26, ten *nāḻi*. From other inscriptions, we gather that it varied in its capacity. The Śrīvallabhan Kōdai epigraph of Tiruvaṇmaṇḍūr mentions one which held nine *nāḻi*[1]

1 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 23.

The phrases *munnāḷichchai-ari* and *nānāḷichchari*, which are not in popular usage, occur in lines 57 and 80. In these cases, *chai* and *cha* appear to be contractions of *cheydu* which is the form used in similar places in the Māmbaḷḷi plate of Śrīvallabhan-Kōdai[1] and the stone inscriptions of Bhāskara-Ravivarman.[2] In the former plate, *cheydu-nel* is also used.[3] In all these instances, *cheydu*, *chai*, and *cha* are not mere expletives but appear to convey the meaning 'good, clean or superior' and are probably the remnants of the word *śeydu* or śemmai. Thus *cheydu-nel* means 'good paddy' and *cheyd-ari* 'superior rice.' Here may be noted the use of "*chennel*", "*arisi chennel-tīṭṭai nānāḷi*," employed in similar places in other epigraphs.[4] In *Tachchōḷi Pāṭṭu* the phrase "*munnāḷichcha ari*" occurs, perhaps in the same sense.[5] *Viṭṭu-ulōgam* (*l.* 60f), *śāndivirutti* (*l.* 67) and *amavādi*, stand for *Vishṇulōka*, *śāntivritti* and *amāvāsya*. The change of Vishṇu into *Viṭṭu* is one worthy of note. The word generally adopts the form *viṇṇa* changing the *sh* into *ṇ*: *e. g.* Viṇṇagara for Vishṇugriha, Kaṇṇa for Krishṇa. But the substitution of *ḷa* for *sha* is quite common *e. g.* Mēḷa for Mēsha, Iḷavam for Ṛishabha. *Tiruvakkiram* frequently figures in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions of the State, while *uttamāgram* takes its place in the epigraphs of the Tanjore, Trichinopoly and other districts.

Among proper names of lands, we frequently meet with the endings *kōḷḷu* (*ll.* 8, 15, 22, 69), *kāḷḷu* (*ll.* 25 and 31) or kūḷu (*l.* 14), *muṟi* (*l.* 52) or *muṟai* (*l.* 55), *vāy* (*ll.* 47 and 62), *maṉ* (*ll.* 12f, 43, 46), and *aṟa* or *aṟai* (*ll.* 13, 30, 42, 48, 56).

Dēvarśittan, which occurs in line 60, must be taken to denote the name of a standard grain and liquid measure, probably called after the god, just as Āḍavallān and Dakshiṇamēruviṭaṅkan mentioned very often in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. In former times, it was also customary to call weights and measures after the names of kings *e. g.* Rājakēsari, Viḍēlviḍugu, Arumoḻidēvan.

This epigraph does not appear to be a fresh grant but purports only to give a list of lands that had been made over to the temple at different times and recorded as such either on stone or copper. This fact is plain from the use of the phrase "*veṭṭiṟuṇapaḍi*" occurring in line 4. The engraving of the present inscription was ordered by one Kṛishṇajña-apaḻārar (*ll.* 2 to 4) who must have been a person of some consequence, though his calling and authority are not mentioned. The astromonical data furnished regarding the date on which the order for the re-engraving was given *i. e.* "In the month of Vṛiśchika when Jupiter stood in Dhanus" (*l.* 1) are not sufficient for calculation or verification.

1 Ep. Ind Vol. IX. p. 236 text-line 9.

2 Trav. Archl. Series, Vol. II. pp. 39 and 47.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 236 text-line 10.

4 Ibid, Vol. VII. p. 90, text-lines 15 and 30.

5 See Dr. Gundert's Malayāḷam Dictionary under *munnāḷi*.

The object of the inscription is to register the gifts made to meet the expenses of the temple at Mitrānandapuram. The first of the grants recorded is said to have been made in the month of Mithunam when Jupiter was in Tulām, by a certain Kuṉṟan Kēraḷaṉ, a resident of Peruṅguḷam, for supplying a dish of sacred meal (*l.* 5), which is here apparently intended for feeding a Brāhmaṇa. The second gift was made by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarppaḷḷi, for offerings to the god and sacred meal and condiment (*l.* 18f). The same person is said to have provided also for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. The inscription then gives a list of lands, which were perhaps given by others for the same purpose *i. e.* for sacred lamps (*l.* 35ff). Next follow further grants made by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi, for conducting worship and for performing *sahasraṉ* (*i. e. sahasranāmā-archana* 'offering of flowers 1,000 times uttering the thousand names of the god) (*l.* 65). Then the inscription registers gifts made for offerings and expenses to be defrayed on the days of *Amāvādi* (*i. e.* Amāvāsyā 'the new-moon') (*l.* 76). Finally, in somewhat later characters, the epigraph records that the Vēṇāḍu king Ravimārttāṇḍavarman of Kīḻappērūr bestowed the incomes of *Rājabhōga* and *tuṟam* which accrued to him at Tiruvānandapuram, for daily offerings and sacred lamps (*ll.* 78ff). The inscription ends with the mention of the name Iravi-Pērūr (*l.* 82).

It remains now to note that Mitrānandapuram, to whose temples our inscription registers grants, forms part of Trivandrum. It is situated to the west of the temple of Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin from whose western gate a stonepaved path-way leads to it. Here are three shrines dedicated to Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā. As will be noticed below in editing the stone inscriptions of Mitrānandapuram, like Kṛishṇajña-Bhaṭārar of the subjoined inscription, Rāmajña-Bhaṭārar and Brahmaprajñā-Bhaṭārar were connected with the management of the same temple at different times. A point that is worthy of special mention is that the god in the Brahmā shrine is called in its inscriptions Dakshiṇasvarnamukai-Bhaṭārar.

Quite a large number of proper names of villages and lands are furnished in this inscription. A list of these, arranged in alphabetical order, is given below. I have been able to indentify most of the villages. In column 2 of the list the names of villages and lands as they occur in the inscriptions, are given; in colum 3, the references to the lines; and in column 4, a short note as regards their identification.

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Rémarks.
1	2	3	4
1	Agattikōḍu	73	There is a village named Agastyakōḍ in the Anchal-Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk.
2	Agattiyakuṇḍam	65	

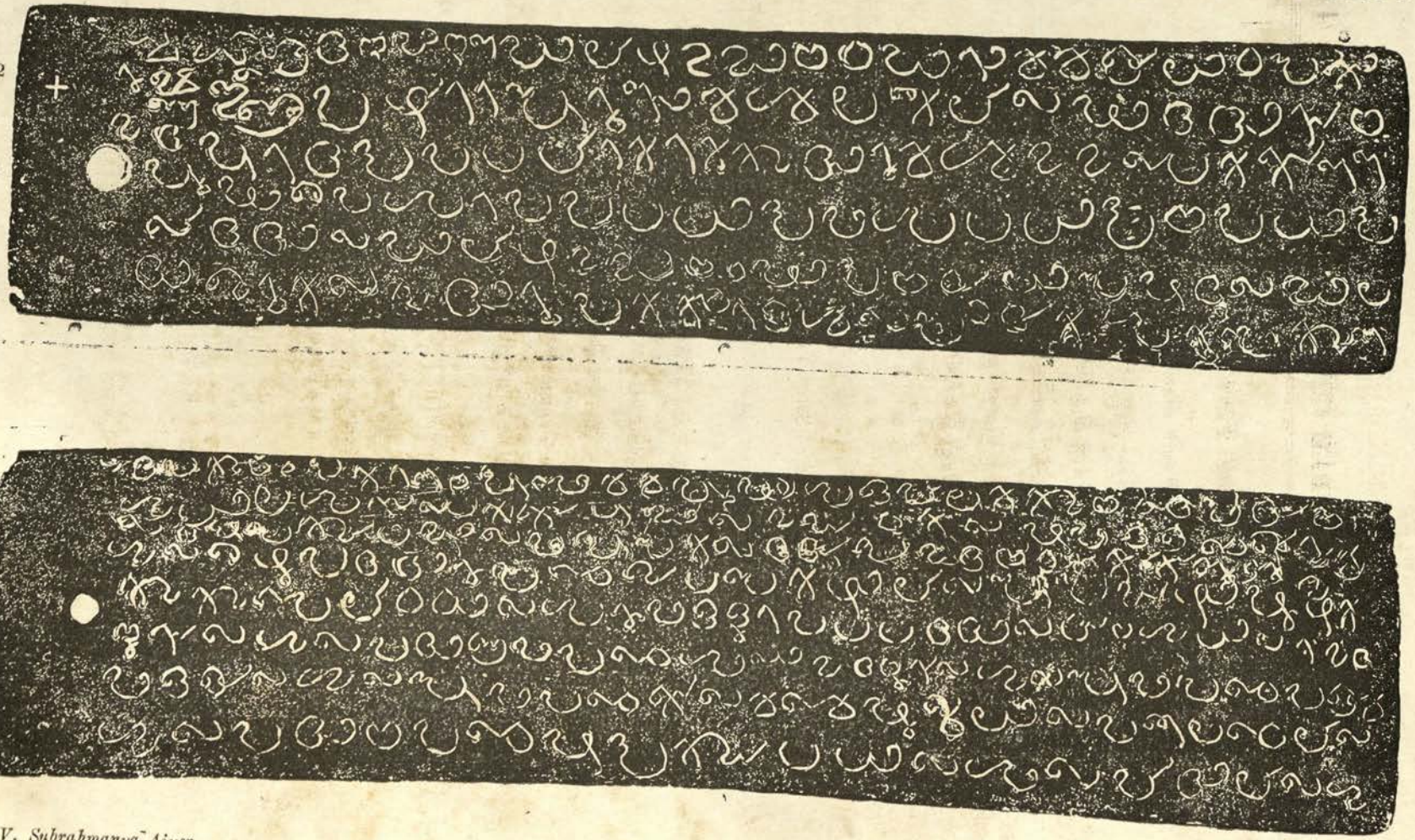
Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
3	Ālaikkōṭṭūr	51	
4	Āḷāyakkōṭṭai	39	
5	Ambaruttikkuḷi	77	
6	Āṉaikkuḷimugam or Mēlāṉaikkuḷimugam	54, 55, 56	
7	Āṉaiyaṟai	56	
8	Aṇḍamāṉūr	48	
9	Āriyappaḷaññi	27	
10	Dēvarpaḷḷi	18, 69	This name which occurs before Śēṉṉaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ may be considered as the village of original settlement of the person.
11	Iḍaikkaṟkāḍu	42	There is a village called Iḍamala in Pūñjār-Pakuthi in Peermade Taluk. Idamuḷakkal is a Pakuthi in Pathanapuram Taluk.
12	Iḍaimalaikkāl	30	
13	Iḍaimalai Śiṟṟiḍaimalai Pēriḍaimalai	31, 59	
14	Iḍaiyarmaṉ	46	This is now a hamlet of Muṭṭattara Pakuthi in the Trivandram Taluk.
15	Iḷantōṭṭam	58	
16	Iḷavēṇāḍu	59	Iḷavēṇāṭṭunallūr figures as a village in the Huzur plates of Karunandaḍakkan of the 9th century A. D. where it is stated to be situated in Teṅga-nāḍu and as sum must be located in the Viḷavaṅkoḍ Taluk, Painkuḷam-Pakuthy.
17	Īndaṉūr	11, 12	This is a Pakuthi in Tiruvalla Taluk.
18	Iravipērūr	82	
19	Iruṭalaikōḍu	54	
20	Kaḍuvēlamālaikuḷam	43	
21	Kallaṟai	48	
22	Kaṇichchikōḍu	22	

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to line.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
23	Kīḻapṟēṟūr	77	There is a village of this name belonging to Veḷḷalūr-Pakuthi in the Chirayinkīḻ Taluk.
24	Kīḻupulam	44	
25	Kīrttimaṅṅalam	65 f	
26	Kolachchaimūlai	13	
27	Koṇḍaṉṉeṟai	77	
28	Koṉṟaiyaṟai	30	
29	Kuḻaikkāḍu	37	This may be identical with Kuḻakkaṭa one of the Pakuthies of the Kottarakkara Taluk.
30	Kummam-Peruntāṉṟi	74	It is now a hamlet belonging to Pālkuḷaṅgarai-Pakuthy, Trivandrum Taluk.
31	Kuṇḍaiyam	39	There are two hamlets of this name, one in Paṭṭāḻi-Pakuthi and the other in Pathanapuram Pakuthi of the Pattanāpuram Taluk.
32	Kuṟṟaṟai-muṟi or-uṟā	52, 53	
33	Kurugātti	76	
34	Kuvaiyūrkkāl	69	
35	Maṇalpaḷaññi	34	This is now a hamlet belonging to Tiruvattūr Pakuthi of the Neyyattinkara Taluk.
36	Māṇikkāl	33, 38, 41	Bearing the name Māṇikkal, there are two places in the Nedumangad Taluk. One of them is a hamlet of Nellanad-pakuthi and the other is a Pakuthi by itself.
37	Maṇṇarai	8	It is a hamlet belonging to Aṇḍūrkōṇam-Pakuthi, Trivandrum Taluk.
38	Mēl-Kāḍiyūr	25	
39	Mēl-Toḻundiyūr	64 f	
40	Mittirānandapuram	2 f, 79	This is a part of Trivandrum, quite close to the Padmānabhasvāmin temple; a stone paved pathway leads to it from the western gate of the temple of Padmanābhasvāmin. Here are shrines of Śiva, Vishṇu and

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
			Brahmā and a *maṭha*. These have already been referred to (pp. 10 to 11).
41	Mudākkāl	21, 25, 28, 37	This is a hamlet belonging to Nellanad Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk.
42	Mudukūḍu	14	
43	Mūṅṅilkōḍu	49	
44	Muṭṭaviḷai	58	This may be Muṭṭattarai-Pakuthi of the Trivandrum Taluk.
45	Naḍuvattumuṟai	55	
46	Nannāḍu or Nannāṭṭukkāl	29	There is a village named Nannad in Tiruvammuṇḍūr Pakuthi, Chengannur Taluk.
47	Nechchikkōḍu	23, 25 f	I have not been able to find out Nechchikkōḍu among the villages and hamlets of Travancore but there is one bearing the name Nechchiputūr which is a hamlet of Lāḷam-Pakuthy of the Minachchal taluk.
48	Neḍumaṇ	44	There are two villages of the name Neḍumaṇ, of which one figures as a hamlet in Karakuḷam-Pakuthy of the Nedumangad Taluk and the other is a hamlet of Enadimangalam-Pakuthi in Kunnathur Taluk.
49	Neṉṉaṇēṟai	47	
50	Oṟṟimā	27	
51	Pālaikkōḍu	31, 50	This may be identified with the hamlet of Pālakkāḍu in Thotappuzhasseri of the Tiruvalla Taluk.
52	Paralkkōṭṭelvāyil	51	
53	Panaiṅṅāṭṭūr	71	
54	Pēṟilikkōḍu	8	
55	Perumaṇṇūr	11	There are hamlets of this name in Kuṭṭamangalam Pakuthi of Muvattupuzha taluk and Iḍamuḷakkal Pakuthi of Pathanapuram Taluk. There is a village named Peruman

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
			in Trivandrum taluk and another in Quilon Taluk.
56	Perumbālaimaṇ	31, 61, 64	
57	Perumbaṇaiyūr	32 f	
58	Peruṅguḷam	6, 36	This is a Pakuthi of the Nedumangad Taluk. There is also a hamlet of this name in Kuḷakkaḍa-Pakuthi of the Kottarakara taluk and another in Mailam Pakuthi of the Pattanapuram Taluk.
59	Perunīr	32	
60	Peruntāṉṟi	74	This is only a part of Trivandrum, now spelt Perumtānni.
61	Piṇarkkōḍu	15	
62	Poṅṅaṟai or Kālapoṅṅaṟai	29	
63	Pōyili	61	
64	Pūdikōḍu	69 f	
65	Puṉṉūr	40	
66	Puraṇi	45	
67	Purappaḍagāram	75	
68	Pūvaṟai and Kīḻpūvaṟai	42	
69	Śempaḻundi	49	This is the hamlet of chempazhanji belonging to Uḻiattura Pakuthi of the Trivandrum Taluk.
70	Śempalundinallūr	62	
71	Śirukuvaiyāṟu	35	
72	Śiṟupāṇaiyam	33	
73	Śirutāḻaṟai	42	
74	Siṟutuṟavāy	64	
75	Tachchakkōḍu and Meṟṟachchakkōḍu	36 37	It is one of the *karas* of Tiruvitāṅkōḍ Pakuthi in Eraniel Taluk.
76	Tiruvāṇandapuram	81	This is only Trivandrum.
77	Tuṟiyūrkkāl	46	
78	Uḻamalaikkāl	60, 63 f	This is a Pakutbi of the Nedumangad Taluk.
79	Uraiyūrkkōḍu	28	

Serial No.	Name of villages and lands.	References to lines.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4
80	Uḷiyattuṟai	32	
81	Vañjamaṇ	12 f	
82	Vanjiyūr	52	This forms one of the Pakuthies of the Trivandrum Taluk.
83	Vaṟaiyaṟai	13	
84	Vēṇāḍu	78	
85	Veññimaṇ	43	
86	Veṇpāykkuṇṟam	7, 45	This may be identical with Vembāyam Pakuthi of Nedumangad Taluk.
87	Veyvēṟu	41	
88	Viḷiñam or Viḷiñattuvāy	47	Viḷiñam is a hamlet in Kōṭṭukāl Pakuthy in Neyyaṟṟingara Taluk.
89	Veṭṭikōḍu	38	There is a village named Veṭṭikōḍu in Paḷḷikal pakuthy of Mavelikkara Taluk.
90	Viṭṭu-ulōkam	60 f	



Y. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

First Plate: First Side.[1]

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] தனுவினுள் வியாழந் நின்ற விரிச்ச[2] ஞாயிற்று கி-
2. ருஷ்ணஆபழாரர் அருளிச்செய்கையால் மித்திரான-
3. ந்தபுரத்து பட்டாரகர்க்கு திருச்செந்தடைக்கொள்ள[3]
4. பூமி எப்பெர்ப்பட்டிதும்[4] வெட்டிறனபடி[5] [॥*] து-
5. லாத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற மிதுன ஞாயிறு முதல் நிய-
6. தி ஒரு கலந் திருவக்கிரஞ் செல்விதாக[6] பெருங்குள-

First Plate: Second Side.

7. த்து குன்றங் கேரளன் அமைச்ச பூமி [॥*] வெண்பாய்க்குன்றத்து தான-
8. நெடிய பெரிலிக் கொடு நிலந் நாற்கலமு[ம்*] மண்ணறை இரு[க]-
9. லமுங்[7] கூட நிலம் அறுகலத்தாலுந் தன்றலைக் கொள்ளுஞ்[8]
10. நெல் எழுபத்திரு பறை இடங்கழியால் அறுநாழி மூழக்
11. கு[॥*] குவையாற்றில் பெருமண்ணூர் வட்டத்தில் தான நெடிய ஈந்த-
12. ணூரால் நெல் பதினெம்பறை[॥*] மெலிந்தணூரால் நெல் அம்பறை[॥*] வஞ்ச-
13. மண்ணல் நெல் அம்பறை[॥*] கொலச்சை மூலையில் வரையறையால்
14. நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] முதுகூட்டில் மெல் பாதியால் நெ-

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1 The Tamil numeral for 'one' in the form of a *plus* sign is marked on the left margin.

2 Read விரிச்சிக.

3 Read கடைக்குள்ள.

4 Read எப்பேர்ப்பட்டதும்.

5 Read வெட்டியிருந்தபடி.

6 Read செல்வதாக.

7 A symbal which resembles the letter த is found between ல and மு. Perhaps it has been scored out or wrongly inserted.

8 Read கொள்ளுந்.

Second Plate:[1] *First Side.*

15. ல் அம்பறை[॥*] பிணர்க்கொட்டால் நெல் அம்பறை[॥*] கூட நெல் பதினை-
16. ழிப்பறையால் நூற்றெருபத்தெழுபறை இடங்கழியால் அறு
17. நாழி மூழக்கு[॥*] சித்திரை விஷுவின்னு தன்றலைக் கொள்வித[2][॥*]
18. தெவர்பள்ளிச் செந்நங்கண்டன் நியதி இரட்டையால் அஞ்-
19. ஞாழி யரி பாதி திருவமுதும் பாதி[3] திரு அக்கிரத்தின்னும்[3] வெஞ்-
20. சனத்தின்னும் அமைச்ச பூமி[॥*] ஈராற்றிடை தெவர்புளிமா எழுக-
21. லத்தால் பதினழிப்பறையால் நூற்றைம்பது பறை[॥*] முதாக்கா-

Second Plate: Second Side.

22. ல் கணிச்சிகொட்டு வெள்ளங்கொள்ளி அய்ம்பறை வித்துபாடு[।*] முன்றெரன்-
23. று மெலொடி[॥*] நெச்சிகொட்டு களபறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் கலம்பாடு [।*] இதி-
24. னால் நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] செந்நங்கண்டனே ஒரு நந்தாவிளக்கின்கு[4] அமைச்
25. ச பூமி[॥*] முதாக்கால் [5]கணிச்சிகொடும் மெல்காடியூர் முக்கலமும் [।*] நெச்சிகொ-
26. ட்டு வெள்ளங்கொள்ளியும் பட்டத்துடவையும் எரும ஆளும் முட்ட-விலை
27. ஆரியப்பழஞ்ஞி மெலொள்ள ஒற்றிமாவு கூட நெல் நூற்றெருபது பறை[॥*]
28. முதாக்கால் உறையூர்க்கொடு நிலம் எண்கலத்தால் நெல் பதினெம்ப-
29. றை[॥*] நன்னுட்டுகால் பொங்குறை கலம்பாடு[।*] காலொன்று மெலொடி கொள்
30. வது[॥*] இடைமலைக்கால் கொன்றையறை கலம்பாடு[।*] முன்றெரன்று மெலொடி[॥*]

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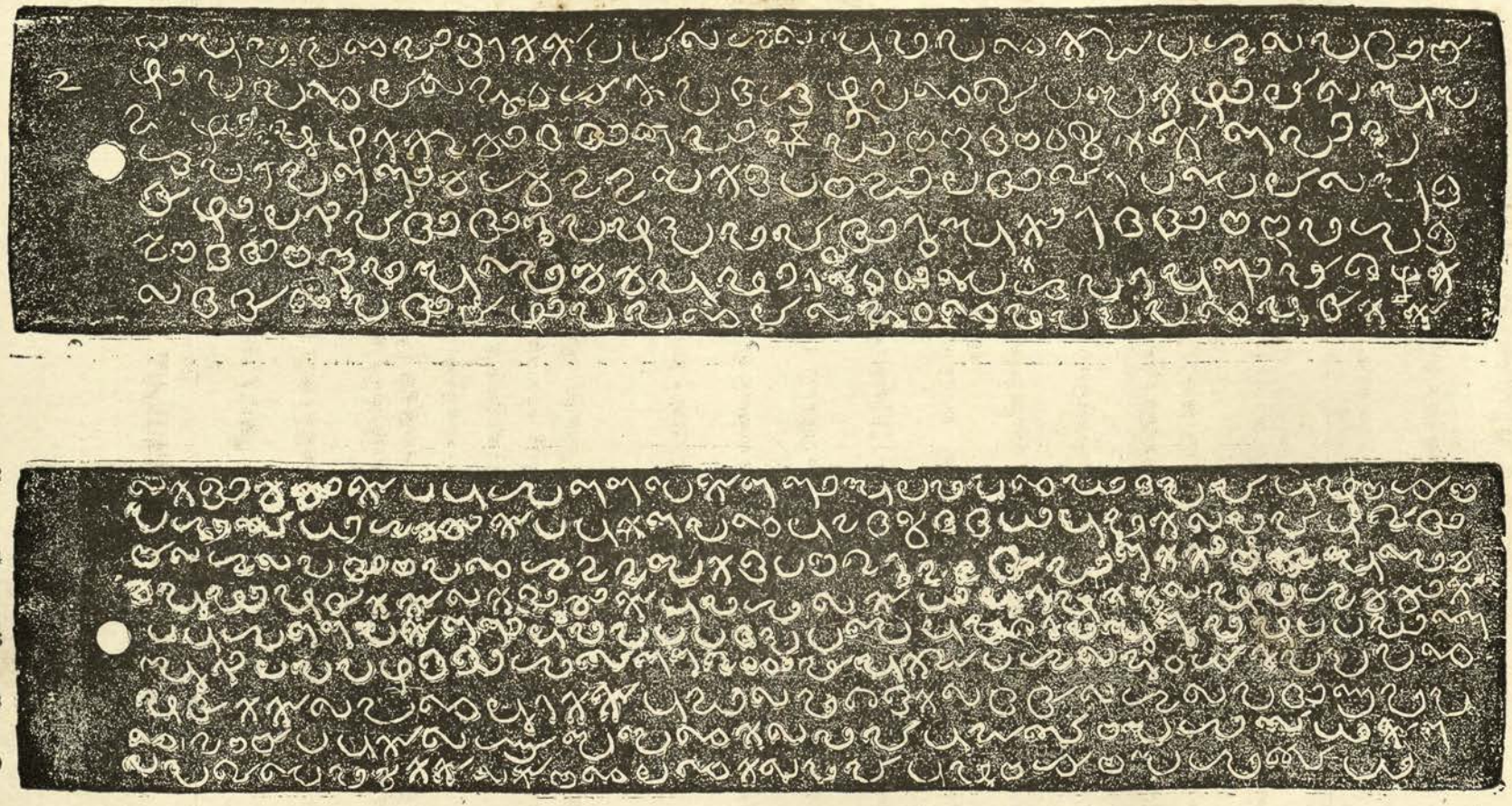
1 The Tamil numeral 2 is marked on the left margin.

2 Read கொள்வது.

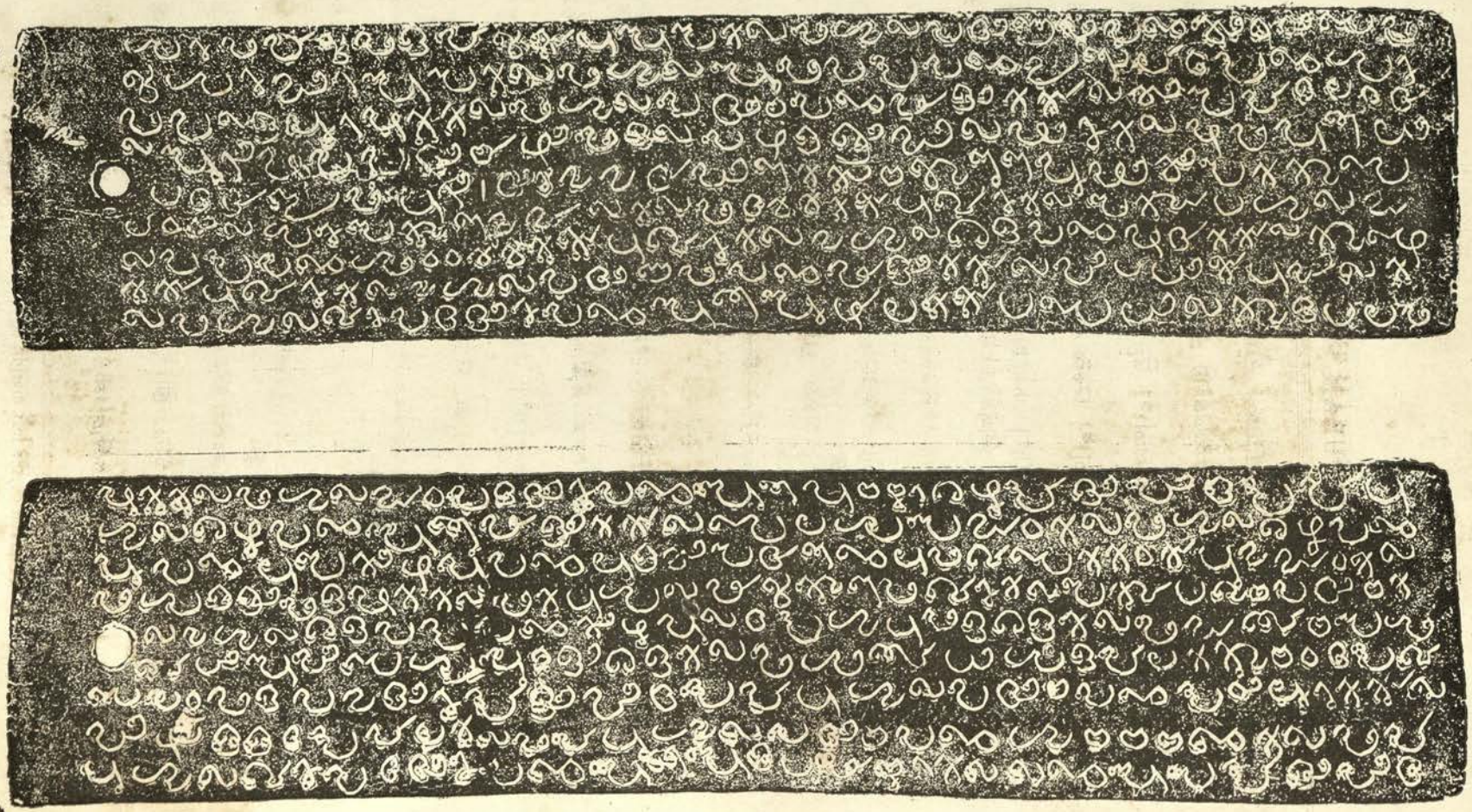
3 The தி of பாதி and க் of திரு அக்கிரத் are engraved below the line.

4 Read விளக்கினுக்கு.

5 The ச் of கணிச்சி is written below the line.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Third Plate:[1] *First Side.*

31. பெரும்பாலிமண் பாலிகொடு அறுகலம்[।*] நெல் பதினம்பறை[॥*] சிற்றிடைம-
32. லி பெருநிர் அறுகலம்[।*] நெல் அம்பது பறை[॥*] உளியாத்துறை பெரு-
33. ம் பணியூர் முக்கலம்[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] மாணிக்கால் சிறுபா-ணையத்தா-
34. ல் அரி முப்பதினுழி[॥*] மணல்பழஞ்சி நிலமிருகலமும் புரையி-
35. டத்தாலும் அரி । திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னெள்ள பூமி[॥*] சிறுக்கு-வை-
36. யாற்றில் பெருங்குளந் நால்கலம்[।*] தச்சக்கொடு இருகலங்[।*] கூட நெல் நா-
37. ல்பது பறை[॥*] மெற்றச்சக்கொடு இருகல்ந்[।*] நெல் எண்பறை[॥*] முதாக்கால் குழை-
38. க்காடு இருகலந்[।*] நெல் பதினம்பறை[॥*] மாணிக்கால் விட்டி கொடு நில[ம்*] க-
39. லம்[।*] நெல் இருபத்திருபறை அரை[॥*] ஆழாயக்கொட்டையில் குண்டயம்

Third Plate: Second Side.

40. முக்கலம்[।*] நெல் நாற்பத்திருபறை அரை[॥*] புன்னூர் எழுதுணி வித்துபாடு[।*]
41. நெல் எழுபறை அரை[॥*] மாணிக்கால் வையவெறு நாற்கலம்[।*] நெல் எழுபறை[॥*]
42. பூவறையுங் கிழ்பூவறையுஞ் சிறுதாளறையும் இடைக்கற்காடுந் நாற்-கல-
43. ம்[॥*] வெஞ்ஞிமண் முக்கலம்[।*] கடுவெலமாலிருளம் இருகலங்[।*] கூட ஒன்பதின் க-
44. லங்[।*] நெல் எண்பது பறை[॥*] கிழுபுலத்து நெடுமண் எண்கலம் [।*] நாலொன்று மெ-
45. லொடி[॥*] அவிடையெ புறணி எண்கலம்[।*] மெலொடி[॥*] வெண் பாய்க்குன்றத்து இ-
46. டையற் மண் பந்திருதூணி வித்துப்பாடு[।*] நெல் பதின் பறை[॥*] துறியூர்க்கால்
47. விழிஞ்ஞத்துவாய் கலம்பாடு[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] கென்னனெ-றை கலம்பா-
48. டு[।*] நெல் இருபத்திருபறை அரை[॥*] அண்டமானூர் கல்லறை அறுதூணி வித்-

[1] The Tamil numeral ௩ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

Fourth Plate:[1] *First Side.*

49. து பாடு[।*] நெல் அம்பறை[॥*] செம்பழுந்தி மூங்கில் கொடு நாற்க
லம்[।*] நெல் மு-

50. ப்பது பறை[॥*] பாலிகொட்டில் குளவறையுந் தலைத்தடியும் பந்திரு
தூணி வித்-

51. துபாடு[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] பரல்கொட்டெல்வாயில் ஆலைக்கொ-
ட்டூர் இருகலந்[।*] நெல் ப-

52. தின்பறை[॥*] வஞ்சியூர் குற்றறைமுறி அறுதூணி வித்துபாடு[।*]
நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] குற்றறை-

53. உருப் பூமி நாற்றூணி வித்துபாடு[।*] நெல் நாழியால் நூற்றைய்ம்ப-
தினுழி[॥*]

54. ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து இருதலைகொடு நாற்கலம்[।*] நாலொன்று மெ-
லொடி[॥*] மெலானைக்கு-

55. ழிமுகத்து நடுவத்து முறை நாற்கலம்[।*] நெல் இருபத்தையம்பறை
[॥*] மெலை

56. கிட்ந்த [2]ஆனயறையாகின்ற நிலம் இருகலம்[।*] ஆனைக்குழிமுகத்து
கொட்டை இ-

57. ரண்டு கரைபடலும் புரையிடத்தாலும் முந்நாழிச்சை அரி செல்வி-
து[॥*]

Fourth Plate: Second Side.

58. முட்டவிலை இளந்தோட்டத்து புரையிட்டத்தா[ல்*] நெல் முப்பது ப-
றை[॥*]

59. இளவெணெட்டு சிற்றிடை மலையும் பெரிட மலையும் இடைமலையும் ப-
ந்தி-

60. ருகலம்[।*] நெல் தெவர்சித்தனல் இருபத்துநாலு கற்றை[॥*] உழ-
மலைக்கால் விட்டு உ-

61. லொகம் இருகலம்[।*] நெல் நூற்று நாழி[॥*] பெரும்பாலைமண் பொ
யிலி எழுதூணி வி-

62. த்துபாடு[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை அயகர கொள்விது[॥*] செம்பழுந்தி
நல்லூர் நிலம்[।*]

63. [3]நெல் ஒன்பதினுழித்தூணியால் பந்திரண்டு கற்றை[॥*] உழம-
லைக்-

64. கால் சிறுதுறவாய் இருகல அரை[।*] நெல் பதின்பறை[॥*] பெரும்-
பாலைமண்[4] மெல் தொழு-

65. ந்தியூர் இருகலம்[॥*] அகத்தியகுண்டத்தின்னு நெல் மூன்று கற்றை
[॥*] கீர்த்தி-

66. மங்கலம் வயலுங் கரையும் பாதி பாட்டிலும் மெலொடி கொள்விது
[॥*]

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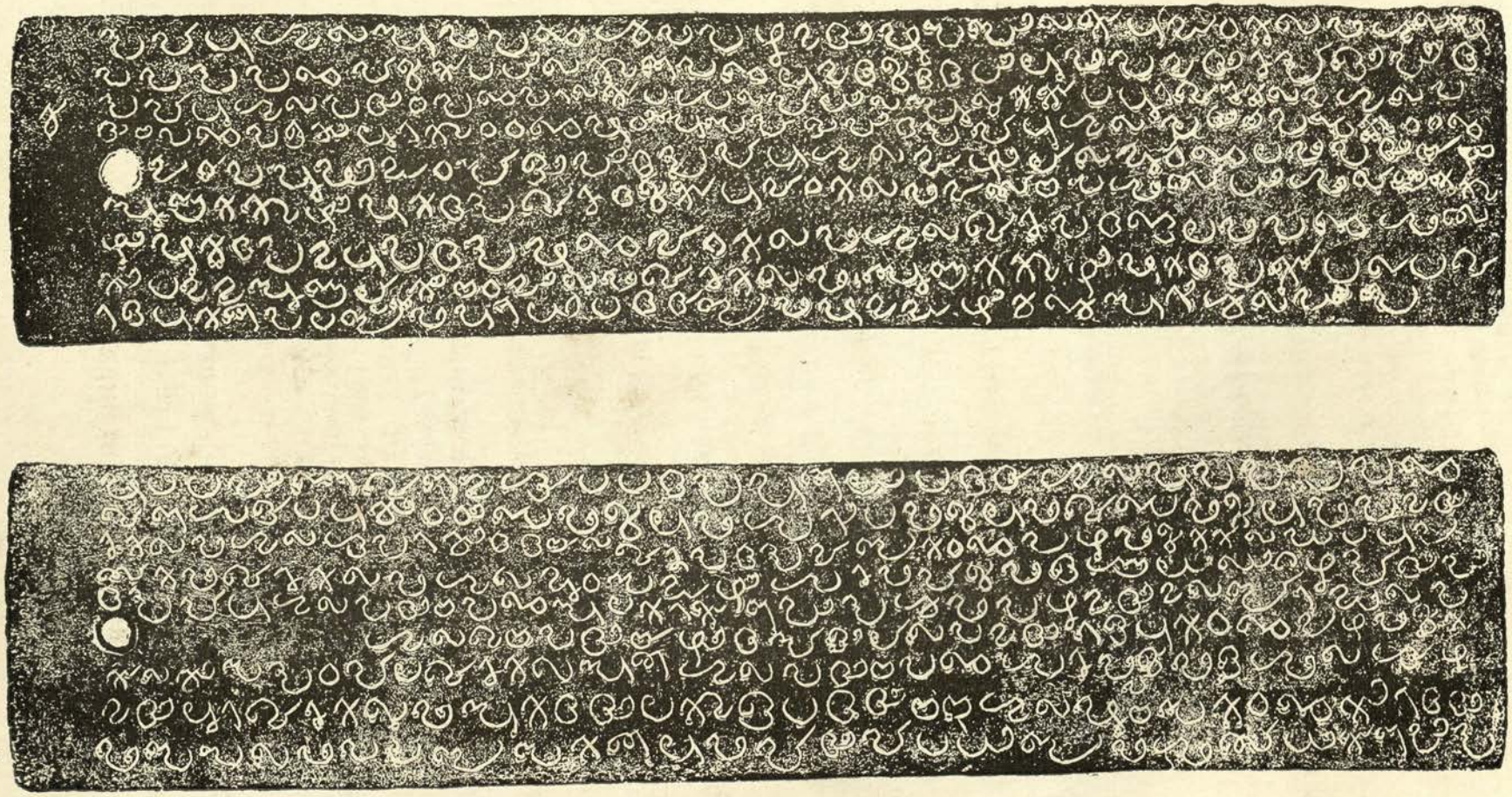
1 The Tamil numeral ச is marked on the left margin of this plate.

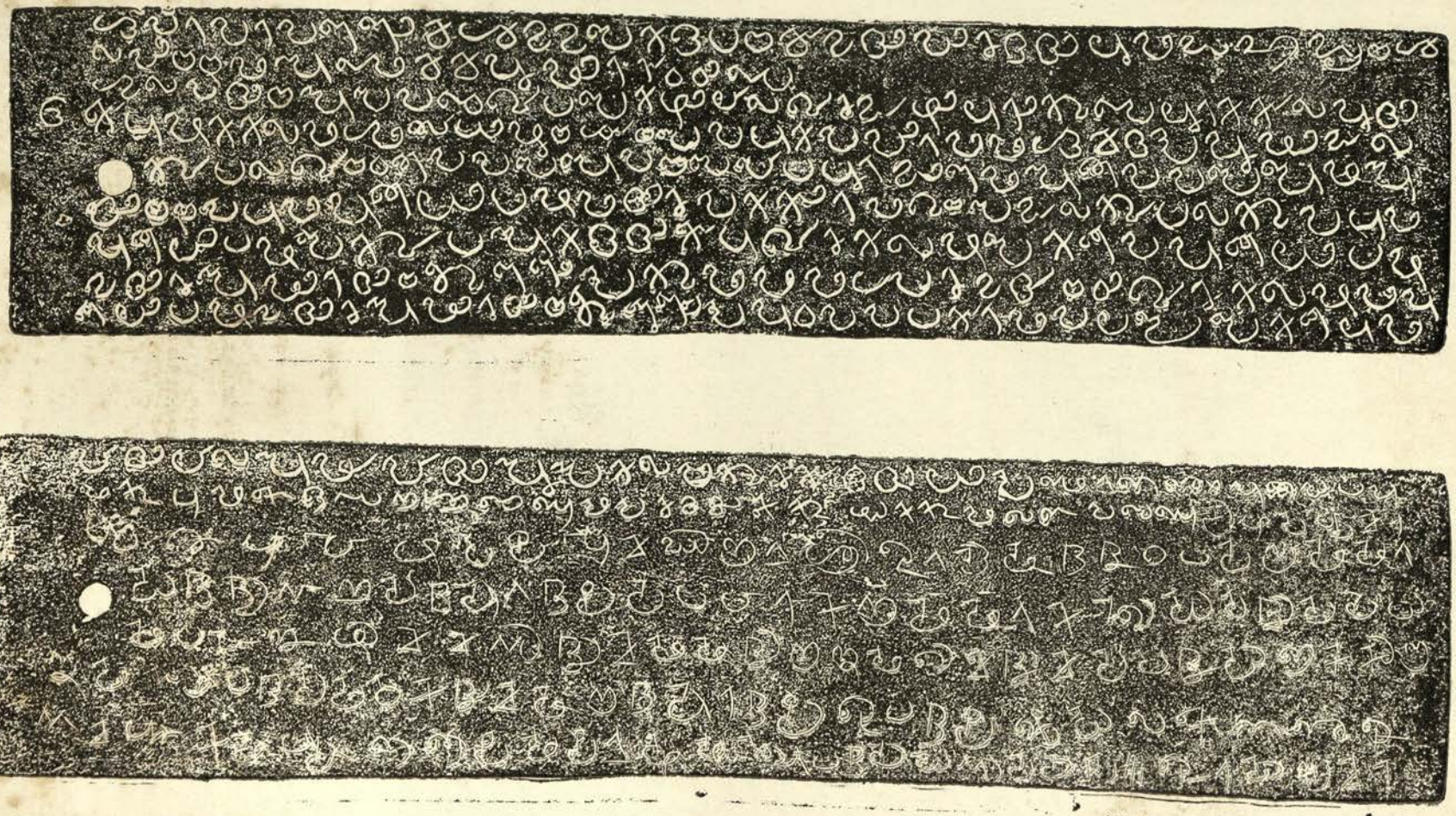
2 The Syllables யறை are written below the line.

3 At the commencement of this line, there is a vacant space for five letters. Some words like இருக
லம், முக்கலம் *etc.* seem to have been omitted to be incised.

4 The பா of this word is entered below the line.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Fifth Plate:[1] *First Side.*

67. தெவர்(வர்)பள்ளிச்[2] செந்நங் கண்டன் சாந்தி விருத்தியும் ஸஹஜன் செ-.

68. லவின்னும் அமைச்ச பூமி[॥*] ஈராற்றிடை[3]

69. நெல் பதின் அறுபறை இடங்கழியால் இருநாழி யுரி[॥*] குவையுர்க்-கால பூதி-

70. கொடு முக்கலம்[।*] மெலொடி முன்றொன்று[॥*] வடுகப்பிரம்ம தெ-சத்து பூமிநால்

71. கூடல் ஒன்றரைப் பங்கு[।*] பதினங்ஙாட்டுர் நீளம் அரைப் பங்கும்[।*] அ-

72. தின்னு படும் புரையிடமும்[।*] திருவக்கிரம் ஒன்றுநால் கூடல்குப-டும்

73. புரையிடமுங்[।*] கூட அகத்திகொடு இருகலமுங்[।*] கரைப் புரையி-டமு-

74. ங்[।*] திருஅமிர்தின் ஞெள்ளிது[॥*] கும்மம் பெருந்தான்றி இருக-லமும் பு-

75. ரையிடமுந் திருஅமிர்தின் ஞெள்ளிது[॥*] புறப்படகாரம் வயலுங்-கரையும்

Fifth Plate: Second Side.

76. பாதியால் அமாவாதி ஆறு கலம்[॥*] குருகாத்தியி லுமை[4][ன்னுற] புரையிடவு-

77. ம் கூடும்[॥*] கொண்டென்னெறை அம்பருத்திக்குழிக்கும் ஒரொ ப-றை அ[5]கிழப்பெரூர்

78. வெணாடு வாழ்ந்து அருளின்ற ஸ்ரீ இரவி மாத்தாண்டவன்ம்மர்

79. மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து பட்டாரகன்ம்மர்க்கு[6] நியதிப்படி

80. மட நாஞழிச்சரி திருமுதின்னும் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்-

81. னும் கூட தம்மமாக திருவான[ந்*]தபுரத்து இடத்துள் விலகொள்ளு-[ம்*] [இ]-

82. [ரா]ச[பொ]கம்[ம]ள்ளதும் து[றமு]ம் கூட தந்நிரிப்பது[7][॥*] இரவிபெரூர்.

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1 The Tamil numeral ஞ is marked on the left margin of this plate.

2 The letters வர் are engraved twice. The repetition must be cancelled.

3 The latter half of this line is not engraved. It should have contained the proper name of the land or village and its sowing capacity.

4 After this the writing appears different till பறை அ of the next line.

5 What follows அ is in a later script.

6 Read பட்டாரகர்க்கு. Over the syllables ன்ம்ம a few dots are marked to indicate that they must be deleted.

7 Read தந்நிருப்பது.

Translation.

(Lines 1—4). Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Vṛiśchika, when Jupiter stood in Dhanus, Kṛishṇajñapaḻārar, having been pleased to order, all classes of lands, set apart for the sacred requirements (*tiruchcheṉṉaḍai*)[1] of the god (*Bhaṭṭāraka*) of Mitrānandapuram, (*are recorded*) as engraved (*before*).

(Ll. 5—17). Beginning with the month of Mithuna, when Jupiter stood in Tulā, in order to meet the daily expences of one dish (*kalam*) of sacred meal (*agram*), Kuṉṟaṉ Kēraḷaṉ of Peruṅguḷam granted seventy-two *paṟai* and six *nāḻi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* and three *uḻakku* of paddy which was due to him (*as his share of the produce*) on the land Tāṉaneḍiya-Pērilikkōḍu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) in Veṇbāykkuṉṟam and the (*land*) of Maṇṇarai (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*)—in all, land (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*). (*He also gave*) fifteen *paṟai* of paddy from Tāṉaneḍiya-Indaṉūr included in Perumaṇṇūr-vaṭṭam in Kuvaiyāṟu; five *paṟai* from Mēlīndaṉūr; five *paṟai* from Vañjamaṉ; ten *paṟai* of paddy from Varaiyaṟai in Kolachchaimūlai; five *paṟai* of paddy from the western half of Mudukāḍu and five *paṟai* of paddy from Piṇaṟkōḍu. (*Thus*) in all, (*the quantity of*) paddy assigned was one hundred and seventeen *paṟai* (*as measured*) by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*, six *nāḻi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍangaḻi* and three *uḻakku*. (*This*) shall be received under the head of (*expences required for*) Śittiṟai-vishu (*festival*).

(Ll. 18-24). The following are the lands granted by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi for (*expending*) twice daily, five *nāḻi* of rice, (*one*) half for sacred offerings and (*the other*) half for sacred meal and condiment:—

One hundred and fifty *paṟai* (*of paddy*) (*as measured*) by the *paṟai* holding ten *nāḻi*, out of the (*income from the land called*) Dēvar-Puḷimā in Īrāṟṟiḍai (*requiring*) seven *kalam* (*of seed*).

The Veḷḷaṅgoḷḷi (*land*) of Kaṇichchakkōḍu belonging to (*the village of*) Mudākkāl and (*requiring*) five *paṟai* of seed: the owner's share (*mēloḍi*) from this is one in three. The *kaḷappaṟai* and *talaittaḍi* (*lands*) of Nechchikkōḍu (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (with the income of) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

(Ll. 24-35). The same Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ gave the following lands for perpetual lamps:—

(*One*) hundred and ten *paṟai* of paddy in all (*accruing from*) Kaṇichchakkōḍu in Mudākkāl as well as Mēl-Kāḍiyūr (*whose sowing capacity is*) three *kalam*, and the Veḷḷaṅgoḷḷi, Paṭṭattuḍavai, Eruma-āḷ, Muṭṭaviḷai (*lands*) in Nechchikkōḍu together with Oṟṟimā situated to the west of Āriyappaḷaṅṅi.

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1 Though நடை by itself, may mean 'temple', compounded with the word *śel*, it conveys the sense 'scale of current expenses': compare a similar usage in No. 153 of *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 324.

Fifteen *paṟai* of paddy from the land (*called*) Uraiyūrkkōḍu, (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) and belonging to (*the village of*) Mudākkāl.

The proprietor's share (*mēloḍi*) of one in four shall be received from Poṅṅaṟai (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (and belonging to) Naṇṇāṭṭukkāl) [1]

Koṉṟaiyaṟai belonging to Iḍaimalaikkāl, (*requiring one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) proprietor's share (*mēloḍi*) of one in three.

Pālaikōḍu belonging to Perumbālaiman (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) fifteen *paṟai* of paddy.

Peruṇīr belonging to Śiṟṟiḍaimalai (*requiring*) six *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) fifty *paṟai* of paddy.

Perumbaṇaiyūr in Uḷiyāṟṟuṟai (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Thirty *nāḷi* of rice (*accruing*) from Śiṟupāṇaiyam in Māṇikkāl.

The rice (*accruing*) from the land called Maṇalpaḷaṅṅi (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) together with the land surrounding the house (*in it*).

(Ll. 35-66). The (*following*) lands exist for sacred lamps:—

Peruṅguḷam in Śiṅgakuvaiyāṟu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) and Tachchakkōḍu (requiring) two *kalam* (*of seed*), together (*yielding an income of*) forty *paṟai* of paddy.

Mēl-Tachchakkōḍu (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*), (*with its*) (*income of*) eight *paṟai* of paddy.

Kuḷaikkāḍu in Mudākkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) fifteen *paṟai* of paddy.

The land of Viṭṭikōḍu in Māṇikkāl (*requiring*) one *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) twenty-two *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Kuṇḍayam in Āḷāyakkōṭṭai (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) forty-two *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Puṇṇūr (*requiring*) seven *tūṇi* of seed (*with its income*) of seven *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Veyvēṟu in Māṇikkāl (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its income of*) seven *paṟai* of paddy.

Pūvaṟai, Kīḻpūvaṟai, Śiṟutāḷaṟai and Iḍaikkaṟkāḍu (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*).

Veññiman (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) and Kaḍuvēlamālaikuḷam (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*),—altogether (*land requiring*) nine *kalam* (*of seed*), *with the income of*) eighty *paṟai* of paddy.

Neḍuman belonging to Kīḻupulam (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) propritor's share of one in four.

1 It is also possible to take Kālapoṅṅaṟai as being situated in Nannāḍu.

Puraṇi in the same place, (*requiring*) eight *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with its*) proprietor's share.

Iḍaiyarmaṇ in Veṇpāykkuṉṟam (*requiring*) twelve *tūṇi* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Viḷiñattuvāy in Tuṟiyūrkkāl (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Neṉṉaṇeṟai (*requiring*) (*one*) *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) twenty-two *paṟai* and a half of paddy.

Kallaṟai in Aṇḍamāṇūr (*requiring*) six *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) five *paṟai* of paddy.

Mūṅṅilkōḍu in Śembaḷundi (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) thirty *paṟai* of paddy.

The *kuḷavarai* and *talaittaḍi* (*lands*) in Pālaikkōḍu (*requiring*) twelve *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Āḷaikkōṭṭūr in Paralkkōṭṭelvāyil (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Kuṟṟaraimuṟi in Vañjiyūr (*requiring*) six *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

The Kuṟṟarai-uṟā land (*requiring*) four *tuṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) (*one*) hundred and fifty *nāḷi* of paddy (*as measured*) by the *nāḷi*.

Irutalaikkōḍu in Āṉaikkuḷimugam (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) with the proprietor's share of one in four.

Neḍuvattumuṟai in Mēlāṉaikkuḷimugam (*requiring*) four *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) twenty-five *paṟai* of paddy.

Land lying to the west of it called Āṉaiyaṟai (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*).

From the *karaipaḍal* and *purayiḍam* of Āṉaikuḷimugam (*requiring*) two *kōṭṭai* (*of seed*), shall be received three *nāḷi* of good rice.

Thirty *paṟai* of paddy from the *puraiyiḍam* of Iḷantōṭṭam in Muṭṭaviḷai.

Śiṟṟiḍaimalai, Pēriḍaimalai and Iḍaimalai in Iḷa-Vēṇāḍu (*requiring*) twelve *kalam* (*of seed*), (*with the income of*) twenty-four *kaṟṟai* of paddy (*as measured*) by Dēvarśittaṉ.

Viṭṭu-ulōgam in Uḷamalaikkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) hundred *nāḷi* of paddy.

Pōyili in Perumbālaimaṇ (*requiring*) seven *tūṇi* of seed (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy which shall be taken as its *ayakara*.

Land in Śembaḷundinallūr (*with the income of*) twelve *kaṟṟai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the *tūṇi* holding nine *nāḷi*.

Śiṟuṭuṟavāy in Uḷamalaikkāl (*requiring*) two *kalam* and a half (*of seed*) (*with the income of*) ten *paṟai* of paddy.

Mēl-Toḷundiyur in Perumbālaimaṇ (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*).

Three *kaṟṟai* of paddy from Agattiyakuṇḍam.

The proprietor's share (*mēloḍi*) from the *vayal*, *karai*, and *pādippāḍu* of Kīrttimaṅgalam shall be received.

(Ll. 67-70). The following (*are the*) lands given by Śēndaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Dēvarpaḷḷi for the employment of worshippers and for the expenses of *sahasran*.

Īrāṟṟiḍai (*with the income of*) sixteen *paṟai*, two *nāḷi* (*as measured*) by the *iḍangaḷi* and (*one*) *uri* of paddy.

Pūdikōḍu in Kuvaiyūrkkāl (*requiring*) three *kalam* (*of seed*) with the proprietor's share of one in three.

(Ll. 70-74). In addition to one share and a half (*which is*) the excess in the lands belonging to Vaḍuga-Brahmadēśam, half of the long share in Paṉṉaiṅāṭṭūr (*inclusive of*) the *puraiyiḍam* attached to it, and also the *puraiyiḍam* (*which is*) in excess of the lands set apart for one sacred meal, as well as Agattikōḍu (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*), along with (*its*) *karaippuraiyiḍam;* are (*assigned*) for sacred offerings.

(Ll. 74-75). Kummam-Peruntāṉṟi (*requiring*) two *kalam* (*of seed*) and its *puraiyiḍam* are also for sacred offerings.

(Ll. 75-77). For *amāvādi*, is assigned half of the field (*vayal*) and *karai* (*belonging to*) Purappaḍagāram (*with an income of*) six *kalam* of paddy.

Umai...nnuṟa in Kurugātti together with its *puraiyiḍam* shall also be added.

Koṇḍaṉṉerai and Ambaruttikkuḷi, each (*with an income of*) one *paṟai* (*of paddy*).

(Ll. 77-82). The glorious Ravimārttāṇḍavarman, who was pleased to rule Vēṇāḍu (*with his capital at*) Kīḻappērūr, gave to the god (*bhaṭṭāraka*) of Mitrānandapuram as (*his*) charity all the rents (*rājabhōga*) and *turam* which he was obtaining on purchases (made) in his place at Tiruvānandapuram, for the daily sacred rice offering of four *nāḷi* of good rice and for one sacred perpetual lamp.

(L. 82). Iravi-Pērūr.

A COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE MITRANANDAPURAM MUTT.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single copper-plate belonging to the Mitrānandapuram *maṭha*. It was obtained on a short loan from a Potti gentleman in whose possession it was, by Mr. V. Srinivasa Sastri, Smṛiti-viśārada, Pandit of the Archæological Department. I edit it from one set of impressions taken under his supervision.

The alphabet of the inscription is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language is Tamiḻ similar to that employed in the set of copper-plates belonging to the same *maṭha* and edited above, pages 1 ff. The preservation of the record is good. But, it

must be remarked, that the engraver was not careful in incising the document. Mistakes of spelling and omission of letters and passages are numerous and we note the following:—

Tūlā (*l.* 1) for *tulā*: *Mitrānda* (*l.* 1) for *Mitrānanda*: *Śūvākaraṇ* for *Śuvākaraṇ*, throughout: *Kiruṇḍaṇ* (*l.* 4) for *Kiruṭṇaṇ*: *ṭārakaḷ* (*l.* 6) for *Baṭārakaḷ*: *aṟiyumu* (*l.* 8) for *aṟiyum*: *idita* (*l.* 8f.) for *idiṇu*: *aṟupaduṟai* (*l.* 3a) for *aṟupadu paṟai*: *muptupattiru* (*ll.* 3a & 3b) for *muppatiru*: *koḍiḷakku* (*l.* 11) for *koḍi viḷakku*: *aṟiyumu* (*l.* 13) for *aṟiyum*: *Śūvākaraṇṇiṇ* (*l.* 16) for *Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ*: *tāvādeśi* (*ll.* 16-18) for *tuvādeśi*. A whole passage had been omitted immediately after *muppadu* in line 3 and this passage was subsequently engraved at the end of the plate in smaller characters, perhaps for want of space, and continued on the left margin in four short lines. A similar omission in line 10 after *ichchelavu* having occurred, it was rectified by engraving the omitted letters on the right margin in two lines. Here again we have to point out that *iḷi* stands for *iru-nāḷi* and that *amardi* has to be corrected into *amirdu*.

Among the dialectic forms of words in the record may be put down: *eḷunnaruḷichcha* (*l.* 4) for *eḷundaruḷuvitta*: *tāḷikkirāmam* (*l.* 5) for *sāḷigrāmam*: *śeydadiṇu koḷvidu* (*l.* 5) for *śeyvadukku* or *seydadukku koḷvadu*; *ari* (*ll.* 5 & 12) for *ariśi*: *pandiru* (*l.* 7) for *panniru*: *śeyiṇṟa* (*l.* 8) for *seykiṇṟa*: *idiṇu* (*l.* 10) for *idaṟku*: *achchiṇu* (*l.* 19) for *achchukku*.

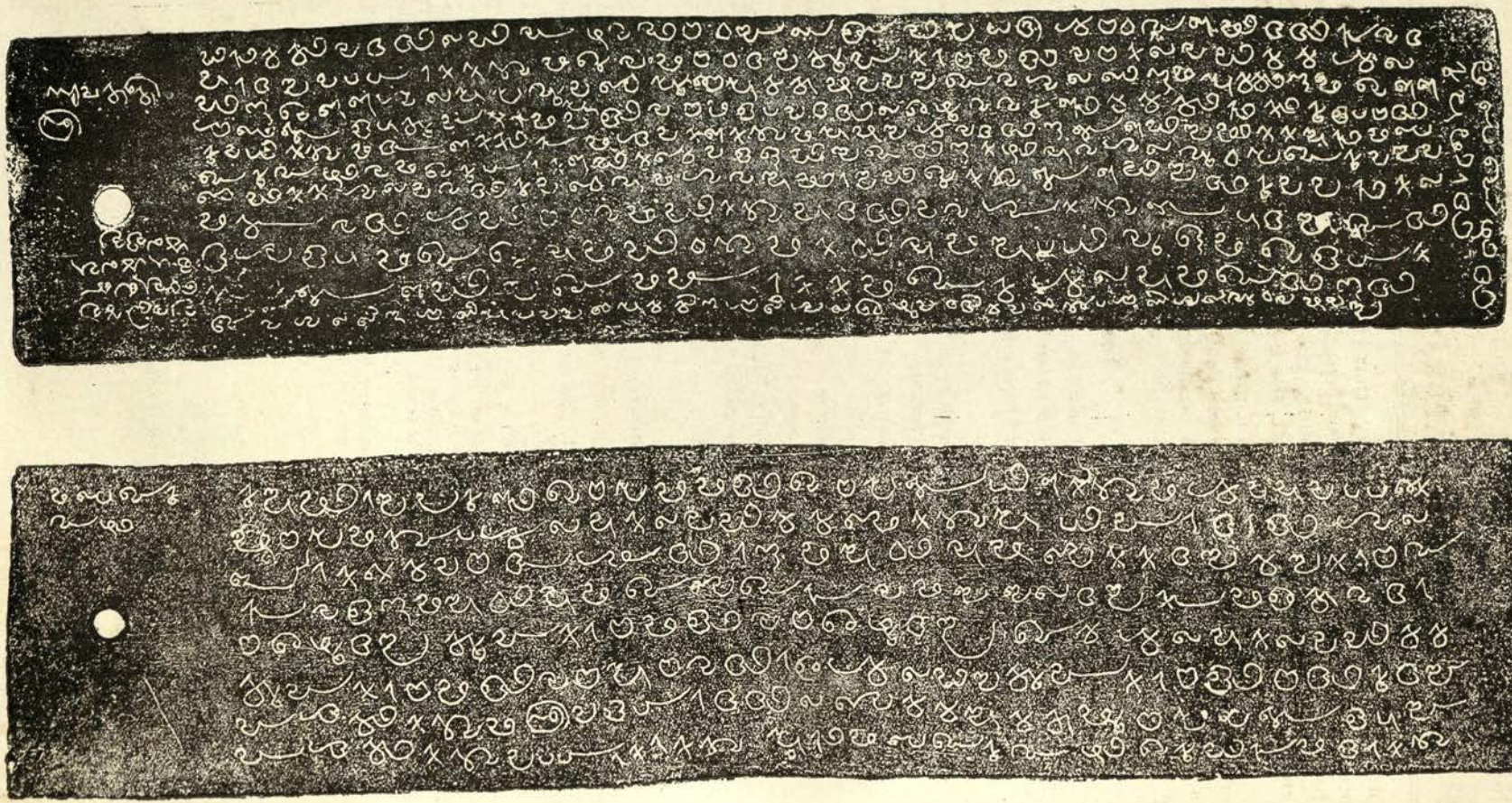
Pichchai, which occurs in line 6, stands for *bhikshai*. In the phrase '*baṭārakaḷ pichchai paṇṇuvidu*' (*l.* 6), the term *baṭārakaḷ* evidently means a *sannyāsi*, though ordinarily it is used to denote 'god' as in lines 2 and 18.

The record states that Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ of Malaimaṇṟam set up in the maṇḍapa of the Mitrānandapuram temple, the image of Śrī-Kṛishṇa-Tiruvaḍi and an un-specified number of *sāḷigrāmams* and made a gift of 600 *paṟai* of paddy and 30 elephant marked coins.

Out of the annual interest of 132 *paṟai* of paddy, accruing from this gift, it was ordered that 120 *paṟai* of paddy should be used for preparing rice offerings to the deities and for feeding a *sannyāsin*, the remaining 12 *paṟai* of paddy being utilised for purchasing ghee. And it is said that the donor also gave a vessel for cooking (*uruḷi*), a bell and a lamp-stand made in the shape of a creeper. He is further stated to have made a gift of 3 coins for feeding a Brāhmaṇa and for making offerings to the god on the days of *dvādaśi*. As witnesses to the gift are mentioned Kēśavaṇ Dāmōdiraṇ of Taraṇinallūr, Śaṅkaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vaikkam, Kāmaṇ Sundaraṇ of Irāyamaṅgalam.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Mitrānandapuram is, as has already been noted, a quarter of Trivandrum, situated not far from the Padmanābhasvāmin temple; Vaikkam is the headquarters of a Taluk in the Kōṭṭayam division; Irāyamaṅgalam is a pakuthy in the Kunnattunāḍ Taluk; Taraṇinallūr is in the Cochin State. The last is the native place of the Nambūdirippāḍ, who has got the *tantri* right in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple. I hear that he is also in charge of certain other temples in the Travancore State. He belongs to a much respected family noted for its wealth and learning and is highly regarded. We

No. 2 MITRANANDAPURAM ODD PLATE



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

note the above fact as it is likely that the attestation made in this copper-plate document belonging to the Mitrānandapuram *maṭha* by a temple manager (*aḍiyār*) who was a native of Taraṇinallūr, might suggest an early connection of this Nambūdirippāḍ of that place with the temples in the Travancore State.[1]

From a careful comparison made between the palæography of the subjoined record with many other dated ones ranging from the 1st century of the Kollam era to the 5th, I find that it can be assigned to the middle of the 4th century of the Kollam era i. e. about the latter half of the 12th century A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வத்தி ஸ்ரீ[2] [॥*] விரிச்சியத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற தூலா[3] ஞாயிறு யநு சென்ற நாள் மித்திரா[ன*]ந்த-
2. புரத்து பட்டாரக[ர்*]க்கு மலையமன்றத்து சுவாகரன்[4] மணியன் கல்ப்பிச்ச செல-
3. வினு ஒள்ள நெல் அறுநூறு[5] பறை ஆனை அச்சு முப்பது[॥*] இந்நெல்லினும் அச்சினும் ஒள்ள
4. பொலி கொண்டு சுவாகரம்[6] மணியன் மண்டபத்தில் எழுந்நருளிச்ச சிரி கிருண்டன் தி-
5. ருவடிக்கும் தாளக்கிராம தெவகள்க்கும் அமுது செய்ததினு கொள்விது [॥*]மிக்க அரி மடை
6. இருநாழி[யு]ம் ஒரு [ப*]டார[ர்*]கள் பிச்சை பண்ணுவிது[॥*] இதினு கழியுந் நெல் நூற்று இருபது ப-
7. றை நிக்க நெல் பந்திரு பறையும் நெய் அமிர்து விலக்கு கொள்விது[॥*] திருப்பரிகல-
8. ம் சாந்தி செயின்ற நம்பிக்கு [பு]த்தியந்நொக்கு கொடுத்து இதி-
9. த[7] வெண்டும் இலையும் விறகும் கறியும் அட்டி யூணும் ஒண்டாக்-
10. கிக் கொள்விது[॥*] இம்மார்க்கம் இச்செலவு[8] மடை இழி[9] திரு அமர்திம்[10] இதினு தி-

3a. இந்நெல்லினு பொலி அறுபது [ப*]றை அச்சினு பொலி நெல் எழுபத்திரு பறை கூடபொலி நெல் நூற்று முப்து[11]

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1 Mr. Nagamaiya notes in his Travancore Manual that Paraśurāma conferred on two families the right of 'ruling priest' in the temples or Malabar and that one of the families is the Taranallur Nambūdiripāḍ.

2 The words ஸ்வத்திஸ்ரீ are engraved on the left margin of the plate in two lines: read ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ.

3 Read தூலா.

4 Read சுவாகரன்.

5 The று of நூறு is entered below the line.

6 Read சுவாகரன்.

7 Read °னு.

8 The passage மடை இழி திரு அமர்தி is engraved on the right margin of this side.

9 Read இருநாழி.

10 Read அமிர்தம்.

11 Cancel து.

3*b*. பத்திரு ப-

3*c*. றையுங் கொ-

3*d*. ண்டு செலவு

3*e*. செல்வித[॥*]

Second Side.

11. ரு அமிர்து உருளி ஒன்றும் மணி ஒன்று[ம்*] கொடி[வி*]ளக்கும் செப்புவட்டகை

12. மூன்றும் கூட செலவு கல்ப்பிச்சமைக்கு அடியார் தாணிநெல்-

13. லார்க் கெசவன் தாமொதிரனும் அறியுமூ[1][॥*] வைக்கத்து சங்கரன் நா

14. ராயணனும் அறியும்[॥*] இவை இராயமங்கலத்து காமஞ்சுந்தர-

15. ன் எழுத்து[॥*] சூவாகரன்[2] மணியன் எழுத்து[॥*] இச்செலவு கல்ப்பிச்ச

16. சூவாகரன்[3] மணியன் அனந்திரஞ் செல்வித[॥*] சூவாகரன்[4] [ம*]ணி-[ய*]ன் திருத்தூ[5]

17. வாதெசிக்கும் ஸ்ரீபண்டாரத்தில் வைச்ச அச்சு முன்றுங் கொண்டு தூ[6]

18. வாதெசிக்கு பட்டாரகர்க்கு அரிமடை இருநாழி ஒரு பிராமணர்க்கு

19. மடை[7] இருநாழி[॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! on the 15th day, expired, in the month of Tulā, when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ of Malaiyamaṇṇam ordered (*certain*) expenses (*to be incurred in the temple*) of the god at Mitrānandapuram (*and*) provided six hundred *paṛai* of paddy and thirty *āṇai-achchu* (i. e. *coins bearing elephant mark*). Having received the interest of sixty *paṛai* on this (i. e. *the above said six hundred paṛai of*) paddy and the interest of seventy-two *paṛai* of paddy on the *achchu*, in all (one) hundred and thirty-two *paṛai* of paddy,—the expenses shall be met. For offerings made to the god Śrī-Krishṇa-Tiruvaḍi and to the *Sālagrāma-Dēvas*, which Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ had set up in the *maṇḍapa*, the interest (accruing) from this (*quantity of*) paddy and *achchu* shall be taken. With the balance of rice *viz.* two *nāḷi*, one Bhaṭāra shall be fed. Twelve *paṛai* of paddy, (*that would remain*) after deducting (*one*) hundred and twenty *paṛai* of paddy (required) for this expenditure, shall be taken for purchasing ghee offering.

1 Read அறியும்.

2 Read சுவாகரன்.

3 Read சுவாகரன்.

4 Read சுவாகரன்.

5 Read தவாதெசி.

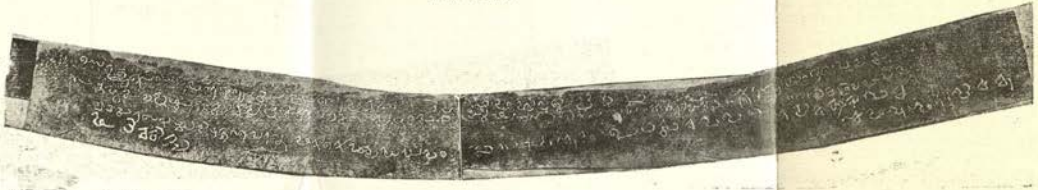
6 Read தவாதெசி.

7 மடை இருநாழி is incised on the left margin.

No. 3 (to face p. 25)

No. 4 (to face p. 26)

No. 5 (to face p. 27)



Giving the Nambi, who performs the *śānti*, sacred vessels for (cooking) one dish[1] and providing him also with leaves, fire-wood and vegetables required for it, meals shall be prepared. The ordering, in this manner, of this (i. e. the abovesaid) expense of (supplying) sacred offerings with two *nāḻi* of rice, together with one *uruḻi*[2] for (cooking) the sacred offering, one bell, one *koḍi-viḷakku* (i. e. a lamp-stand in the shape of a creeper) and three copper *vaṭṭakai*[3] (required) for this expense, is known to the Aḍiyār[4] Kēśavaṇ Dāmōdaraṇ of Taraṇinallūr. Śaṅkaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Vaikkam also knows this. This is the signature of Kāman Sundaran of Irayamaṅgalam. (*This is*) the signature of Śuvākaran Maṇiyan. The next successor[5] (or relation) of Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ, who instituted this expense, shall conduct it. Having received the three *achchu* which Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ had (*further*) deposited in the temple treasury for (*the expenses connected with*) the sacred *dvādaśī* feeding, two *nāḻi* of rice to the Bhaṭāraka and two *nāḻi* of rice to one Brāhmaṇa (shall be given).

No. 3— On the back wall of the Brahma shrine at Mitranadapuram.

This inscription, which is engraved on the back wall of the Brahmā shrine at Mitrānandapuram, is left unfinished. Evidently, its object was to register a gift of certain incomes of paddy and gold, to the shrine of Dakshiṇa-Svarṇamukai-Bhaṭāra, made in the presence of Rāmajña-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, in the *maṇḍapa* on the southern enclosure of the temple at Mitrānandapuram, by Pūrṇakīrtti-Rāmavarmar of Pulamaṇ in Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu.

Pulamaṇ is a village in the Koṭṭārakkarai Taluk as well as in the Pattanāpuram Taluk. Which of the two places is here intended it is not not possible to know. Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu[6] occurs in the Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscription of Vīra-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman. *Taṇṇadil* in line 2 stands for *sannadhiyil*.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*][7] மகர வியாழத்தில் விரிச்சிக ஞயிற்று மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ராஜ்ஜ படாரர்

2. திருவடி தன்னதில் வெண்ணட்டிளங்கூறு புலமண் [பூர்ணகீர்த்தி ரா]மவர்மர் வழுதிகுளத்தாறும்[8] கொயில்வெள்ளூர் [பூ]மி-

3. மெல் விரயூர் விருத்தி[யொ]டு கூடக் கொள்ளுந் நெல்லும் ர[ஜதப்பொன்]னும் கொண்டு உக்கிணஸ்வண-ஜ-ைகைப் பட்டாரர்[9]

1. If there is no omission of letters in *puttiyannākku*, it must be considered a corruption of *bhukti onnukku*.

2. A wide mouthed bell-metal vessel.

3. This is pobably வட்டில் 'a platter'.

4. By this term is perhaps meant a temple servant or manager.

5. The passage might also be taken to mean 'the expenses must be conducted after the demise of Śuvākaraṇ Maṇiyaṇ who instituted it'. In this case, the grant must have been made at his last moments.

6. This name has been read as "Kōḻiḍaikkūṟu by the late Professor Sundaram Pillai (*Ind. Ant* Vol. XXIV. p. 278) and as Iḷankuḍai by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao (above, Vol. I. p. 296).

7. There is a small scratch before ம.

8. This has perhaps to be read "த்தாறும்".

9. The further portion of this inscription in not engraved.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vṛiśchika, when Jupiter was in Makara, at the *maṇḍapa* on the southern enclosure of the Mitrānandapuram (*temple*), and in the presence of Rāmajñabhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi..... obtaining paddy and the *rakshābhōga* gold, which Pūrṇakīrtti Rāmavarmar of Pulamaṇ in Vēṇāṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu used to derive from the lands of Vaḻudikuḷam and Kōyil-Veḷḷayūr along with Viraiyūr-Virutti ..... to (*the god*) Dakshiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar.

No. 4.— On the south wall of the Brahma Shrine.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Brahmā shrine at Mitrānandapuram. Its preservation is not very bad, though the letters are not incised deep enough. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language Tamiḻ. Sanskṛit letters in Grantha characters are used in *svasti śrī*, *Rāmajñabha°*, *Dakshiṇa-svarṇamu°* and *namaskāram* in line 1; and *rakshai*, *rakshābhōgamā* and *namaskāramum* in line 2.

The wording of the deed is rather loose. The object of the inscription is to register gift of the *rakshābhōga*, amounting to one hundred and thirty-two *paṟai* of paddy, derived by Dēvaṉ Chakrāyudaṉ of Śaṅkaramaṅgalam, to the temple of Dakshiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭāra at Mitrānandapuram, for the daily expense of four *nāḻi* of rice for offerings and *namaskāram*, which required 120 *paṟai* of paddy and for vegetables, tamarind, salt, pepper and leaves which required 12 *paṟai* of paddy. Evidently, the gift was made in the presence of Rāmajñabhaṭārar.

As noted already, such usages as *eḍattu* for *iḍattu*, *pandiru* for *paṉṉiru*, and the dative form *śelaviṉṉu* for *śelavukku* and *śeydadiṉṉu* for *śeydadukku* are quite common to the western dialect. *Oru-pu* and *iru-pu* are still used in some places to denote 'single crop and double crop'. The forms *nānāḻichchai* and *paṟaichchai* for *nānāḻi* and *paṟai* are worthy of note. In these cases, the *chai* is an expletive.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] மகரத்தில்ப் புகு வியாழந் நின்ற மகர ஞயிற்று மித்[தி]ரான ந்தபுரத்து தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில ராஜ்ஜூஹடா[ரர்] திருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்து உக்ஷிணஸ்வண்ணா[ம்]கை பட்டாரகர்[க்*]கு நியதி மடையால் நானாழிச்சை செய்தரி திருவமிர்து நமஸ்காரமும்.....[2]

2. ப்பிரசான சங்கரமங்கலத்து தெவஞ்சக்கிராயுதன் தன்னுடய ரக்ஷை எப்பெர்ப்பட்டதின்மெலும் ரக்ஷாஹொமமாக இச்செலவின்னு ஓராண்டால் நெல் நூற்றிருபது பறைச்சை செய்தும் நமஸ்காரமும் அமுர்துசெய்ததின்னுந் நியதி [இருமு]றி த..... காயும் இருகழஞ்சு புளியும் உப்பும் மிஉகும் இலைக்கும் ஓ-

3. ராண்டால் நெல் பந்திருபறையும் கூட நெல் இருபூவகையுந் நூற்றுமுப்பத்திருபறைக்கும் புறைக்கூலி கூட நெ-

1. The inscription is unfinished.
2. This gap may be filled up with the syllables பூவகை.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Makara of the year when Jupiter had entered and stood in Makara, on the occasion when Rānajñabhaṭārar Tiruvaḍi was pleased to remain in the *maṇḍapa* of the southern enclosure of the Mitrānandapuram (*temple*), Dēvaṉ Chakrāyudaṉ of Piraśāna-Saṅkaramaṅgalam, [whose lands fell under the class of double crop], (*gave*) for the daily expense of sacred offerings and *namaskāram* (*to be prepared out of*) four *nāḻi* of good rice, (*as measured*) by the temple measure, to the god Dakshiṇasvarṇamukai-Bhaṭārar, the *rakshābōga* (i. e. *the owner's share*),- *viz.* (*one*) hundred and twenty *paṟai* of good paddy derived every year from all kinds of lands (*that were*) under his protection, together with twelve *paṟai* of paddy every year for (*supplying*), twice daily, vegetables, two *kaḻañju* of tamarind, salt, pepper and leaves, (*which were*) required for the *namaskāram* and offering,— (*altogether making*) a total of (*one*) hundred and thirty-two *paṟai* of paddy, realised in the two crops, inclusive of *puṟakkūli*.

No. 5— Mitranandapuram Inscription of Kollam 660.

This inscription, which is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet on the south wall of the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Mitrānandapuram, at the left of entrance, refers to the repairs executed in the temple, the consecration of the image and of covering the pinnacle with copper. All these are stated to have been done in Kollam 660 (=A. D. 1486) by the disciple of Yādavēndrānubhūti-Bhaṭārar and certian others. Among the places mentioned in the inscription, Kuḻikkōḍu may be identified with a village of that name in the Kalkuḷam Taluk; and Kaṇḍiyūr is in Māvallikkarai. The name Piḻadiśuvaran seems to be a dialectic corruption of Bṛihadīśvaran.

Text.

1. ஸ்வ[ஸ்தி] [॥*][1] கொல்லம் சுளசுய-தாமாண்டு விரிச்சிக வியாழம் மீன ஞாயிற்றில் [கண்டியூர்] ஸ்ரீயாதவெந்தி-
2. ரானுபூதிப்படாரார் திருவடி இருந்நருளியெடத்திள் ஶிஷ்யன் குழிக் [கே]காட்டு நாகச்சுவாமிதெவரும் ஒழிஞ்ஞநம்பி ப-
3. வித்திரங்காழி பிழ[தி]சுவரனும் கணக்கு நாராயணனிராகவனும் கூட திருப்பணி செய்யிச்சு கலச-
4. மாட்டிச்சிது செம்பு[2] மேயிச்சு

Translation.

Hail! In the month of Mīnam of the Kollam year 660 (when) Jupiter (*was in*) Vṛiśchika, and in the presence of Śrī-Yādavēndrānubhūti-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi of Kaṇḍiyūr, his disciple Nāgasvāmidēva of Kuḻikkōḍ, Oḻiññanambi Pavitraṉkāḻi Piḻadiśuvaraṉ, the accountant Nārāyaṇaṉ Rāghavaṉ, together made repairs and bathed (*the image*) with pots of water (*i. e. consecrated it*) and (*had the pinnacle*) covered with copper.

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1. Read ஸ்வஸ்தி
2. There is some vacant space between this word and the previous one.

No. 6.— Mitranandapuram Inscription of Manikantha Ramavarman.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters on the south outer face of the yāḷi-stone, to the left of the steps, at the entrance into the Vishṇu shrine of Mitrānandapuram. It is a record of the Vēṇāḍu king Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman and is dated in the first day of Kumbham of the year in which Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka-rāśi *i. e.* in the zenith of its power. That the king mentioned in this epigraph is none other than Vīra-Rāmavarman of the Veḷḷāyaṇi inscription is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that Gōvindaṉ Kumaraṉ of Paṭṭāḻi, Vikkiraman Parannavaṉ of Puṉalūr and Kaṇḍaṉ Udaiyaṉaṉ of Kaitaivāy figure in both the records, the first two as witnesses and the last as the writer of the document. The full name of the king may have been Vīramaṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman. The palaeolography of the records does not militate against this identification. For that same reason, the inscription must be assigned to Kollam 371 when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka. And since by calculation it has been found that 24th Mēḍam of that year fell in 16th April A. D. 1196, the day of execution of the subjoined deed may be 23rd or 24th Jauuary 1196. It will be pointed out later on that the inscription in the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine at Trivaṇdrum, which registers a gift by Ādityarāman of Marudamaṇ, is dated in the month of Dhanus of the same year, and that Kaṇḍaṉ Udaiyaṉaṉ figures as the writer of that deed also. There should thus have intervened only a month i. e. Makaram, and perhaps a few days in Dhanus, between that record and the subjoined one. At the time when the Gōśāla record was incised, the reigning king of Vēṇāḍu was Kōdai Mārtāṇḍavarman. It is thus clear that Maṇikaṇṭha-Rāmavarman, also called Vīra-Rāmavarman, and whose full name should be Vīra-Maṇikaṇṭha-Rāmavarman, should have succeeded Mārtāṇḍavarman on the throne of Vēṇāḍu in December 1195 or Junuary 1196 A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கர்கடகவ்-
2. வியா[ழ]த்தில்க் கும்-
3. பஞாயிறு க சென்ற நாள் மி-
4. த்திரானந்தபுரத்து தெக்கி-
5. ன் சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில் ப்ரஹ்ம-
6. ப்ரஜ்ஞாஹடாரர் திருவடி இரு-
7. ந்நருளியெடத்து மித்திரானந்த-
8. புரத்து பட்டாரகர் நியதி இரட்-
9. டையால் நானாழி செய்தரி திருவ-
10. [மி]ர்து செய்தருளுவான் வெணாட்ட[டி]-
11. கள் மணிகண்ட ராமவர்[ம்]ம[ர்] அம-
12. ச்ச பூமி [॥*] மருதத்தூர் வெள்ளறை வி-
13. [ரு]த்தியில் அஞ்சொன்று மெலொ[டி][2]

1. ர் looks like ரு in the original. There seems to have been some corrections made in this line.
2. டி is corrected from டு.

14. [பெரு]ந் நெல்லும் கொடுகாமண்ணு-
15. [ம் பெ]ருமண்ணும் விலெநிலத்தொடி-
16. ய பு[ரையிட]ங்ஙள் முன்றின்னும் மெ-
17. ல்ப்பாதி திருவத்தி[ய]னு கொள்ளுந் நெல் நால்க்கலமும் செ . . [1]
18. ழுந்தி நென்மலிமங்ங[ல]த்து பூமி[மெல்] கொள்ளும் பாட்ட
19. நெல் முப்பது பறயும்[2] கூடக்கைக்கொண்டு செலவு முட்டா[தெ] வைப்-
20. பிச்[சு] திருப்பரிகலமு மெடுத்துகொண்டு உசூணமெரு.....
21. ...ஞ்ஞலத்தியுமிடுவது மித்திரானந்தபுரத்து வைஷ்ணவன்
22. ராகவநாராயணன் தந்ததி வரவெசமெ ஆசந்தாரவல்[॥*]இது
23. ஓராண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி[॥*]இரண்டாண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்-
24. டி[யு]ந் தண்டமும்[॥*]முவாண்டு முட்டுகில் இப்-
25. பூமியும் புரயிட்மும் ஸ்ரீகாரியஞ் செய்யுமவ[ர]-
26. [ள் கையில்] இக்காராண்கூறு [வெடி] ராகவ நாராயணன்
27. அதிகரிச்சு செலவு செலுத்துவிது[॥*]பட்டாழிக்-
28. கொவிந்தங் குமரனும் அறியும்[॥*]புனலாரி வி-
29. க்கிரமன் பரந்தவனும் அறியும்[॥*]இது கைதவாய்-
30. க்கண்டன உத-
31. யனன் எழுத்து.[॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the 1st day, expired, of the month of Kumbha, when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka, Brahmaprajña-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi being pleased to remain in the southern enclosure of (*the temple of*) Mitrānandapuram, the Vēṇāḍu king Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman gave the (*following*) lands in órder that sacred offerings with four *nāḻi* of good rice (as measured) by the temple measure may be made twice daily, to the god at Mitrānandapuram. Having received on hand the income in paddy, of one in five, arising from (*the land*) Veḷḷaraivirutti in Marudattūr together with half the income from Koḍugāmaṇ, Perumaṇ and the three gardens attached to the Vilenilam as well as the four *kalam* of paddy set apart for the recitation of the sacred Vēdas (*tiruvadyayana*), and the thirty *paṟai* of paddy which is the *pāṭṭam* to be obtained on the lands in Śempaḻundi-Neṇmalimaṅgalam, the *Vaishṇava* Rāgava-Nārāyaṇan of Mitrānandapuram and his descendants shall, as long as the moon and the stars (*endure*), see that the expences (*of the temple*) are met without any default, the sacred vessels are provided..... .....Dakshiṇamēru.....If this (*arrangement*) failed in (*any*) one year, double the default (*should be paid*); if it failed in two years, double the default and fine (*should be paid*): and if it failed in three years, the said Rāghava-Nārāyaṇaṇ, who was appointed to look after the cultivation, should pay an excess amount into the hands of the persons who manage the business of the said temple lands and gardens. Gōvindaṇ Kumaraṇ of Paṭṭāḻi knows this. Vikkiramaṇ Paranṇavaṇ of Punalūr knows this. This is the signature of Kaṇḍaṇ Udaiyaṇaṇ of Kaitavāy.

1 The last two letters may be ம்ப.

2 Read பறையும்.

No. 7.—On the yali-stone in the Vishnu shrine.

This inscription, which is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet of the 9th or 10th century A. D., on the yāḻi-stone at the entrance into the Vishṇu temple at Mitrānandapuram, registers a gift made to the god, for offerings, by a merchant of Tirukkōḻūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḻnāḍu, named Pugaḻi Śelvaṉ *alias* Tiruvālavāyil Danma-Śeṭṭi. The land Perunīr, whose income was granted to the temple, and the village Iḍamalai in which it was situated, figure in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plates, edited above. Tirukkōḻūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḻanāḍu, of which the donor was the native, is perhaps identical with Tirukkaḻūr in the Tiruchchendur Taluk of the Tinnevelly district. It is reputed, in Vaishṇava traditions, as the birth place of Madhurakavi-Āḻvār; and it is worth noting that one of the remote ancestors of Nammāḻvār was, according to the same tradition, called Tiruvaḻudi-vaḻanāḍar after the division in which Tirukkōḻūr was situated. Ālwār-Tirunagari, the birth place of Nammāḻvār, may also be said to be situated in the same ancient territorial division.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ [1 *] திருவழுதிவளநாட்டுத் திருக்கொளூர் வியாபாரி புகழி செ ல்வன்ஞன திருவாலவாயி-
2. ல் தன்மசெட்டி மித்திரானந்தபுரத்துப்[1] பெருமாளுக்கு நாளமிர்துக்கு தி ருமடைப்பள்ளி-
3. யால்[2] இருநாழிச் செய்து அரி செல்வது இடைமலைப் பெருநிராகின்ற பூமி . . . . . [3] மெல்ப்பா-
4. தியால்
5. பெருநிராகின்ற நிலத்தின் மெல்ப்பாதி

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Pugaḻi Śelvaṉ *alias* Tiruvālavāyil Daṉma-Śeṭṭi, a merchant of Tirukkōḻūr, (*assigned*), from the income of Perunīr in Iḍamalai, two *nāḻi* of good rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure,[4] for the daily offerings of the god (*Perumāḻ*) at Mitrānandapuram. The income of the land called Perunīr.[5]

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1 ர in புரத்து is engraved below the line.

2 In other inscriptions மடையால் is substituted for திருமடைப்பள்ளியால்.

3 Five letters appear to have been written here and erased.

4 On the meaning of மடை see Gundert.

5 This repetition is only to indicate how the last line stands after erasure.

No. 8.—An odd plate of Tiruvalla.

Among the impressions of the Huzur plates of *Tiruvalla*, taken by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao and kept in the office, the following estampage was also found. As the inscription contained in it has not been noticed in the paper on the "HUZUR PLATE OF THE VISHNU TEMPLE AT TIRUVALLA", it is edited here separately. As will be seen from the sequel, it is an important record.

This inscription seems to have been engraved on the plate after erasing an earlier record. The forms of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of this inscription show that it is a much later one than the Tiruvalla series. But as the plate is of the same size as the former and as it is found among the Tiruvalla impressions, it is likely that it formed part of that set, perhaps as a fly leaf attached to it.

The language of the inscription may be called the Western dialect of Tamiḻ, much allied to the modern Malayāḷam. The following forms of words occurring in it are worthy of note in this connection:—

śeyyichcha, āvidu, oḷḷa, kaññi, uḍukkumadu, iḻividu, iruppidu, oḻividu, ūṭṭumadu, iruṇṇu, verṟilai-tiṇṇividu, irākkil, avaraḷ, nāṇāḻichchai, and *ari*.

As already remarked, '*Paḷārar*' stands for '*Bhaṭārar*' and '*Tiruvaḍi*' is a term applied to *sannyāsins*, gods and kings.

The interchange of *śa* and *ta* and *vice versa* is quite common to Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs. *Chcha* or *chchai* is an authorised change of *ksha*; of. *pichchai* for *bhikshā*. For a similar change of *kshi* into *ikki*, we might cite *tāḻkki* which stands for *śākshi*. *Māḍai* is an altered form of *maḍai* which stands for cooked rice. *Avaraḷ* stands for *avargaḷ*.

The object of the inscription is to regulate the conduct of priests performing worship in temples. Evidently, the record aims at reforming certain bad practices prevalent among that class of servants, such as wearing grualled cloth: not having *pavitras*; feeding persons who had not been following the ancient routine or custom; not offering to the deity rice with ghee, flower and sandal-paste: and chewing beatel-leaves in the presense of the Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, by which term may be meant either the god or the *sanyāsin Niraññapādā-Bhaṭārar*.

Kāṇam, which occurs in line 6, is a gold coin that had been in use in early times. We find it so employed in 'Padiṟṟuppattu'[1] and other ancient Tamiḻ works as well as in early inscriptions.[2]

Of etymological interest is the word *kīḻiyakkam*, which occurs in lines 2 and 3 of this inscription. The term is not in current use. Neither is it to be found in Tamiḻ or Malayāḷam lexicons. Search for it in some of the ancient Tamiḻ works has proved vain. It is one of those obselete words employed in inscriptions whose meaning remains yet to be made out. The word appears to be a compound of *kīḻ* and *iyakkam*. *Iyakkam* is the verbal noun derived from *iyaṅgu* or *iyakku*. *Naḍai* or *āchāram* of other inscriptions will be proper equivalents of it. The prefix *kīḻ*

1 *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 378f.

2 P. 23. of the Travancore Archæological Series Vol. II

seems to be used in the sense of 'past' and as such the compound *kāḻiyakkam* should be taken to mean 'the ancient practice'. *Pūrvāchāram* may be regarded as its synonym. It is interesting to note that, besides indicating the course of action of persons as in our record, the word was also used to denote the customary dues or incomes accruing from lands.

The following passage taken from an unpublished epigraph,[1] will show this use of the word *kāḻiyakkam*. It will be particularly noted that the inscription expressly includes under *kāḻiyakkam* certain specified and unspecified dues such as *oṭṭidaṛkaḍamai*, *uvvi*, *vēy-nel*, etc which, we may observe, were customarily paid by cultivators:—

அதிகாரர்க்கு ஒள்ள தென்னுட்டில் * * * முத்தலைக்குறிச்சி ஸ்ரீவிரகெரள ஈச்சுவரத்து மாதெவர்க்குச் செலவின்னும் திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னும் எழுதி விட்டுக் கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர்[॥*] இத்தெசத்து கிழியக்கம் ஒட்டிதற்கடமையும் உவ்வியும் வெய்நெல்லும் அழகெருதும் * * கூட விட்டுக் கொடுத்தார் அமைந்த அதிகாரர்[॥*]இவ்வண்ணமே இத்தேசத்து திருவிதான்கோட்டு மாதெவர்க்கும் பரக்கொட்டு தெவர்க்கும் பகவதிக்கும் கிழியக்கம் ஒள்ளது நீங்கலாக ஒள்ள ஒட்டிதற் கடமையும் * * * ஆசந்திரதாரவல் வீரகெரள ஈச்சுவரத்து மாதெவர்க்கு செலவின்னும் * * * அறியும் தாழ்க்கி புலவர்மண் சாத்தன் மணியன்

TEXT.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[ா*] நிரஞ்ஞாபாதாபழார[ர்*] திருவடி செய்யிச்ச சிரிகாரிய மாவிது[॥*] அகத்தொள்ள யெம்பெரு-
2. மக்கள் செய்யு[ம்*] கிழியக்கமாவிது[॥*] கஞ்ஞிப்புடவை என்று உடுக்குமது இழிவிது[2][ா*] பவி-
3. த்திர[ம்*] இட்டிருப்பிது[ா*] கிழியக்கமில்லாதவர்களே மடத்திலிருந்து ஊட்டுமது
4. ஒழிவிது[ா*] அகத்து நெய் மாடைய் பூவாகிலு[ம்*] சந்தனமாகிலு[ம்*] வச்சிருந்து ஆ[ரா]தி-
5. ரா தொழிவிது[3][॥*] பழார[ர்*] திருவடி முன்பு வெற்றிலே தின்னுவது ஒழிவிது[॥*] இ[வ்*]வண்ண[ம்] இரா-
6. க்கில் மெல்சாந்தி எம்பெருமக்கள் இருபத்துநாலு காணம் பொன்(ந்)[4] தண்ட[ம்*][॥*] மற்றுள்ளவரள்
7. இருபத்து நாலுழிச்சை அரி தண்ட[ம்][5] [॥*]

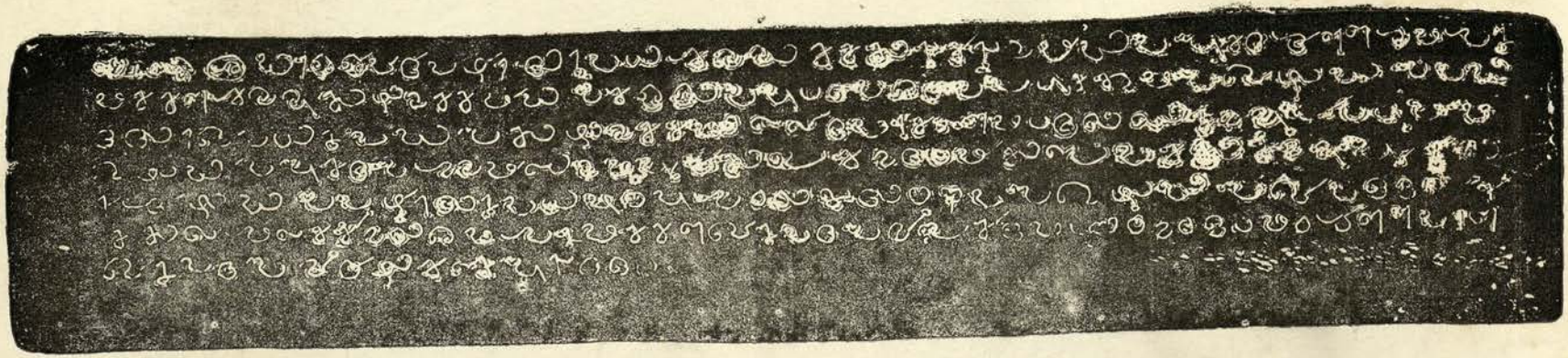
1 This record is dated in Kollam 491. Prof. Sundaram Pillai has translated it in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 334 f.

2 This word may have to be corrected into ஒழிவிது as in lines 4 and 5. If not so corrected, it must be translated as "dropped".

3 Read ஆராதியாதொழிவது.

4 Delete the last ந்.

5 ம் is engraved like an *anusvāra*.



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Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! This sacred arrangement was made by Niraññapādā-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi. The following practices (*shall be adopted*) by the greatmen of (*i. e. attached to*) the inner (*shrine*). The wearing of cloths (*under the pretext that they are dipped in*) gruel must cease. *Pavitram* shall be worn. In the *maṭha*, the feeding of persons, who do not follow the ancient practice, must cease. In the inner (*shrine*), worship shall not be made without the offering of boiled rice with ghee, flower and sandal-paste. The chewing of betel-leaves in the presence of the Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi shall stop. If the greatmen of the *mēlśānti* (*i. e. those who conduct worship in temples*) do not observe these (rules), they (*shall be liable to*) a fine of twenty-four *kāṇam* of gold; and the other persons, who do not follow the same, shall be liable to pay a fine of twenty-four *nāḻi* of good rice.

No. 9.—Vellani Inscription of Vira-Ramavarman: Kollam 371.

On the south bank of the back-water (kāyal) near the village of Veḷḷāyaṇi, (sometimes pronounced as Veḷḷāṇi,) in the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk, is an old Vishṇu temple, quite neglected and fast going to decay. It faces the west and bears an inscription on the base of the south wall of its *maṇḍapa*. I secured an inked estampage of it, and it is reproduced as plate facing page 6. The temple is called at present Tirukuḷaṅgarai, which is evidently a corruption of Tirukuṇakarai, the name given to it in the inscription. As in most other cases, the walls of the central shrine of this temple are built of what is popularly known as *maṇṇaikkal*, a kind of gravel-like stone. The god in this temple is in standing posture, has four hands, the back two of which hold the conch and the discus. While the left front hand rests freely on a *gada*—a feature seldom observed in the case of Vishṇu enshrined in temples—the corresponding right hand shows the *varada-mudra* pose.

The inscription is in a tolerably good state of preservation and is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and in the Tamiḻ language (western dialect). Along with the Tamiḻ grammatical forms *vāḻndaruḷukiṉṟa adikāraruḍaiya, paṭṭārakarkku, etc.*, the following peculiarities also occur:—*āvidu* for *āvadu*; *varuvidu* for *varuvadu*; *āḻvāṉṉu, viḻakkiṉṉu* and *śelaviṉṉu* for *āḻvāṉukku, viḻakkiṉukku* and *śelavukku*; *śeyyiṉṟavaraḷ* for *śeykiṉṟavarkaḷ*; *kalppichchu, adikarichchu* and *śeyyichchu* for *kalppittu, adikarittu* and *seyvittu*; *oḻḻa* for *uḻḻa*; *muṭṭukil* for *muṭṭiṉāl*; *tuḍai* for *taḍavai*; *ārāḻchcha* for *arāyehchi*; *tāḻkki* for *sākshi*;[1] and *Parannavaṉ* for *Parantapan*. *Neyyeṉṉai* is used in the sense of liquid ghee.

The inscription is dated in the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Rāmavarman and in the Kollam year 371 (=A. D. 1196), the month Mēsha, and the 24th solar day, expired. M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I submitted the date for verification, notes:—

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1 On the changes assumed by this word see No. 33, below.

"= Tuesday, 16th April A. D. 1196 when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka: for want of week-day, however, we cannot be certain whether the day intended is Tuesday 16th April or Wednesday 17th April: in other words whether the suffix "expired" is expletive or significant".

The inscription registers a gift made by the officers of the king, to the Vishṇu temple called Tirukkuṇakarai *alias* Yādavanārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar-Āḷvār at Śeṅkōṭṭāṟu-Chērikkal, for the expenses of offering daily four *nāḻi* of rice and for burning a sacred lamp. Reference is incidentally made to a temple at Poḻiyūr, a body of six hundred men of Vēṇāḍu and to the *Vaḷañjiyar* of the eighteen districts, who are required to manage the gift, in case the person entrusted with the property made default for the third time. It is interesting to note that the record is careful to mention even the insignificant item of thread to be supplied for the wick of the lamp. The quantity of paddy to be given is stated to be exclusive of *puṟakkūli* by which term is perhaps meant the incidental charges to be incurred in taking the paddy to the court-yard of the temple where it has to be measured and handed over to the temple authorities. Other inscriptions definitely mention that such charges as the carriage hire, tolls and ferry dues, required for transporting the paddy from the thrashing ground to the temple court-yard, where it has to be measured out free, from chaff, dust and unripe grains, must be borne by the person in charge of the land, i. e. the cultivator, and that the stipulated quantity of paddy should be given in heaped measures. The Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscription of Vīra-Udaiya-Mārtāṇḍavarman[1] refers to such a custom which obtained in early days, in these words:—"*poliyāl Kōdainallūr kīḻachchēri-ttirukkōyilkkal koṇḍuvandu uṇaṅṅi umi-pōkku pūvaḻi, etc*". It means that at each harvest the interest paddy should be brought to the precincts of the Kīḻachchēri temple at Kōdainallūr, dried and measured without any husk.

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Paṭṭāḻi and Puṇalūr are villages in the Pattanapuram Taluk. Poḻiyūr, whose temple is mentioned in our inscription, seems to have been a place of importance in early times. Its identity with Poḻiśūḻ-nāḍu, which figures in the Huzur plates of Karunandaḍakkaṉ, is, however, open to question. That Poḻiyūr is not the modern form of Poḻiśūḻ is evident from the fact that the former name occurs in early records. A Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscription of about the tenth century A. D., belonging to the time of the early Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, engraved on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine at Suchīndram, mentions both Poḻiyūr and Poḻiyūr-nāḍu, thus setting at rest any doubt that might arise as regards the early form of it. And in this connection we may state that there is a village called Chūḻanāḍu in the Neyyāttinkara Taluk, in Ottaśē-kharamaṅgalam Pukuthy, which might be regarded as a remnant of Poḻiśūḻ-nāḍu. From the Suchīndram inscription referred to here we learn further that

1 In the published reading of this inscription (above, p. 296) I would fill up the first gap in *l.* 1 by "ய்சு-செ"; read இளங்குடை instead of இளங்குடை; குழுமை in place of கு . மை; replace செ தியகடைக்குட்டப்பெறையும் ..... மாத்தறையும் . . . by செதியகறுக்கூட்டிப்பெறை நூம் தடிகும்-யும் மாத்தறை நூம் தடி and instead of "உணங்கி உசு . . க்கு [ஆ] வழி; have உணங்கி உமிபோக்கு பூவழி."

Poḷiyūr was the native place of the chief Śērāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉ-Āchchaṉ who made a gift of money for burning a lamp in the central shrine of the Tiruchchivīndirattu-Bhaṭāra. Śeṅkōḍu is the name of that part of Vaḷḷāyaṇi which is not far away from the Vishṇu temple: and it is not unlikely that the exact site, where the temple is located, formed in ancient times a suburb (*chēri*) of Śenkōḍu.

From the subjoined inscription it is not possible to say who the Vaḷañjiyas were that were entrusted with the care of the charitable endowment registered in it. But from allied records[1] of the Tamiḷ and Kanarese districts, we learn that these Vaḷañjiyas were members of merchant guilds and belonged to eighteen countries, which, however, are not specifically named; that they were sometimes required to supervise, maintain or protect gifts made to temples and other charitable institutions; and that they had influence and authority over large areas, probably on account of the wealth they possessed and owing to their trade relations. It is worthy of note that the inscriptions which refer to them are written in mixed characters consisting of Tamiḷ, Grantha, Malayāḷam and Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters, and the language employed is the Western dialect of Tamiḷ, with such peculiarities of forms as are mostly to be seen in the inscriptions of the west coast. Among the communities, that figure in these inscriptions along with the Vaḷañjiyas, may be mentioned a class of people called "*the arm-bearing Thousands*" who are again comparable with the army of the right-hand *Vēḷaikkāras* occuring in the inscriptions of the Chōḷa kings Rājarāja and Rājēndra-Chōḷa[2].

The phrase "வேணாட்டறுநூற்றுவரும்" which occurs in lines 2 and 7, is similar to "நன்றுழைநாடுவாழுமவர் முந்நூற்றுவரும்[3]", "அறுநூற்றுவரும்" "அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிக்கிராமமும்[4]" "திருவெள்ளறை மூவாயிரத்தெழுநூற்றுவரும்[5]" "தில்லை மூவாயிரவர்" "நாற்பத்தெண்ணாயிரவர்" *etc.* In all these cases, the numbers cannot be taken to prove the existence of political assemblies consisting of as many members[6]. It has been shown elsewhere that the figures must refer to the number of persons who originally colonised the particular tracts with whose names they are mentioned: and that every descendant of theirs was entitled to being called one of the clan or body.[7]

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[8] [॥*] கர்க்கடகத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்லம் நாளைக-
மாண்டை மெடஞாயிறு உதய சென்ற நாள்ச் செய்த காரியமாவிது [॥*]

1 Mr. Rice's *Coorg Inscriptions*, p. 19 and foot-note 2.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 19-20 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. (10).

3 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 23.

4 *Ibid*, pp. 80 and 81.

5 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 158 and note.

6 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 284. and Mr. Nagamayya's *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I. p. 255. It is beyond comprehension that villages, however big they might have been, could ever have had such unwieldy assemblies as 3700, 3000 and 48,000.

7 An accountant of Māmallapuram in the 10th century A. D. called himself 'one of the 3700 of Tiruvelḷaṟai.'

8 The syllables ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ are entered on the left margin of the inscription.

வெணாடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகி[ன்]ற ஸ்ரீ விராமவர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமஞ்ச அதிகாரருடைய செங்கொட்டாறு

2. செரிக்கல் திருக்கு[ணக]ரை [ஆயி]ன யாதவநாராயண விண்ணகர் ஆழ்வான்னு செலவுந் திருநந்தாவிளக்கின்னும் எழுதி நிரொடுமட்டிக்கொடுத்தார் அதிகாரர்[॥*] இக்காலம் முதலாய் இச்செரிக்கல் வெணாட்டறுநூற்றுவரும் [ப]ணி-

3. செய்யின்றவரளுங் காரியஞ் செய்யின்றவரளும் மனுழ்ச்சமாய்த் திருக்குணகரைச் செலவு செலுத்துமவன் பொழி[யூ]ர்ப் பட்டாரகர்க்கு செலவின்னு முன்னம் அதிகாரர் கல்ப்பிச்சு விட்டு கொடுத்த நிலந் நிக்கி ஒள்ளதெப்[பெ]ர்ப்-

4. பட்டதும் கூட அதிகரிச்[சு] கொண்டு நியதம் மடையால் நாஞழிச்செய்தரி திருவமிர்துஞ் செய்யிச்சு ஒரொ திருநந்தாவிளக்குஞ் செலுத்திவருவிது[॥*] நியதம் அமிர்து செய்யும் அரிமடை நாஞழிக்கும் புறைக்கூலி நி[க்கி] ஆ-

5. ண்டுவர வெண்டுங் நெல் [1]க்காலால் இருபத்து நால்க்கலமுந் திருநந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றினு வெண்டுங் நெய்யெண்ணையுந் திரிநாலும் முட்டாதெ செலுத்திவருவிது[॥*] செங்கொட்டாற்று மெலுங் கிழுமொள்ள நிலத்தில் உரூப்பூமியும் கா ரா[ண்] நில-

6. த்தில்க் கொள்ளும் மெல்ப்பா தி[யு]ங் காடுங் கரைப்புரயிடமும் ஆளும் மிக்கு எப்பெர்ப்பட்டிதுங் கூட அதிகரிச்சு கொண்டு செலவும் முட்டாதெ செலுத்துவிது[॥*] இது ஒருதுடை முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி[।*] இரண்டு துடை முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டியுந் [த]ண்ட-

7. மும்[।*] மூன்று துடை முட்டுகில் அ[நு நூ]ற்றுவரும் பணி செய்யின்றவ[ர]ளும் பதினெட்டிராஜ்யத்தில் [வ]ளஞ்சியரும் ஆராழ்ச்சபண்ணி ஆசந்தாரவல் முட்டாதெ செலுத்துவிது[॥*] இச்செரிக்கல் நாலெல்ல அகப்படத் தொரணமுந் நாட்டித் திருவிடையாட்டமாகச் செல்லுமாறு

8. கல்ப்பிச்செடத் தறியுந் தாழ்க்கி கொக்கொப்பறப்பில் கண்டன் கண்டனும் அறியும் தானமண்கொட்டத்து கெரளஞ் சுவரனும் அறியும் புனலூரி விக்கிரமன் பரந்நவனும் அறியும் பட்டாழிக் கோவிந்தங் குமரனும் அறியும் இப்படிக் கிவை கைதைவாய்க் க[ண்]டன்

9. உத[ய]னன் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the business transacted on the 24th (solar) day, expired, of the month of Mēsha in the Kollam year 371, the year in which Jupiter stood in Karkaṭaka:—

The officers (*adikārar*) wrote (*i. e. executed the document*) and gave with libation of water, for the expenses of, and a sacred lamp to (*the temple of*) Tirukkuṇakarai *alias* Yādavanārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar-Āḻvār at Chērikkal in Śenkōṭṭāṟu (*which belonged to*) the officers of the glorious Vīra-Rāmavarma-Tiruvaḍi, who is pleased to rule the country of Vēṇāḍu. From this time forward, the six-hundred of

1 There is a symbol before க்காலால் which may be taken for மரக்கால்.

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Vēṇāḍu, those who execute works or repairs, and those who manage (*the temple*) business, shall, as representatives (*maṇuḷchcham*), see that the person (*entrusted with the duty of*) defraying the expenses of (*the temple of*) Tirukkuṇakarai, does bring under his management all kinds of lands,—exclusive of (*those*) lands which had been orderd and assigned previously by the officers for the expenses of (*the temple of*) Poḷiyūr-Bhaṭārar,— gets offerings prepared daily with four *nāḷi* of good rice and (*burns*) one sacred lamp. Without (making any) default, he shall supply, exclusive of *puṟakkūli*, twenty-four *kalam* of paddy (*as measured*) by the measure holding ten *nāḷi*, that being the requirement for the whole year for offering daily four *nāḷi* of rice; and (*he shall also give*) liquid ghee and thread for wick, which are required for (*burning*) one sacred lamp. Taking into his possession the *uṟā*-lands situated to the west and east of Śenkōṭṭāṟū, the western part of the *kārāḷa* lands together with the forests and *karaippuraiyiḍam*, and the servants (*attached thereto*) etc., he shall meet the expenses without (*making*) any default. If this (*arrangement*) suffers default once, double (*the quantity at*) default (*shall be paid*). If default is made for a second time, in addition to double the defaulted quantity, a fine also (*shall be paid*). And if default is made for the third time, the six-hundred, those who execute works or repairs, and the Vaḷañjiyar of the eighteen countries shall enquire[1] (*into the matter*) and meet the expenses (themselves), without default, as long as the moon and the stars (endure).

The witnesses who knew (*the transaction*) at the time when it was ordered to be given as a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* (*i. e. in favour of the temple*), with this Chērikkal decorated with arch-ways within (its) four boundaries, are:—

Kaṇḍaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ of Kōkkōpparappu knows (this);
Kēraḷan Śuvaraṉ of Tāṇamaṇkōḍu knows (this);
Vikkiramaṉ Parannavaṉ of Puṇalūr knows (this);
Govindaṉ Kumaraṉ of Paṭṭāḷi knows (this);
Thus was (*this*) written by Kaṇḍaṉ Udayanaṉ of Kaidavāy.

No. 10.— On the east wall of the Brahma Shrine at Tiruvallam.

The village of Tiruvallam is situated at the confluence of the two rivers Kiḷḷiyār and Karamanai, and is about four miles to the south of Trivandrum. It forms one of the Pakuthies of the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk of the Trivandrum division, and is famous for its temple. A spacious compound, enclosed on all sides by two *prākāra* walls of stone, is appropriated for this temple. The shrines found within the inner *prākāra* are those of Paraśurāma, Brahma, Śiva and Matsya. Of these, the first three are in a row on the south side, from west to east. The shrine of Paraśurāma, which faces the north, is built entirely of granite stone from the foundation to the ceiling, with a *vimāna* of less hard material. It is provided with a pinnacle at its top. The shrine is round and has a rectangular *maṇḍapa* in front. There is not much of sculpture or ornamentation. A row of Bhūtagaṇas or goblins, another of animals— elephants, lion and the like— and a third

1. *Āṟāḷchai* means 'enquiry'. Since these persons are required to defray the expenses, it may be presumed that the lands were left under their management.

panel of miniature floral works, with bearded faces of men carved in the convolutions, adorn the building at its top. The first two run all round the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*, while the last forms the top belt of the rectangular *maṇḍapa* alone. Though there are no inscriptions on this shrine, yet judging only from its architecture, it can be assigned to the 13th century A. D. The niches on the east, south and west walls, one on each side, accommodate minor deities. The image of Paraśurāma is shaped in the *ardhachitra* fashion. It has four hands in two of which the conch and discus are held; the weapons *paraśu* and *hala*, which the deity is said to have, are hardly distinguishable. One the other hand, the weapon in the front right hand looks like a *gadā*. The shrine of Brahmā, also facing the north, is built of dressed granite as far as the superstructure which is of brittle laterite stone. It is rectangular in shape without any pretentions to either sculpture or ornamentation. The image of Brahmā has four heads and four hands. It is seated in the Padmāsana posture; and on the pedestal, the petals of lotus are worked. *Kamaṇḍalu i. e.* a vessel with a spout, and an open lotus flower are seen in two of the hands, while the other two are in the *yōgamudra* pose. At the base of the west wall are two inscriptions in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and they are edited below. There is another epigraph on the base of the east wall in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and its contents are noticed in Volume I, pp. 295 ff. In the publishd edition we have, however, to correct some mistakes. First of all, it has to be noted that the position of the inscription is not the north wall but the base of the east wall. In the reading of the text given on page 296, we have to fill up the gap in line 1 with the letters ൻ ഒരൊറ; correct ഡടത്തു ശക്തി in line 3 into ഡാടത്തു ശാക്തി; read തിരുവഴു for തിരുവമി in line 5; fill up the first gap in line 6 with ഡടെ തു; alter ക്ഷേത്രപാലം into ക്ഷേത്രാലം and in place of the second gap insert ഗു; replace the first few dots in line 7 by ഡടെ കു-ഴി, and the second set of dots by ഒരു കം. The gap in line 8 has to be replaced by ഡടെ ഉൻ-ഴി; and those in line 9 by ഒരു കു-ഴി. In the abstract of contents, "Sōmavāra", which is given as the rendering of തിങ്കൾ ദിനം must be corrected into 'every month'; and substitute 'rāśi' for 'constellation'; alter "Śakki Tiruvandi of the *maṭha*" into "Śākki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam' and change "gave some paddy' into "ordered the incurring of certain expenses". The words 'Hail! Prosperity!' must be added at the commencement.

A revised text and translation are given on page 39, below.

As regards the Śiva temple, it may be noted that the outer *prākāra* wall is circular in shape, while the inner shrine, which contains the *liṅga*, is rectangular. Some space is left between the outer and inner walls to admit of *pradakshiṇam* or circumambulation. Each of the sides of this inner shrine is provided with two pillars. The basemeut of the *prākāra* wall is made of stone but the superstructure and the entire shrine are of laterite. There are small wooden windows shaped in the form of the coils of a snake. There are no inscriptions. The shrine is covered over by a thatched roof made in the form of a spread out umbrella.

In front of the principal shrine of Paraśurāma, but separated from it, there is a spacious *namaskāra-maṇḍapa*. To the east of this is a kitchen with a stone well; and behind them is the shrine of Matsya-mūrtti. There are no inscriptions in any of these buildings.

Outside of the inner *prākāra* walls, there are two *dhvajastambhas*, one set up in front of the Śiva shrine and the other just opposit to the shrine of Parśurāma.

The shrine of Gaṇapati is located to the east of the second *dvajastambha*, while that of Kṛishṇa is on the south-west corner.

Shrines of Paraśurāma and Brahmā are rarely to be seen in the temple of the Madras Presidency. The only one to the latter deity that is known so far is in the temple of Bhikshāṇḍār in the Trichinapoly district. We know of none dedicated to Paraśurāma, though there is a Śiva temple called Paraśurāmeśvara at Guḍimallam in the North Arcot district which contains a Śiva liṅga. Owing to this circumstance, the Tiruvallam temple is of importance. Offering of *bāli* to the dead at this place, on the occasion of the full-moon and new-moon days, is considered very meritorious and crowds of people, belonging specially to the Nāyar community, go there for the purpose.

The further antiquities of Tiruvallam consist of a shrine for Śāstā, erected on a hillock to the east of the Paraśurāma temple; and of some Nāga stones with figures of Kṛishṇa, placed under the shade of the serpent's hood, found under an old tree in the street outside of the temple.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொல்லம் ௪௱௰௨ ண்டாமாண்டைத் தனுவ் வியாழம் மக ரஞாயிறு [௰-செ]ன்ற ஞாயி-
2. று இ[ரெ]வதி இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து ஸ்ரீமுகமண்டபத்தில்
3. இருந்து செயித செயிகடவொலைக்கரணமாவிது [॥*] மாடத்து சாக்கி திருவா-
4. ண்டி திருவல்லத்து திங்களமாவாதிதொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்-
5. ச செலவு [।*] திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னும் மாதெவன் திருவடிக்குந் திரு வமு-
6. ர்தின் னரி மடை ௫-யுந் [।*] நமஸ்காரம் ௫-ன்னும் பேர் க-ன் னரி வெஞ் சனம் உ-
7. ள்ப்பட அரிமடை ௩-ழியும் [।*] ஆராதிக்குந் நம்பிக்கு நெல் ௨[1] க-ம் [।*]
8. திங்கள்[2] உவாவின்தொறுஞ் செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்சரி மடை உ௰-ழிக்கு-
9. ந் நெல் ௨[1] க-ழிக்கும்

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! On this day of Rēvatī (corresponding to) a Sunday, the 10th (*solar day*), expired, of the month of Makara when Jupiter stood in Dhanus (*-rāśi*), of the Kollam year 412, the (*following*) deed (enjoining) what should be perfomed was made in the sacred front *maṇḍapa* (*of the temple*) at Tiruvallam:— Śākki Tiruvāṇḍi of Māḍam ordered (*the under mentioned*) expenses to be incurred on the new-moon days of each month (in the temple at Tiruvallam).

1. This symbol stands for நெல்.
2. ள் is a correction from some other letter.

5 *nāḻi* of rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*),[1] for the sacred offering of Tirukkaṇṇappaṉ and Mahādēvaṉ-Tiruvaḍi (*i. e.* Śiva): rice for 5 *namaskāram*,[2] at the rate of 3 *nāḻi* of rice, (*as measured*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*) for 1 person, inclusive of rice and condiment: 1 *nāḻi* of paddyfor the *nambi* who performs worship:[3] (*in all*) the expenses ordered to be defrayed on the new-moon days of each month amount to 20 *nāḻi* of rice (*as measured*) by the temple measure and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy.

M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I sent the date for verification, is kind enough to note that Kollam 412, Jupiter in Dhanus, Makara 10, expired, Sunday, Rēvati, is equivalent to "Sunday, 4th January A. D. 1237. "Rēvati" ended on this day at ·88 (53 ghaṭikas); the day of solar month was 11 Makara, so that "expired" in this case is significant in that it adds one to the expressed date (10th). Jupiter was in Dhanus".

No. 11.—Tiruvallam Inscription of Virakeralavarman: Kollam 399.

This inscription, dated in the Kollam year 399 (=A. D. 1224), and falling in the reign of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīrakēraḷavarman, is engraved on the west base of the Brahmā shrine in the temple at Tiruvallam, a village in the vicinity of Trivandrum. Its preservation is good. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language is Tamiḻ, as spoken in the west coast, with a large admixture of forms peculiar to Malayāḷam, such as *eḍattu* for *iḍattu*, *kalpichcha* for *kalpitta*, *śārttichchu* for *śātti*, *Kaṇṇappaṇṇu* for *Kaṇṇappaṇukku*, *namaskārattiṇṇu* for *namaskārattukku* and *oḻḻa* for *uḻḻa*.

Namaskāram (11. 3 and 5) is the day-meal given in temples to Brāhmaṇas at the time of offering rice to the god, while *attāḻam* (1. 37) denotes the night meal.

Vādil (l. 4) for *vāśal* and *dādar* (l. 6) for *dāsar* furnish instances of the rule that *ta* takes the place of *sa* or *śa*. Compare *tamanchitaṇ* for *samanjita* and *tannadi* for *sannadhi*. In *śōgigaḻ*, which evidently stands for *yōgigaḻ*, we observe the change of *ya* into *śa*. Perhaps its intermediary form was *jōgi* as pronounced in North India. In the Tanjore inscriptions, there figures a *Sōnaka* or *Jōnaka* derived from *Yōnaka* or *Yavana*.[4] The Grantha letters that occur in the inscription are *svasti śrī* (1. 1) and *śrī* (1. 1) *namaskāra* (1. 5) *dīpa* (1. 9) *sabhai* and *chandra* (1. 10).

The inscription registers gift of the jīvita-rights on Nigamam in Teṅga-nāḍu, for offerings to the gods Mahādēva, Tirukkaṇṇappaṇ and Gaṇapati. The

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1 The full expression used in other inscriptions is திருமடைப்பள்ளி காரியால் which sometimes occurs in the form மடை காரியால் and மடையால். *Maḍai* may also be taken in the sense of "cooking".

2 *Namaskāram* is the term applied to the feeding of Brahmins in temples at the time of offering rice to the god during day.

3 ஆராதிக்கும் கம்பி of this inscription corresponds to ஆருதிசெய்கின்ற கம்பி of another epigraph which is published below.

4 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Part V, p. 428.

No. 11 TIRUVALLAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAKERALAVARMAN.
(to face p. 41)

No. 12. TIRU[illegible]ALLAM INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM 411
(to face p. 44)

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

previleges included such incomes as *kaḍmai*, *aḻagerudu-ney* and *taḷaikkāṇam*. By *kaḍamai* is meant the assessment on lands: *kaḍaṉ* is the other form in which it occurs in inscriptions. *Aḻagerudu-ney* of our record corresponds to *nallerudu* of others. It was not hitherto known, whether this small item of tax was paid in kind or money; and it is, therefore, interesting to note that our inscription shows it was a payment made in ghee, though the quantity is not specified. If *kāṭchi-erudu-kāśu* found in still other records, is identical with *nallerudu* or *aḻagerudu-ney*, it must be understood that the fee was also paid in coin, as the suffix *kāśu* seems clearly to indicate.

The places mentioned in the inscription are Tiruvallam, Nigamam and Ariviyūr. Of these, the first two are villages in the Neyyattinkara Taluk. Nigamam is called Nēmam at present. Ariviyūr is perhaps identical with the modern Arivikkara in Māranallūr-pakuthy of the same Taluk.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] விரிச்சிகத்தில்வ்[1] வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு கொல்ல[ம்*] ௩௱௯௰௯-தாமாடை[2] மகர ஞாயிற்றுச் செயித[3] காரியமாவிது[4] [॥*] வெணாடு வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற ஸ்ரீவிரகொளவர்ம்மர்[5] திரு-

2. வடிக்கமஞ்ச[6] அதிகாரரு[ை*]டய தெங்ஙநாடு சிவிதத்தில் நிகமத்தூரக த்து ஆண்டுவ[ை*]ரயுங் கடமைால்க் கொள்ளுந் நெல் உ௰௱எ ஞ்[7] செய்து மழகெருது(ந்)நெய்யுந் தளை-

3. க்காணமுந் திருவல்லத்து மாதெவர்க்குந் திருக்கண்ணப்பன்னுங் கணப திக்குந் நமக்காரத்தின்னுந் நியதமும் அத்தாழத் திருவமுர்து செய்யு மாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச[8]

4. அரி மடை எ-நாழியும் இரண்டிடத்துந் திருவறை வாதில்க்கல்[9] ஒரொதிங் கள் ஒரொத்திலிச்[10] செல்லுமாறு கல்ப்பிச்ச திபமாலைக்குங் கூட எழு-

5. திக் கொடுத்தாரதிகாரர் [॥*]இக்[கூறு] முதலா[ய்*] மாதெவர்க் கரி இ ருநாழி திருக்கண்ணப்பன் னரி இருநாழி கணபதிக்கரி நாழி ௩௨ ஸ்காரத்தின்னரி இரு-

6. நாழி[॥*] இதின்னு[11] மெல்க்காட்டு சொகியார் கூட்டிக் கொடுத்த அ

1. Cancel the letter வ்.
2. Read மாண்டை.
3. Read செய்த.
4. Read காரியமாவது.
5. Cancel ம்.
6. Read °கமைஞ்ச.
7. Read உ௱௰எ-ஞ்.
8. Read கற்பித்த.
9. This word stands for வாசலின்கண்.
10. Read ஒரோரிடத்தில்.
11. Stands for இதற்கு.

அச்சு அ-ன்னும் பொலியாலொள்ள[1] முதலுங் கூட நாராணதாதர் கைக்கொண்டு செலுத்தித் தாம் விலைகொண்-

7. ட அருவியூர்ப் புரயிடத்தில்த் திருநந்தாவனமுஞ் சமைச்சு முன்றெடத்தும்[2] ஈரண்டு[3] திருமாலயுஞ்[4] சார்த்திச்சு சொறு மெடுத்துகொண்டு வருவிது[5] [॥*] நாராண-

8. தாதர் இப்பரிசெ நிகமத்து கடமை நெல் [6]உயாள-மு மழகெருதுகெயி[7] தலைக்காணமு மச்சு அ-ன் பொலியுங் நாராணதாதர் ஆண்டுவரை அறு தி-

9. ங்கள் வாரமுங் கொண்டு குறியுங் கொடுத்து செலவுஞ் செலுத்தித் திருநந்தாவனமுங் திருமாலயுங்[8] செலுத்தி வருவிது[9] [॥*] நாராண-

10. தாதரிற் பிற்பாகம் வலெயும் பிழார[ர்*] திருவடியும் சொகிகள்க்குந் திருவுள்ளமாயவரை[10]க்கொண்டு இவ்வண்ணமெ ஆஅ[ரூ]தாரவல் செல்லு[11]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The (*following is the*) transaction made in the month of Makaram of the Kollam year 399, (*i. e.*) the year (in which) Jupiter stood in Vriśchikam:—

The officers wrote and gave (*i. e. conveyed by document*) the *kaḍamai* (*i. e. tax on land*) of 217[12] (*paṟai*) of good paddy, *aḷagerudu-ney* (*i. e. ghee from the good buffaloes*), and *taḷaikkāṇam*,— received every year from Nigamattūr (*situated*) in the *Jīvita* of Teñña-nāḍu, belonging to the officers of (*i. e. appointed by*) the glorious Vīra-Kēraḷavarmar-Tiruvaḍi, who was pleased to rule the Vēṇāḍu (country),— to the gods Mahādēvar, Tirukkaṇṇappaṉ (*i. e.* Kṛishṇa) and Gaṇapati (*in the temple*) of Tiruvallam, for *namaskāram* and for making daily

1. Read பொலியாலுள்ள.
2. Read முன்றிடத்திலும்.
3. Read சரிரண்டு.
4. Read திருமாலேயுஞ்.
5. Read வருவது.
6. Read உரூள.
7. Read நெய்.
8. Read மாலேயு.
9. Read வருவது.
10. Stands for மாகவரை.
11. Read செலவு. Some word like செய்வது or செலுத்துவது is omitted to be engraved at the end.
12. In writing out this figure, the engraver seems to have interchanged the symbols for 10 and 100. Thus we have ஒரூள instead of உரூள. According to a stone inscription of Mitrānandapuram, the paddy required for a daily offering of 4 *nāḻi* of rice is 120 *paṟai*. Hence, for 7 *nāḻi* of rice daily, the quantity of paddy must be 210 or 217 as in this record.

sacred offerings of *attāḻam* required to be prepared out of 7 *nāḻi* of rice, (*as measured by*) the temple measure as well as for the garland of lamps[1] required to be put up, by monthly turns, in the two places at the entrance into the *sanctum*. Receiving on hand the fund of this share (*i. e.* assignment) made for two *nāḻi* of rice to the Mahādēvar, two *nāḻi* of rice to Tirukkaṇṇappar, (*one*) *nāḻi* of rice to Gaṇapati and two *nāḻi* of rice for *namaskāram*, and receiving also the fund derived from the interest on 8 *achchu*, given by the *Śōgiyār* (*i. e.* the Yōgi) of Mēlkkāḍu to be added to this, Nārāṇatādar shall defray the (*required*) expenses. He shall lay out a sacred flower-garden in the *puraiyiḍam* of Ariviyūr, which he had purchased; shall supply two sacred garlands to each of the three places (*i. e. the three* shrines); and shall receive food.

Thus shall Nārāṇatādar receive, once in six months, the *kaḍamai*-paddy of 217 (*paṟai*), *aḷaṉg-erudu-ney* and *taḷaikkāṇam* from Nigamam, and the interest on the sum of 8 *achchu*. (*He shall*) give receipt, defray the expenses, (lay out) the sacred flower-garden, and supply the sacred garland of lamps. After (*the demise of*) Nārāṇatādar, the expenses (*shall be conducted*) in this (*i. e. the abovesaid*) manner, as long as the moon and the stars endure, by persons who shall be selected for the purpose by the assembly, the Paḷārar-Tiruvaḍi and the Śōgigāḷ (*i. e.* the Yōgis).

No. 12.—Tiruvallam Inscription of the Kollam year 411.

This unfinished inscription is engraved on the base of the west wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the Brahmā shrine at Tiruvallam. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and Tamiḻ language, and is dated in the 5th solar day, expired, of the month Makara in the Kollam year 411, when Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika-rāśi and the Nakshtra was Pūram. At my request, this date was examined by M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai. He notes that it is equivalent to "Sunday, 30 December 1235. On this day, Pūram or Nakshatra Pūrva-Phalgunī ended at ·73 of day (44 ghaṭikas) after mean sunrise and it was the 5th day of Makara month, so that in this case the suffix "expired" is expletive, not significant. Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika."

N. B. "To this use of *expired* we have an exact parallel in the citation of *tithis* and *nakshatras* which are sometimes referred to by the day of commencement. At other times by the day on which they ended. In all cases the week-day supplies the necessary check".

The object of the inscription appears to be to register a gift made by one Vijaiyan Iravi of Tekkiṇkāvu. Mention is made of Mukundōttama-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi, who must have been connected with the temple management at Tiruvallam.

At the time of this record, the ruling king of Vēṇāḍu was Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman. His Kaṇḍiyūr inscription is dated in Kollam 393,[1] while his other Tiruvallam record is dated six years later.[2] At Maṇalikkarai, we have another

1 Above Vol. I. p. 290.

2 Above p. 40f.

epigraph of his, which belongs to the same Kollam year as the subjoined one but is later by 3 months and 22 days.[1]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] விரிச்சிகவ் வியாழத்தில் யாண்டு கொல்லம் சாலிக-தாமா
ண்டை மகரஞாயிறு நி-சென்றஞாப்[2] பூரம் இந்நாளால் திருவல்லத்து
தெக்கின் திருச்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தில்

2. ஸஹைப் ஸ்ரீ முகுந்தொத்தம பழார திருவடி தன்னதியில் கூடி இரு
ந்து செத காரி[ய*]மாவிது தெக்கின்காவில் விசையனிரவி

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! On the day of Pūram corresponding to the 5th solar day expired, of the month Makara of the Kollam year 411, the year in which Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, (*the members of*) the assembly having met together in the presence of the glorious Mukundōttama-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi in the hall of the south enclosure at Tiruvallam transacted the (following) business:—

Vijaiyan Iravi of Tekkinkāvu . . . . . .

No. 13— On the south wall of the Krishna shrine at Trivandram.

This unfinished inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Kṛishṇa shrine in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum. The object of it is to register a gift, made in the presence of Prajñādhyaksha-Bhaṭārar and the assembly of Tiruvānandapuram, by a certain Śaṅkaraṇ Dēvaṇ of Pūkkōḍu for maintaining of two Vṛiśchika-lamps.

Pūkkōḍu may be identified with Pūṅgōḍu, a village in the Neyyāttinkarai Taluk. The paleography of the inscription shows that it must be earlier than the time of Kōdai-Mārtāṇḍavarman.

The Sanskṛit letters that occur in this record are *Svasti śrī*, *śrī* in *śrīmukha sabhai* and *Prajñādhyaksha* in line 1. *Tannadi* and *tamañjidaṇ* are altered forms of *sannadhi* and *samañjita*.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] மினத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற விரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று திருவான
ந்தபுரத்து ஸஹையும் தமஞ்சிதனும் திருவாய[ம்*]பாடி ஸ்ரீ முகம
ண்டபத்தில் ப்ரஜ்ஞாத்யக்ஷபடாரர் தன்னதியில் [கூ]டி இருந்தருளிய
டத்து

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1 See below No. 19.

2 ஞாப்பூரம் is a compound of ஞாள்and பூரம். ஞாள் has changed into ஞான் and lost its final consonant. The verification of the details of date has proved the correctness of the reading.

2. திருவாயம்பாடிப் பிள்ளைக்கு இரண்டு விரிச்சிகத் திருவிளக்கினு பூக்கொ
ட்டு சங்காந் தெவ[1]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Vṛiśchika (*of the year*) in which Jupiter stood in Mīṇa, and on the occasion when (*the members of*) the assembly of Tiruvāṉandapuram and the *samañjita* had met together in the sacred *mukha-maṇḍapa* of Tiruvāyambāḍi in the presence of Prajñādhyaksha-Bhaṭārar, Śaṅkaran Dēvan of Pukkōḍu . . . . . for (*burning*) two Vṛiśchika lamps in (*the shrine of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Piḷḷai (*i. e.* Kṛishṇa).

No. 14.—On the South wall of the Krishna shrine in the Padmanabhasvamin temple at Trivandrum.

This inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Tiruvāyambāḍi-Kṛishṇa shrine in the Padmanāhbasvāmin temple. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and is not dated in any era, but only mentions the year when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka and the month Vṛiśchika, which details are too insufficient to calculate or verify. The object of the record is to registar a gift of lands in Peruvēṉāḍu, by Kāmaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ of Perundōṭṭam in Kuṭṭamaṅgalam, for maintaining a sacred lamp in the shrine of Tiruvāyambāḍi-Perumāḷ, i. e. Kṛishṇa. Kuṭṭamaṅgalam may be identified with the village of that name in the Mūvāttupuḻai Taluk.

There is an unpublished copper-plate fragment belonging to Māmbaḻḷi whose size and script are almost the same as those of Śrīvallabhan Kōdai dated in the Kollam year 149[2]. It mentions Kāmaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ but does not give his native village. If this individual is identical with the one mentioned in the subjoined record, the latter may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. and the antiquity of the Tiruvāyambāḍi shrine will be taken to a much earlier period than that indicated in the inscription of Kōdai Mārthāṇḍaṉ.[3]

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ[॥*] கற்கடகத்தில் வியாழந் நின்ற யாண்டு விருச்சிக ஞாயிற்று
த் திருவானந்தபுரத்துத் திருவாய்ப்பாடிப் பெருமாளுக்கு குட்டம
ங்கலத்து பெருந்தொட்டத்து காமங்குன்றப்பொழ னமைச்ச திருநந்-
2. தாவிளக்கு ஒன்றினுக்குங் [கா]மங்குன்றப்பொழன் அட்டிக்குடுத்த பூமி
[॥*] பெருவெண்ணட்டில் [குளசுர்] வயலு மிதனெடு செல்லுந்தெங்கு
தொட்டமும் கரையும் பெருமடை வயலு மிதனெடு செல்லுந் தெங்கு
தொட்டமுங் கரையு[॥*] மிருந்-

1 After this letter there are some mason's marks.

2 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 234 ff.

3 See below, p. 46.

3. ல மித்தணைக்குந் தன்னுடைய மருமக்களெய் காராண்மை செய்து மெற் பாதிகொண்டு திருவிளக்கு செலுத்துவிது [॥*] முட்டுகில் முட்டிர ட்டி செலுத்திப் பின்னையு மிவகளெ காராண்மை செய்விதாக இ-

4. ப்பூமி அட்டிக்குடுத்தான் காமங்குன்றப் பொழன் ॥-

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month Vṛiśchika of the year when Jupiter was in Karkaṭaka, Kāmaṇ Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ of Perundōṭṭam in Kuṭṭamaṅgalam provided one sacred lamp to (*the temple of*) Tiruvāyambaḍi-Perumāḷ at Tiruvānandapuram and assigned for it with libation (*of water*) the lands *Kunjūr-vayal* in Peruvēṇāḍu, together with the cocoanut garden and the *karai* attached to it; as well as the *perumaḍai-vayal* together with the cocoanut garden and *karai* attached to it. For all these lands, his nephews should have the *kārāṇmai* right (*i. e.* the right of cultivation) and that they should, with the owner's share obtained from them, maintain the lamp. Kāmaṇ Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ gave with libation (*of water*) these lands stipulating that if default was made, double the quantity should be paid and that even afterwards these persons (*i. e.* the nephews) should retain the *kārāṇmai* right.

No. 15.—Trivandrum Inscription of Kodai Marthanda.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south wall of the Gōśala-Kṛishṇa shrine in the Padmanābhasvāmin temple at Trivandrum. The first part of it, which is in the Sanskṛit verse, has been taken to be a separate record and treated as such, by more than one gentleman who had had the occasion to handle it. I consider, however, that it is proper to view the whole as a single inscription as it seems that this is clearly the intention of the engraver. In this connection, it may be noted that the second part begins in the same line where the first ends, without leaving any vacant space between. Moreover, the latter part is not introduced by the usual benedictory phrase "Śvasti-śrī" which generally begins an inscription. Many an instance might be cited to show that the procedure adopted in this inscription was the identical one followed in engraving bilingual epigraphs in ancient times. If further proof were needed, that could be found in the fact that the object of the Sanskṛit portion and that of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu part that follows it, is one and the same. As in the case of all bilingual epigraphs, the second part gives more details, while the first serves only the purpose of a short introduction to it. We would point out that even the wording of the two parts agree so well that there is little room for any doubt in the matter. One can find almost a literal translation of *Uttuṅga-Jīvē Dhanushi Ādityarāma Syānandūra Gōshṭhālaya kamaladṛiśē rajata-kṛita-ḍiṇḍimam adiśat kṛita naivēdyam* of the Sanskṛit portion, in *Kaṟkaṭaka-Viyāḻattil Daṇu-ñāyiṟṟu Ādichcharāman Tiruvānandapurattu Tiruvāyambāḍi-ppiḷḷaikku velḷi-tiruvaṇukkatuḍiyum koḍuttu tiruvamudu kalppichchu* of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu part. We have purposely called attention to the identical nature of the two as it will serve to remove some of the misconceptions entertained by others in the understanding of this inscription.

In treating the Sanskṛit portion as a separate epigraph, the late Prof. Prof. Sundaram Pillai, who had devoted much time and thought to the inscriptions of the State, was of opinion:—

(i) that Ādityarāma was a king of Vēṇāḍu, being called "the prosperous and honoured soul of the earth." The expression "the bearer of the umbrella of Kōda Mārttāṇḍa" meant, according to him, that he inherited the kingdom from the latter and that he was not the personal servant of another individual.

(ii) that the date of the inscription is expressed in the *kaṭapayādi* system by the word "Mārtāṇḍa" and is equal to Dhanus 365 M. E. or to about the end of December 1189, when astrologically Jupiter was in that part of the heavens which is graced by the figure crab.

(iii) that Kōḷambhādhīśa "the god of Kōḷamba" meant the king who instituted, or took part in the institution of, the era of Kōḷamba, and not the reigning king of the day. Accordingly, with the aid of Mr. Shangunni Menon's *History*, Mr. Pillai identified him with that ancester of the Vēṇāḍu kings who in Kollam 1 started the Malabar era.

The following extract from the pen of Mr. Sundaram Pillai will serve to show how sceptic he himself was regarding the permanent retention of Ādityarāma in the list of the Vēṇāḍu kings. He says:—

"Thus then, beyond all doubt, there reigned over Vēṇāḍu on the 25th Mēḍam 371 M. E. or about the beginning of May 1196, Śrī-Vīra-Rāmavarma-Tiruvaḍi. This date is but 23 years and a month later than that of *Śrī-Vīra*-Udaiyamārtāṇḍavarman at Tiruvaṭṭāṟu ..... the last firm ground we have. The interval cannot surely be considered too large for one reign, suppcsing we are constrained by further researches to reject, as foreign to the dynasty, both Ādityarāma of the Gōśāla inscription, and Kēraḷavarman II of the Āṟṟiṅgal fragments. But the latter contingency, at any rate, as far as Ādityarāma, is so far improbable, that it may be well set aside, except in the way of satisfying the conscience of the ultra-sceptical. If we admit then either of these two names, we abridge the interval respectively to six or three years—periods too short to disturb in the least our belief in the uninterrupted succession of the sovereigns, the records have served to bring to light."

Here we may indicate briefly how it is not possible, so far as Ādityarāma is concerned, to retain him in the list of the Vaṇāḍu kings; how the date assigned for the Gōśāla inscription cannot be upheld; and how consequently, Kōda Mārtāṇḍavarman, whose umbrella-bearer Ādityarāma was, cannot be identified with the king of that name, who instituted the Kollam era.

(i) As regards the first point, it may be said that the words *mānya-ātmā-kshamāyāh*, because they refer to the umbrella-bearer of the king, should not be taken in the sense "the prosperous and honoured soul of the earth" but must be rendered "the praiseworthy soul of patience". The Vaṭṭeḻuttu portion of the inscription is quite explicit when it states that Ādityarāma was but a native of

Marudamaṇ, which place may be identified either with Marudamaṇbhāgam of the Pattanapuram Taluk or with Marudamaṇpaḷḷi of the Kottarakkarai Taluk. He had nothing to do with the possession of Vēṇāḍu and cannot be raised to the proud position of a king and made a remote descendant of the famous Mārtāṇḍavarman who instituted the Kollam era. He could be no better than a personal servant of king Mārtāṇḍavarman, and his umbrella-bearer as the Sanskrit portion distinctly calls him.

(ii) and (iii) may be considered together. First as regards the date assigned to this inscription, we have to note that it was never the intention of the writer to give any, except the planetary position; and that M. E. 365 will least suit it. In the extract given above, Mr. Sundaram Pillai refers to another inscription which is dated both in Kollam 371 and the year in which Jupiter was in the same *rāśi* as in the Gōśāla epigraph; but fails to see, however, that the position of Jupiter could not be in the same sign in M. E. 365, which is only six years behind 371 and not 12 years as it ought to be, for that planet takes a dozen years to come to the same position. The inscription referred to by him is the Veḷḷāṇi record of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Rāmavarman which we have edited above, No. 9. If we have to assign a date to the Gōśāla inscription at all, it would be correct to say that it belongs to Kollam 371. There would not be much to militate against it. On the other hand, the circumstance that this document was written by a certain Kaṇḍaṇ-Udayaṇaṇ, a native of Kaidavāy, the same individual that wrote the epigraph of Vīra-Rāmavarman, dated in the same year, would go a long way to confirm the inference. There would be no impossibility, however, for the inscription being dated exactly 12 years earlier, or 12 years later. In case the date of the Gōśāla inscription is the same as the Veḷḷāyaṇi one of the Kollam year 371, for which the possibility is greater, we note that Vīra-Rāmavarman should have succeeded Mārttāṇḍavarman in the interval between Dhanus and Mēḍam of that year. This interval could be still further reduced with the help of a Mitrānandapuram inscription as we have noted above. According to it, the date of accession of Vīra-Rāmavarman should have taken place in December 1195 or January 1196. From what has been said above, it will be observed that there is no reference in the Gōśāla inscription to that Mārtāṇḍavarman who, according to Mr. Shangunni Menon, instituted the Kollam era; and that, on the other hand, it is likely there was a Mārttāṇḍavarman immediately before Vīra-Rāmavarman. It was in his reign that Ādityarāma made his gift of a silver drum to the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine. As regards the provisional Kēraḷavarman evolved from the Āṟṟiṅgal fragments, we have only to note that better evidence is necessary to establish that he flourished in Kollam 368. Taking into consideration the two fragments as published in the *Indian Antiquary* we find no reason whatsoever to connect the two, one of which is dated but does not mention any king, while the other mentions king Kēralavarman but does not give a date. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillai was therefore, quite right when he said that the connection of the two fragments was by no means safe. One other point to which we have to draw attention is the fact that the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao has read the date of the Tiruvaṭṭāṟu inscription which appeared to be a firm ground as Kollam 388 instead of 348.

The antiquity of Trevandrum and its temple of Śrī-Padmanābhasvāmin being beyond question, the inscriptions of the Gōśāla Kṛishṇa shrine under discussion serve to correct the notion that king Ādityavarman *alias* Sarvāṅganātha, whose Sanskrit epigraphs have been published already in Volume I, pp. 171 ff, did "*build newly*" the cow-house or cattle-shed, the house of beautiful lamps and the shrine of Krishṇa with its open hall or *maṇḍapa*"in the Śaka year 1296 (A. D. 1374), but that he only renewed them. The phrase *kritavānnavatam* used in No. III (p. 172) distinctly points to the same conclusion. Therefore, both in the translation and in the introduction given on pages 131 to 173 the word "*renewed*" must be substituted for "*constructed*" or "*built newly*" wherever they occur. By the fact that Kaṇḍaṇ Udayaṇaṇ figures in our inscription, it is certain that the shrine of Gōśāla Kṛishṇa is as old as, if not older than, Kollam 371, which again is fully a century and a half earlier than the date furnished in the records of Sarvāṅganātha.

The *Grantha* letters used in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu portion are *sabhai* and *npadramabha* in line 8, *ndra* in line 17 and *śrī-Vishṇubhakta* in line 38. It is particularly worthy of mention that the Grantha *na* is shaped in all epigraphs of the period to which our record belongs almost like the modern Malayāḷam *na*, while the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *na* and *na* are shaped quite differently. So far, no inscription in Malayāḷam characters, referrable to the fourth century of the Kollam era, has been discovered, all the inscriptions in the western dialect being either in Tamiḻ or Vaṭṭeḻuttu. It is worth noting that many of the letters in the modern Malayāḷam bears close resemblance to the Grantha of the 4th century of the Kollam era rather than to the Vaṭṭeḻuttu of the same period,—a fact that may lead to the inference that such letters are developments of the corresponding Grantha symbols. The shape of the Grantha *da* in the subjoined epigraph, as in allied inscriptions, resembles the Vaṭṭeḻuttu *ta*. It is available for comparison in lines 2, 4, and 6. The symbol for *mēṛpaḍi* (*ditto*) and for *ṉo* whose occurrence is very rare, are figured in lines 14, 19, 23, and 26. *Ṉo* resembles almost the letter *ku* and the difference between the two has been noted already.

The following dialectic peculiarities deserve recording:— *irunnaruḻiyeḍattu* (1. 9) for *irundaruḻiyaviḍattu; koṭṭuvāṉ* (1. 11) for *koṭṭuvadukku; koṭṭumavaṇu, padiṇañjiṉṉu* and *nālinnu* for *koṭṭumavaṇukku, padiṇaindiṉukku* and *nālukku* (1. 18, 20, 21); *teṇḍa* (11. 31, 32) for *daṇḍam; tuḍai* for *taḍavai* (1. 26); *tandadi* (1. 34) for *santati*; *kalppichchu* (1. 13); and *āṇḍuvara* (1. 16) for *āṇḍuvarai.*

Śēgōppaṇi, which occurs in lines 29 and 35 seems to be a compound of *śēgō* and *paṇi* of which the first part calls for remark. As an adjectival or noun termination *ō* is obselete in Tamiḻ. It is only met with in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu ephigraphs of the west coast, and it seems to stand for *āvadu* or *kiṛa.* Some examples of these are noted below: —

śeṉṉaḍaikk-amaiñja bhūmiyāvō (above Vol. II p. 24).

A trace of this use of *ō* is to be found in such expressions as *kiṇaṛṛilō kuḻattilō.*

1 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. I. p. 296.

Tuḍi is a particular kind of wide mouthed drum similar to the *paṟai*, employed by the people of *kuruñji* lands.

In lines 20 to 25, it is stated that the paddy to be given to the temple as interest on money lent must be brought to the *maṇḍapa* of the Tiruvāyambāḍi shrine once every year on the day of Uttira-Phalgunī in the month of Paṅguṇi and measured out there and given over to the temple authorities. The quantity of paddy must be exlusive of *puṟaikkūli* by which is perhaps meant the insidental charges such as the carriage fees, tolls, etc. *Puṟaikkūli* sometimes occurs in the form *puṟakkūli*. An inscription edited above states that the paddy must be dried and freed from husk before being measured. Other epigraphs are even more explicit and state that these charges had to be borne by the person who was bound to give the quantity of paddy: thus, there is no doubt as regards the party who should incur the expenses.

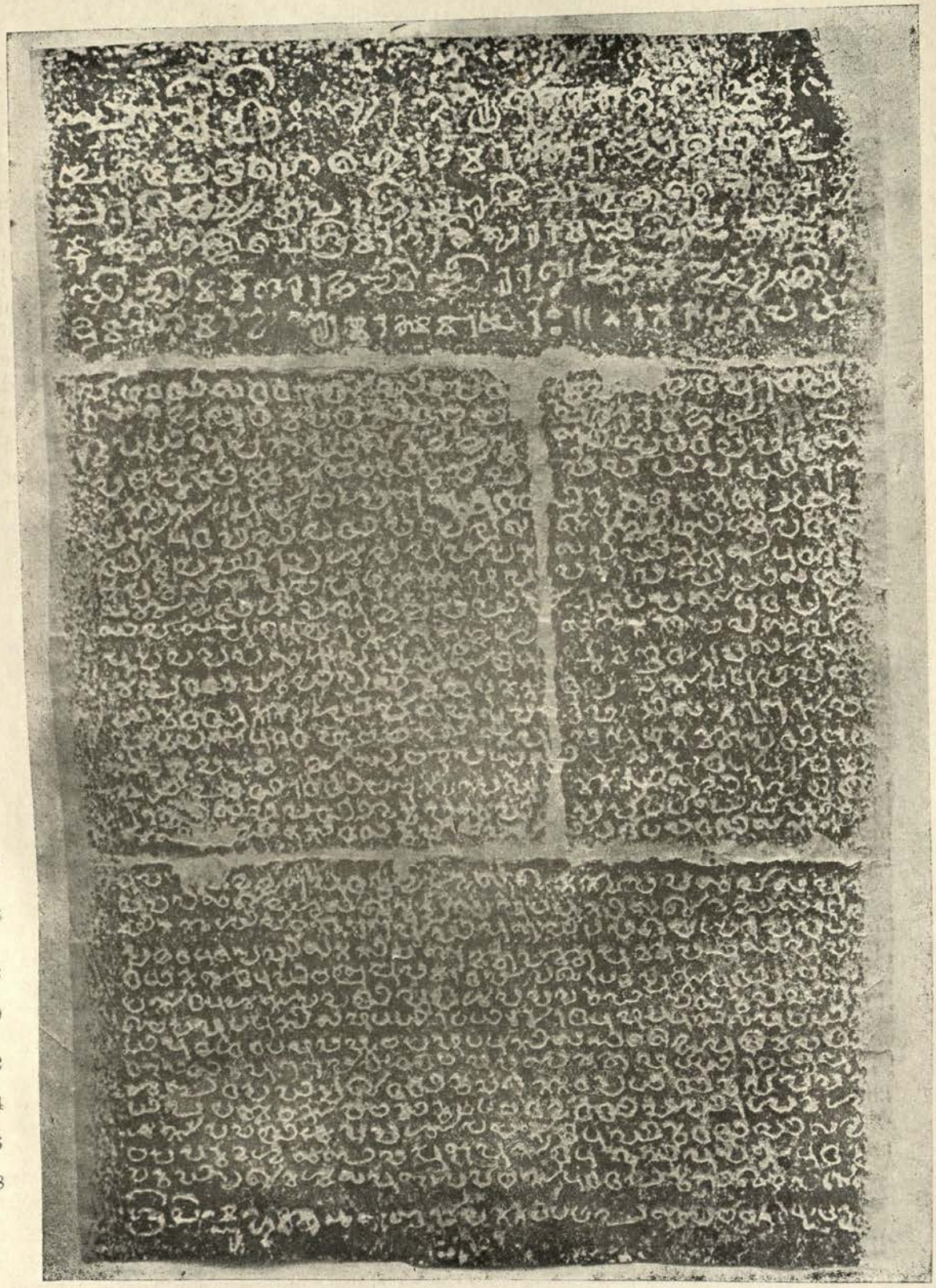
Vaippāṉ (l. 17) is used just as in modern Malayāḷam and means "for cooking". *Śarada* seems to be derived from *sarasa* by changing the *sa* into *da* and means "agreeably or suitably". The use of the word *kuṟi* in the sense of "a receipt" (l. 36) may be noted.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்ஹி ஸ்ரீ [॥*]ஷ்யாகஷ்மிலொகமொஷ்ரு
2. ய கூலுஷ்ரமொ மொஷாத்ராணுமொஷழ்-
3. வாயீம[அ]ர்வாஹீ யநஷி அ கூரதலெவெஷ்ரீ-
4. ஷ்தாம்மஜீவெ [।*] ஸ்ரீஸாநாதிக்யஸாஷ்ஷ ஹி ஸஜதகூரத-
5. ணீணீபுஷ்ணாஹணீணீஸாவணுஷணுஷ்ரீஸ்தி ஸ-
6. ஹிஹிஸஸ்ரீாகஸ்ய சூஸ்ரீா கூஷாயாஃ[1] ॥ கர்க்கடவ் வி-
7. யாழத்தில்த் தனு ஞாயிற்று [தி]ருவா[ன]ந்தபுரத்து
8. ஷஹெயுஞ் சமஞ்சிதனும் [2]வஷஸாஷழாரர் தி-
9. ருவடியுங்கூடி இருந்தருளியெடத்து மருதி-
10. மண் ஆதிச்சராமன் திருவாயம்பாடிப் பிள்ளை-
11. க்கு கொட்டுவான் வெள்ளித்திருவணுக்கத் துடியு-
12. ங் கொடுத்து நியதி மடையால் இரு நாழிச் செய்தரி
13. திருவமிர்து செய்யுமாறு கல்பிச்சு கொடுத்த மூ-
14. ன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சு முப்பதும் வெடியில் மெ-
15. ல்ச்சாந்தி செய்யுந் நம்பிமாரிடங் கொடுத்துப் பொ-
16. லியால் ஆண்டுவர கொள்ளுந் நெல் [ஓ]க்கும் பறையால்
17. அறுபது பறை செய்துங் கொண்டு ஆசந்தாரவல் செலவு
18. செலுத்தி வருவிது [॥*] திருவணுக்கத்துடி கொட்டுமவன்னு
19. விருத்திக்கு வெடியான் புலவர்ம்[பி]ல் கெரளராமன்-

1 Meter *Sragdharā*.

2 There is some space befor வ which might have contained a letter: வ looks like ஸ்வ. Perhaps ஷஸ்வஸாஷ is intended.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

20. னு கடங் கொடுத்த மூன்று சலாகையும் அழகச்சு பதினஞ்-
21. சின்னும் பணங் நாலின்னும் பொலியால் அண்டுவ[ை*]ர பங்-
22. குனி உத்தரத்தின்னு குவையூ[ர்]க்காலில் நிர்மண்ண-
23. டி நிலம் பதினெரு பறை வித்துபாட்டாலும் புறை[க்]-
24. கூலி[யும்] நீக்கி திருவாயம்பாடி மண்டபத்தில்க் கொ[ண்]-
25. டுவந் நளவுதரும் நெல் ஒக்கும் பறையால் மூப்-
26. பது பறை[॥*] இந்நெல் ஒரு துடை முட்டுகில் இந்நிலமும்
27. மிக்கு வெடியாற்குள்ள பூமி புரையிடம் எப்பேர்ப்பட்ட-
28. துந் தடுத்து விலக்கி வளைச்சுவச்சு அச்சும் பொலியும் [த]-
29. ண்டிக்கொண்டு பின்னையும் சாதமாயி ஓரடத்து கொடுத்து பொலி[யு]-
30. ங்கொண்டு செகொப்பணிபுஞ் செய்துவருவிது [॥*] திருவமிர்து
31. ஒன்று முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி [।*] இரண்டு முட்டுகில் முட்டிர[ட்]-
32. டியுந் தெண்டமும் [।*] மூன்று முட்டுகில் வஜையுஞ் சமஞ்சி-
33. தனும் திருவுள்ளமாயி தெண்டமும் வைச்சு முட்டிரட்டியு[ஞ்]-
34. செலுத்துவிது[॥*] இத்திருவணுக்கத்துடி திருவாயம்[பா]-
35. டி உவச்சன் காமன் கிருட்டன் தந்ததிப்பிரவெச[மெ]
36. செகொப்பணி செய்து சொறுங் கொண்டு விருத்தியில் [நி]-
37. ன்று வருந் நெல்லும் அளவு கொண்டு குறியுங் கொடுத்[து]
38. வருவிது [॥*] இச்செலவு வைப்பான் கொடுத்த உருளி ஒன்று [॥*]
இ[து]
39. ஸ்ரீ விஷ்ணுஹரன் கைதைவாய்க் கண்டன் உதையனன் எழுத்து [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In (*the month of*) Dhānus of (*the year*) when Jupiter was at its zenith, the illustrious Ādityarāma, the praise worthy soul of patience and the bearer of the umbrella of Kōdamārtāṇḍavarman who was the ruler of Gōḷamba (i. e. Kollam), gave to the lotus-eyed (*god*) residing in the unique temple of *Gōshṭālaya*, a fine drum, made of silver, equal in splendour to the Mandara (*mountain*) and lustrous as a huge mass of sea-foam, offerings being provided (*at the same time*).

In the month of Dhanus (*of the year in which*) Jupiter stood in Karkaṭaka, (*on the occasion*) when the assembly of Tiruvaṇandapuram, the accountant (?) (*samañjita*) and [Sam]padrāma-Bhaṭārar-Tiruvaḍi were present together, Ādichcharāman of Maruḍamaṇ presented a silver *tiruvaṇukkattuḍi* for being beaten in (*the temple of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi-Piḷḷai (i. e. Kṛishṇa). (*He also*) ordered (i. e. provided) for the prepration of a daily sacred offering of two *nāḻi* of clean rice (*as measued*) by the temple measure (*maḍai*). For these, three *śalāgai* and thirty *aḻagachchu* were given. The above-said money shall be invested with the *nambis*[1] who are the principal priests (*mēl-śānti*) (*of the temple*). Recieving the interest to be obatined every year viz. sixty *paṟai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the correct

1 It is the principal worshippers in temples that are entitled to be called *nambi*.

paṟai, the expenses shall be defrayed, as long as the moon and the stars (*exist*). The interest due on three *śalāgai*, fifteen *aḷag-achchu* and four *paṇam* given on loan to Kēraḷarāmaṇ of Pulavarambu, viz. thirty *paṟai* of paddy (*as measured*) by the correct *paṟai* from (*the yield of*) the land (*called*) Niramaṇṇaḍi, Kuvaiyūr-kkāl with the sowing capasity of eleven *paṟai* of seed which had to be brought to the *maṇḍapa* (*in front*) of the Tiruvāyambāḍi (*shrine*) and measured and given (*there*),annualy on the occasion of Panguṇi-Uttiram, exlusive of *puṟaikkūli*,— shall be for the wages of the person who has to beat the *tiruvaṇakkattuḍi*. If, (*in respect of*) this paddy, default is made once, over and above this land, all kind of lands and gardens (*puraiyiḍam*) belonging to the above named person shall be attached. After realising the capital (*achchu*) and the interest due thereon, they will be suitably invested again in some other place (i. e. *with other persons*) and with the interest (*so*) derived the allotted work shall be conducted. (In respect of) the sacred offering, if default occurs once, double the quantity at default (*shall be obtained*); if default is made a second (*time*), in addition to (*collecting*) double the quantity at default, a fine also (*shall be levied*) ; and if default is made for the third time, double the quantity at default and fine shall be paid to the knowledge of the members of the assembly and the accoutant. Kāmaṇ Kṛishṇaṇ, the drummer of this *tiruvaṇakkattuḍi* (*in the temple of*) Tiruvāyambāḍi and his descendants shall do the assigned duty, recieving food as well as the paddy, measured and given out of the yield of the *vṛitti* and giving reciept therefor. One *uruḷi* was given for cooking (*the offering*) provided for in this. This is the writing of Kaṇḍaṇ Udaiyaṇaṇ (i. e. Udaiyaṇaṇ son or nephew of Kaṇḍaṇ) of Kaidavāy, a devotee of the glorious Vishṇu.

No. 16.— At the entrance into the Vishnu temple at Parthivapuram.

The subjoined inscription is engraved at the proper right of entrance into the inner enclosure (*śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa*) of the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivapuram. I edit it from an impression secured in 1912.

Except *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *rakshā* in *rakshābhōga* (l. 2), and *rakshi* in line 3, the record is free from Sanskṛit letters and words. The alphabet employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu. Thogh from the few published inscriptions in this script it is not possible to fix the age of the inscription with any amout of certainty, exclusively on palæographical grounds, yet for reasons to be shown in a subsequent paragraph it may be assigned to the middle of the eleventh century A. D.

The language of the inscription is Tamiḻ of the same form as is employed in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plates published above.[1] The promiscuous use made of both grammatical and vulgar or dialectic forms of words is specially worthy of note. Among such peculiar forms found in this record may mentioned *kuḷattiṇu* and *vaḷāviṇu* in line 1, *agaḻ-kuttichchu*, *puraiyiḍattiṇu*, and *eḍattiṇu* in line 2, *oḷḷa* and *oḷḷōr* in line 3, *kaṇgāṇichchu* in line 4, and *Irāyādarāya* in lines 1 and 4.

As in the passage "*naṇai-malar-ppiṇḍināthan nalaṅ-kiḻar pādamūlam*" which occurs in the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, the term *pādamūlam* or *padipādamūlam*

1 See Nos. 1 and 2, above.

means, in the first instance, 'the feet of the Lord'. Thence it came to denote the body of people who were entrusted with the management of the temple. These persons were known as '*padipādamūla-ppaṭṭ-uḍai pañchāchāriyar*', perhaps on account of the fact that they consisted of five men who wore silk cloth for the sake of purity and were devoted to service in the central shrine and the regular conduct of worship. They seem to have shared the power of temple management along with the greatmen who formed the village assembly *i. e.* the *sabhai* and the *ūr*. Compare '*ivviḷakku erippōmāṇōm Tiruneyttānattu sabhaiyōmum pādamūlamum*' which occurs in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*.[1]

Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, which now forms one of the Taluks of Malabar with a large number of Nambūdiri settlements and contains the famous shrine of Bhagavatī at Aṅgāḍipuram and the Kurumandaṅkuṇṇu noted for its festival, was one of the most ancient territorial divisions of the Chēra country. Tradition affords enough grounds for supposing that it played an important part from the earliest times till a very recent date. The urn-burials which abound in the locality, the massive character of their capstones, the articles of value found within them, and the chamber erected round each, indicate that they are the tombs of persons of wealth and consideration.[2] Most probably they contain the remains of the opulent local chiefs.

We can trace the existence of the kingdom from at least the 9th century A. D. It is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of Karunandaḍakkaṉ[3] dated in A. D. 864 and in that of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa. Mēṟkōḍu is said to have been situated in it. Among the several Hindu chiefs who ratified the grant made by Bhāskara-Ravivarman of the eleventh century A. D. to the Jews of Cochin, figures Īrāyiraṉ Śāttaṉ of Vaḷḷuvanāḍu, who was probably a feudatory of that king.[4] A record of A. D. 1007, states that Muṭṭam[5] *i. e.* the modern Eraṇiel was situated in Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu. During the period of Chōḷa supremacy in Southern India, this kingdom seems to have been left to be governed by persons who owed allegience to them. From an unpublished inscription of Karuppukkōṭṭai, we learn that a certain Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṉ was its king. But from the date of the record and the palaeography of it, it may be said that this chief was not of the time of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman-Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.

In the subjoined inscription the surname of Kēraḷaṉ Ādichchaṉ viz. Rājādhirāja Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṉ points to the fact that his overlord was Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirāja I. The title *varman* affixed to his proper name clearly shows that he was of royal descent. After the conquest of the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, Vaḷḷuvanāḍu came to be a division of Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu.[6] By the latter name *i. e.* Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu was probably

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 250; and II pp. 112 and 312 n.

2 Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 181.

3 See above pp. 5 and 17.

4 *Epi. Ind.* Vol. III. pp. 66ff.

5 See above, p. 292, text-line 30.

6 *Ibid*, text-line 12f, "Rājarāja-Teṉ-Vaḷḷuvanāḍu" given on p. 5 is a mistake for 'Rājarāja-Teṉṉāṭṭu-Vḷḷuvanāḍu'. The evidences so far available do not warrant the inference that there were two Vaḷḷuvanāḍus in ancient times on the west coast.

meant the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries which were situated to the south of the Chōḷa territory, acquired by Rājarāja I by conquest. The Pāṇḍya country itself was called Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. The territorial extent of Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu appears to have varied at different times,[1] but its importance was maintained all through. The Rājas of Vaḷḷuvanāḍ acted and still act as protectors of the festival of Mahāmakham conducted once in 12 years in the Tirunāvāy temple on the north bank of the Ponnani river in South Malabar.[2] The Zamorin of Calicut is reported to have snatched away a good portion of the Rājā's territory in later days; and at the time of the Mysore conquest there remained to the Rāja only 26 *amśams*, some of which are in Ernad Taluk.[3]

Pārthivaśēkharapuram is a hamlet of Ārudēśapparṟu which is a pakuthy of the Viḷavaṅgōḍ Taluq. In the Huzur plates of the Āy chief Karunandaḍakkaṉ,[4] dated in A. D. 864—5 and the ninth year of reign, it is recorded that that king purchased from the assembly of Muñchirai the land called Uḷakkuḍiviḷai included in the lands of Paśuṅguḷam, a village in Muḍāla-nāḍu; that its extent and boundaries were fixed by the officers, who circumambulated it, accompanied by a she-elephant; that a sacred temple was built in it and consecrated to the god Vishṇu-Bhaṭṭāraka; and that the village of Pārthivasēkharapuram was formed. From this record it is clear that Pārthivaśēkharapuram, which is identical with the modern Pārthivapuram, came into existence in A. D. 864 and that its Vishṇu temple was also constructed in that very year. Another fact that we gather from the extract is that the village must have been so termed after Pārthivaśēkhara, a probable surname of Karunandaḍakkaṉ. It may be noted that the place is also mentioned in the Huzur plates of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa.[5] In slightly later times, the surname Pāthivaśēkhara appears to have been borne by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. and after this name a village was called Pārthivasēkhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.[6]

Kāritturai (l. 1), to which the chief mentioned in this inscription belonged, appears to have been the ancient name of Karuppukkōṭṭai near Pudugrāmam and this information is gathered from an unpublished epigraph secured from that place. Kuḷachchai is now called Kuḷachchal and is a pakuthy in the Eraniel Taluk.

In line 2, there is reference to the grant of two *ēr* of land (*i. e.* land that could be turned with two ploughs) to the Pulaiyaṉ[7] whose duty must have been similar to that of a village watchman.

1 See note 7, above.

2 Logan's *Malabar*, Vol. I. p. 162f.

3 *Ibid*, pp. 656-7.

4 See above, Vol. I. pp. 1ff.

5 *Ibid*, pp. 16ff. From the fact that this plate mentions Pārthivasēkharapuram and that the chief Teṅganāḍāḷvāṉ *i. e.* Śāttaṉ Murugaṉ offered his daughter Murugaṉ Śēndi in marriage to Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, it has been surmised that the king must be posterior to, and the successor of Karunaṇḍaḍakkaṉ in whose grant Śāttaṉ Murugaṉ figures as the *āj̃ñapti*.

6 Pārthivasēkhara-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was a village in Miṟaikūṟṟam or Miṟai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanāḍu (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 336).

7 See, above pp. 18-19.

In line 3, it is said that the income from the property conveyed by the *aṭṭippēṟu* shall be one in three of the produce from it, but shall exclude the *pulaikkāval*. It thus appears that the *pulaikkāval* lands (*i. e.* those assigned to the Pulaiyaṇs) are exempt from the payment of any tax. A similar exemption of *pulaikkāval* lands from the payment of taxes and dues occurs in the inscription of Vikramāditya Varaguṇa, already referred to.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of lands to the chief of Vaḷḷuva-nāḍu, subject to certain conditions which are detailed in the record. Reference is incidentally made to a fort and to a moat surrounding it as well as to the temple at Pārthivaśēkharapuram which are to be benefited by the conditions of the grant.

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ விரிச்சிகத்தில் வியாழ நின்ற சிங்ஙஞாயிற்று [1]பார்த்தியசெகரபுரத்து பெருமக்கள் குளச்சைக் கொயில்க்குளங்ஙரைக் காளக்கூட்டங் குறவறக் கூடி[க் கா]ரித்துறைக் கொளஞநிச்சவன்மனுயின இராயாதராய வள்ளுவநாடாழ்வானுக்கு அட்டில்பெறு அவிரொதத்தால் கொடுத்த புரையிடங் குளச்சைக்கொயில் குளத்திறு[2] தெற்கு பாடகச்செரி வளாவினும் மணற்பள்ளி மூள்வீலைக்கும் [3]பர[லி]யு[ர்*] கொட்டையிற் செம்மரிப்பாறைக்கு மெ

2. ற்கு நாம் அகழ்குத்திச்சு கொடுத்தெடத்தினு வடக்கு புறக்காற்கும் அய்யன்கொயிற்கும் புரையால்குங் களம் அடுத்து புலையற்கு கொடுத்த இரண்டொர் நிலத்தினுங் கிழக்கு இவ்விசைந்த பெருநான்கெல்லை அகழ் குத்திச்சு [॥*] இதிலகப்பட்ட புரையிடம் உண்ணிலம் ஒழிவின்றியெ நிலப்பயனும் மரப்பயனு[ம்*] உள்ப்பட அட்டில்ப்பெறு கொடுத்து இப்புரையிடத்தின்னு பார்த்திவசெகரபுரத்து ஆழ்வார்க்கு ஸகூரபோகம் ஒரு திருநந்தாவிளக்கு செலுத்துவதாகவும் [।*] இப்புரையி-

3. டஞ்சுற்றுமண்டபத்தினகத்தொடொள்ள பரியாரம் பெறுவதாகவும் [।*] பதிபாதமுலமுங் குளச்சையூரும் இக்கொட்டை ஸஷிக்கக்கடவராகவும் இக்குடியிலொள்ளொரொருத்தர் எப்பிழை செய்யிலும் இக்கொட்டையில் ஆரும் ஒருத்தர் ஒரு[க்க][4]னர்த்தம் பண்ணுதெ சுற்றுமண்டபத்தினகத்தொடெ ஒக்க ஒள்ள பரியாரம் பண்ணிக்கொடுத்து குளச்சைக்கு[ம்] மா[வு] நிலம் பந்திருகலமும் அட்டில்ப்பெறு கொடுத்[து] இதினில்ப் புலிக்காவல் நி[க்கி]

4. மூன்றொன்று கங்காணிச்சு கொள்விதாகவும் அவிரொத[த்*]தால் அட்டில்ப்பெறு கொடுத்தொங் கொளஞநிச்சபன்மனை இராயாதராய வள்ளுவநாடாழ்வானுக்கு[5]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Simha, when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchikam, we the great men of Pārthivaśēkharapuram, having assembled without defi-

1 Read பார்த்திவ.

2 Stands for குளத்திற்கு.

3 Read பரலியூர்.

4 The letters க்க seem to have been erased. We have to correct கு into ர.

5 There are some punctuation marks after this.

ciency (*in number*) by (*the sounding*) a trumpet,[1] on the bank of the tank (belonging to) the temple at Kuḷachchai, unanimously gave an *aṭṭippēṟu* in favour of Kēraḷaṉ Ādichchaṉ *alias* Rājādhirāja Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṉ of Kāritturai and in respect of the garden (*puraiyiḍam*) (lying)

to the south of the temple-tank at Kuḷachchai,

to the west of the vaḻā (*field*) of Pāḍagachchēri, (*the land called*) Muḷviḷai of Maṇaṟpaḷḷi, and the rock (*known as*) Śemmarippāṟai within the fort at Paralaiyūr,

to the north of the place where we (*the members of the assembly*) dug out and presented a moat, and

to the east of Puṟakkāl, Ayyaṉkōyil, Puraiyāl and the two *ēr* of land adjoining the thrashing ground (*kaḷam*) (*which had been*) granted to the Pulaiyaṉ.[2]

Having dug out a moat in the four great boundaries thus set forth, the garden lying within it,[1]— without excluding the *uṇṇilam* but inclusive of (the right of enjoyment of) the land-produce and the tree-produce, — was given as an *aṭṭippēṟu*, subject to the following conditions:—

From the *rakshābhōgam* of this garden, one sacred lamp shall be provided to the god (Āḻvār) at Pārthivaśēkharapuram.

This garden shall receive the same conditions as those fixed for the enclosure *maṇḍapa*.

The *padipādamūlam* and the villagers of Kuḷachchai shall protect this fort.

If any one residing in this habitation commit any (*kind of*) crime, no one (*living*) in this fort shall cause any trouble; but (*he*) shall be subjected to the same conditions as those which obtain for the enclosure *maṇḍapa*. He shall give an *aṭṭippēṟu* of (*one*) *mā* of land and twelve *kalam* (*of paddy*) to Kuḷachchai. Supervising the cultivation of this land, (*a share of*) one in three (*of the produce*), exclusive of the *pulaikkāval* on this (*land*), shall be taken. (*This*) *aṭṭippēṟu* was (*thus*) unanimously given to Kēraḷaṉ Ādichchavarman *alias* Rājādhirāja-Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḷvāṉ.

No. 17.—Alagiyapandiyapuram Inscription of the Kollam year 252.

The subjoined inscription, which is in good state of preservation, is engraved in the Tamiḻ language and alphabet, on the north base of the central shrine of the Veṅkaṭāchalapati temple at the village of Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in the Tōvāḷai Taluk of the Padmanābhapuram Division. It registers a gift of land made by a certain Kaṇṇaṉ Dēvaṉ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiya-Śilaiśeṭṭi, to the temple of Pavittiramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṉ at Adiyaṉūr *alias* Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram. Among the boundaries of the land granted figures the channel irrigating the fields of Pēykkōḍu. This place may be identified with Pēyōḍu in the Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram Pakuthy.

1 The verb *ūdi* seems to be omitted after *kāṇa*.

2 The passage may also be rendered thus:- "to the east of the 2 *ēr* of land granted to the Pulaiyaṉ adjoining the thrashing ground (*kaḷam*) of Puṟakkāl, Ayyaṉkōyil and Puraiyāl.

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொல்லங் தொன்றி யிருநூற்றைம்பத்திரண்டாமாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டதியனூரான அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து கண்ணன் தெவ-
2. [தெ] . . . டும் விலைகொண்டுடைய பூமி கொட்டியார்குளத்தில் தெற்க-டைந்த நெடுங்கண்ணும் மெலத்தடியும் பெய்கொட்டில் நீர்பாய்கிற காலுக்கு வடக்கும் பிராயொடு குழிக்கு மெ-
3. ற்கும் மா[ப்பா]ண்டிவயக்கலுக்கு தெற்கும் இந்நான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட பூமி இந்நகரத்து பவித்ரமாணிக்கவிண்ணகரெம்பெருமானுக்கு நித்-தம் நாழி அரிசி திருவமுதுக்கு சந்த்ராதித்யவரை செல்வுதாக[1] வை-ச்சு குடுத்தென் கண்ணி[ன்*]
4. தெவனன உத்தமபாண்டியச் சிலைசெட்டியென்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the two hundred and fifty-second year after Kollam had appeared, I, Kaṇṇaṇ Dēvaṇ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyaśilaiśeṭṭi of Adiyaṇūr *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram (*situated*) in Nāñji-nāḍu gave the lands Neḍuṅgaṇ and *mēlaittaḍi* on the south side of (*the tank*) Koṭṭiyākuḷam, which I, Kaṇṇaṇ Dēvaṇ *alias* Uttamapāṇḍiyaśilaiśeṭṭi had purchased and (*which lay*) to the north of the channel through which water flows in Pēykkōḍu, to the west of the pit with the *pirāy*[2] (*tree*), to the south of the the field (*called*) Māppāṇḍi-vayakkal and thus included within these four[2] boundaries, for a daily sacred offering of four *nāḻi* of rice to (*the temple of*) Pavittiramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ of this city, so that it may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun endure.

No. 18.—Alagiyapandiyapuram Inscription of the Kollam year 299.

This inscription, which is engraved in Tamil characters, on the west base of the central shrine in the Veṅkaṭāchalapati temple at Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram, is dated in the Kollam year 299 (=A. D. 1124), and registers an *aṭṭippēṟu* grant of lands made by the citizens of that village to a certain Kōṇ Kēraḷaṇ. The conditions of the grant are that the donee shall have the right of kārāṇmai (*i. e.* the privilege of owning the lands and cultivating them) and that on receiving the owner's share of the produce, he should pay to the temple of Pavitramāṇikka-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ the land-tax (*kaḍamai*) of seven *kalam* of paddy and one quarter of a *kāśu* on this holding of 13 *mā* of land. A *vēli* being equal to 20 *mā*, the *kaḍamai* on one *vēli*, at the rate specified in the inscription, would work out to very nearly 11 *kalam* (or, to be more accurate, to 10 $\frac{10}{13}$ kalam) of paddy. It is further gathered from this inscription that the land tax was paid mostly in kind with a small amount of money. The quantity of paddy to be paid as tax, it is

1 Read செல்வதாக.

2 This is a tree with a milky juice: *trophis aspera*.

3 The Eastern boundary is omitted to be given in the record.

said, should be taken to the temple premises, where it should be measured and given. This practice is also worthy of note. In speaking of the Vishṇu temple of Pavitramāṇikkaviṇṇagar-Emberumān, the inscription uses the word *mēṛkōyil*. It may be stated that the temple of Vishṇu is invariably situated to the west of the village, while that of Śiva is on the eastern side. On this account, the former appears to have been called *mēṛkōyil*, which term may be taken to indicate the relative position of both the Śiva and Vishṇu temples, one being on the eastern side and the other to the west of it. In referring to a Śiva temple at Conjeevaram, *Mattavilāsa-Prahasana* uses the word *pūrvasthalī*.

Among the boundaries, figure Iḍaikkōḍu and a river. The former may be identified with Itakkottuchcheri, a hamlet of Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram and the latter is probably Paḷaiyāṟu which flows past the same village.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொல்லம் தொன்றி இருநூற்றுத் தொண்ணூற்றொன்ப-
தாமாண்டு மிதுனத்தில் வியா[ழன்*] நின்ற ஆண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டிய-
னூரா[ன*] அழகியபாண்டி[யபுரத்]து நகரத்தோம் இந்நகரத்து தி-
ருமெற்கொயில் பவி-

2. ீமாணிக்க விண்ணகரெம்பெருமானுக்கு இந்நகரதோம் சந்ராதித்யவ-
ரை செல்வுதாக[1] நிர்வார்த்துக் குடுத்த நிலமாவது [॥*] இந்நகரத்து-
ப் புறவிளாகந் தூவச்செய்யும் கொன்கேரளன் திருத்துக்கும் இந்நில-
த்துக்கும் பெருநான்கெல்லை கிழ்மெல்லை இடைக்கொ-

3. ட்டில்நின்று அணைக்கு பொகிற வழிக்கும் படாபாறைக்கு மெற்கு-
ம் தென்னெல்லை அய்யன்கொயிலுக்குஞ் சாலார்விளாகத்தில்நின்-
று இறங்குகிற ஆற்றுக்கும் படாபாறைக்கு[ம்*] வடக்கும் [।*] ஆற்-
றுக்கு கிழக்கும் [।*] வடவெல்லை ஆற்றுக்கு தெற்கும் [।*] இவ்விசை-
ந்த பெருநான்கெல்லைக்குட்பட்ட-

4. தூவச்செய்யுந் திருத்தில பள்ளக்காலால் நீர்பாயு[ம்*] நிலமு முட்படக்
குடுத்த நிலம் பதின்முன்று மாவுக்கம் ஊற்காலால் மாத்தால் லெழுக-
லநெல்லும் காற்காசுங் கடமை யிறுப்பாஞக இந்நகரத்துக் கொன்கெ-
ளனுக்க இந்நிலம் அட்டில்ப்பெற்றுக் காராண்மையாக நீரொடுமட்-

5. டிக் குடுத்தோம் அழகியபாண்டியபுரத்து நகரத்தோம் கொன்கெளனு-
க்கு [॥*] இக்கடமை கொயிலி லிட்டளந்து குடுப்பது [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year two hundred and ninty-nine after Kollam had appeared, *i. e.* the year (*when*) Jupiter stood in Mithuna, we, the citizens of Adiyaṇūr *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyapuram in Nāñji-nāḍu, gave the following lands, with libation of water, to (*i. e. in favour of*) the sacred western (*i. e.* Vishṇu) temple of Pavitramāṇikkaviṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ of this city, so that they may last as long as the moon and the sun endure. The four great boundaries of (*the land called*) Tūvachchey in the Puṟaviḷāgam of this city, the land reclaimed by Kōṇ Kēraḷaṇ and of this land, are (*as follows*):—

1 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series edition p. 29.

2 Read செல்வதாக.

The eastern boundary is to the west of the path leading from Iḍaikkōḍu to the dam,[1] and (*of the rock known as*) Paḍāppāṟai. The southern boundary is to the north of the temple of Ayyaṉ, the river flowing down from Śālār-viḻāgam and (*the rock called*) Paḍāppāṟai. (*The western boundry is*) to the east of the river. And the northern boundary is to the south of the (*same*) river.

We, the citizens of Aḻagiyapāṇḍiyapuram, gave, with libation of water, this land, *viz.* the land called Tūvchchey lying within the above described four great boundaries, inclusive of the field in the reclaimed (*portion*) watered by the paḷḷakkāl and measuring thirteen *mā*,—as an *aṭṭippēṟu-kārāṇmai* to Kōṉ Kēraḷaṉ of this city, stipulating that he shall pay, as tax (*kaḍamai*), seven *kalam* of paddy (*as measured*) by the village measure, and a quarter *kāśu*. This tax (*of paddy*) shall be taken to the temple, measured out (there) and given (*to the temple authority*).

No. 19.—Manalikkarai Inscription of Ravikeralavarman of Venadu.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet is said to be engraved on four faces of a rectangular pillar set up near the Āḻvār temple at Maṇalikkarai, a hamlet of Kōdanallūr in the Kalkuḷam Taluk. Appreciable difference is noticeable in the formation of letters, between the first 33 lines and the latter portion of the record on the second face extending from line 34 to line 55. The shape of letters in the subsequent portion does not vary much. It may be that the latter portion of the record on the second face of the stone had been incised by a defferent hand and at some interval of time. Whether the marks,— which look like conch, inserted at the end of lines 35 and 99,— were purposely put in to indicate anything, it is not possible to say. Perhaps they show that the portion was engraved later. If this is the case, the first mark should have been put in at the end of line 33 or the beginning of line 34 where, however, there is no space for it. The letters are incised deep and clear. The Grantha letters that occur in the inscription are *svasti śrī* and *Vṛiśchi* in line 1, *śrī* in line 7, *sabhai* in lines 10, 14, 39 and 43 and *ndradhāra* in line 89.

The language of the inscription is the western dialect of Tamiḻ, quite similar to that employed in the Mitrānandapuram copper-plate edited above. The following forms of words are worthy of note:—

தண்டின்ற for *தண்டுகின்ற; வாண்ணருளின்ற* for *வாழ்ந்தருளுகின்ற; கல்ப்பிச்சு* for *கற்பித்து; வாஞ்ஞ* for *வாங்கு; வைச்சு* for *வைத்து; ஒள்ள* for *உள்ள; கொடுப்பிது* for *கொடுப்பது; கழிவிது* for *கழிவது; ஒழிஞ்ஞ* for *ஒழிந்து; செலவின்னு* for *செலவுக்கு, மாசெனத்தின்னு* for *மஹாஜநத்துக்கு; பறஞ்ஞ* for *சொல்லி; தோன்றுகில்* and *அழிவொண்டாகில்* for *தோன்றிஞல்* and *அழிவுண்டானல்; துவாமி* and *தவையார்* for *சுவாமி* and *சபையார்;* and *எழுதின்றவரள்* for *எழுதுகின்றவர்கள்.*

The inscription belongs to the time of the Vēṇāḍu king the Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman, and is dated in the Kollom year 410 + 1 (= A. D. 1236), the month Mēsha

1 There is a dam here known as Pāṇḍiyaṉ-aṇai.

and the solar day 27th, expired, when Jupiter was in Vṛiśchika. M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, to whom I sent the details for ascertaining the correct English equivalent, notes:—"On Monday 21st April A. D. 1236 =Koilam 411, Jupiter's mean longitude was 234·84 degrees which being between 216 (end of Tulā) and 240 (end of Vṛiśchika) is correctly located in Vṛiśchika-rāśi. Further verification is not possible owing to want of *tithi*, *nakshatra* or week-day. For instance 27 ஞாயிறுமுதல் may mean 28th day or 27th day. The day I have given above was the 28th of Mēsha month". The exact period of rule of this king and the events of his time have yet to be made out. But this record, which is expressly stated to have been drawn up on the lines of the royal order (*tirumugam*), is a very important one and shows the consideration and care which the king had bestowed on the internal administration of his country. The record is not couched in an unambiguous language but the sense is more or less clear.

The object of the inscription is to fix the amount of taxes to be paid on the lands in the possession of the members of the assembly and the *ūrār* of Kōdanallūr. This it does, and adds that during droughts, a reduced assessment, amounting to a fifth only, of the usual rates must be collected; and even from this quantity, 73 *paṟai* of paddy, required for the expenses of *Baṭṭavṛitti* and *Ōṇam*, had to be deducted and the balance realised as an additional charge on the lands which had borne crop in the season. *Arakkal* and *śāral*, mentioned in the inscription, refer evidently to the two instalments in which the annual land assessment appears to have been paid. They seem to have been fixed with reference to the harvest and were perhaps paid in Kumbham and Kanni as at present. The term *taravu* is used in the inscription first in the sense of 'a receipt' (1. 37) and secondly to dencte 'a document' (1. 22). It corresponds to the term *ṭīṭṭu* of other records. *Varippuḷḷi*, *variyil-puḷḷi*, or *variyum-puḷḷi* means 'an accountant or a collector of rent or tax'; and corresponds to the modern terms Kaṇakkuppuḷḷi or Kaṇakkuppiḷḷai. *Kalachchai* is a term similar to *nāḻichchai* and *paṟachchai*, very often met with in the records of this country: it means a quantity measured by the *kalam*.

The last words of the inscription state that this stone document was written on the lines chalked out in the *tirumugam* i. e. the royal order. And from lines 6 to 14, we gather that the inscription was the direct result of a conference held among the officers (*adikārigaḷ*) of the Vēṇāḍu king Vīra-Ravikēraḷavarman, the members of the village assembly (*sabhaiyār*) and the *ūrār* of Kōdainallūr and a certain Kaṇḍaṇ Tiruvikkiramaṇ of Marudāgachchēri, entrusted with the duty of demanding the *kaḍamai* of the same village. As such, the general lines on which the inscription was drawn up should have been indicated in the king's communication. It has been generally taken that *sabhai* was the name by which the village assembly of a Brahmanical village was called; and that *ūrār* denoted the assembly of a Non-Brahmanical village. We cannot be certain if there were villages which were exclusively Brahmanical and others that were exclusively Non-Brahmanical. At any rate, it is very likely that in most villages both classes were represented. If it is correct to take that *sabhai* means the assembly of a Brahmanical village and that *ūrār* denotes a non-Brahmanical assembly, or the assembly of a Non-Brahmanical village, it may be said that in big villages which counted among their inhabitants men of all classes, there should have been both the assemblies viz. the

sabhaiyār and the *ūrār*. Perhaps, Kōdanallūr was one such because it contained both the *sabhaiyār* and the *ūrār*. It would, however, be more correct to distinguish the two bodies by the functions they discharged,— whatever might have been their constitution. From the qualifications required for membership in the *sabhai*, it can be inferred that the members of that assembly were mostly Brahmins.[1]

From the phrase *kaḍamai-taṇḍiṉṟa*, which occurs in line 11, it is plain that *kaḍamai* stands for assessments on lands. It was in all likelihood a payment in kind rendered by the farmer to the State. *Taṇḍu* means 'to ask, demand or colleet'; and the nouns derived from it are *taṇḍal* (the act of demanding) and *taṇḍalkāraṉ* (the person that demands). These terms are still used in revenue phraseology. *Kaḍamai* has to be distinguished from *kārāṇmai* which means the proprietor's share of an estate and corresponds to 'rent'. When combined with the verb '*śey*' the word has its primary significance of 'right of owning lands, leasing them out to tenants for cultivation and deriving a share of the yield'. The term *mērpādi* is sometimes employed to denote 'rent or owner's share of the produce'. It may now be pointed out that besides meaning 'the right of ownership of lands with its attendant duties' and 'the rent of lands', the word *kārāṇmai* is sometimes so used as to denote the office and duties of collecting rents. If the estate had belonged to Government, there would be an officer appointed, as is the case in our record, to demand the *kaḍamai i. e.* assessments as they fell due; and if the estate is one owned by a private individual, the latter would realise the rent himself or through his agents. It is worth noting that an unpublished copper-plate inscription mentions a number of such officers, each one of whom perhaps appointed in respect of the lands of a particular village. In certain grants of lands made to temples, it is specifically stated that the donor reserved to himself and his lawful successors or other stated persons and their descendants the *kārāṇmai i. e.* 'the right of cultivation and that he or they should, with the *mēṟpādi i. e.* the rent accruing from the land, maintain the gift.

Kārāṇmai and *kaḍamai* are clearly distinguished in inscriptions. While the former represents, as explained above, the rent, the latter denotes the assessment proper on lands.

Text.

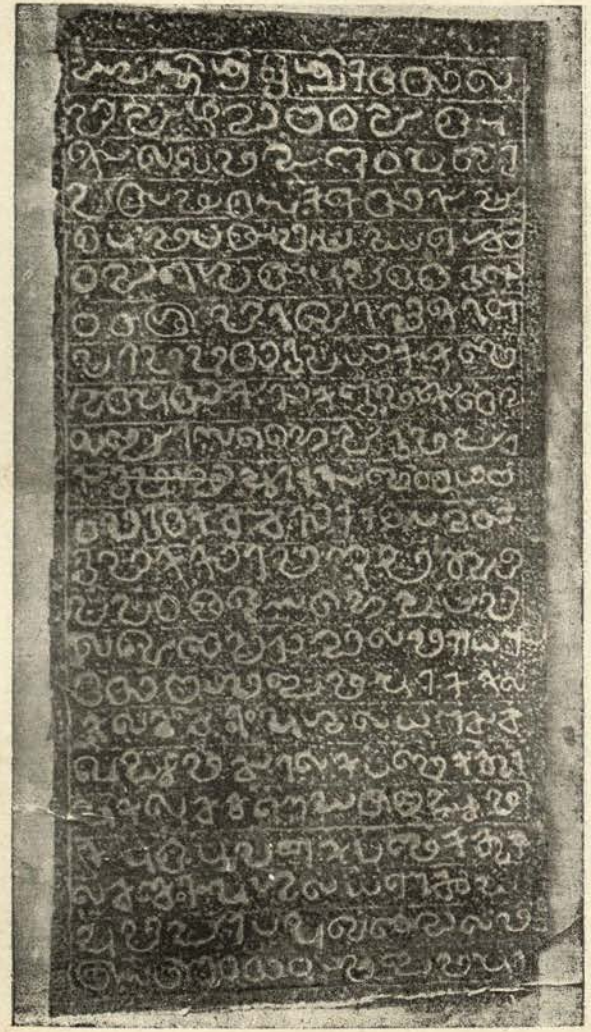
1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] வ௰ஶ்ரிகத்தில்
2. வியாழ நின்ற யாண்டு
3. கொல்லம் நானூற்று ஒரு-
4. பதாமாண்டைக் கெதிராமா-
5. ண்டு மெடஞாயிறு உ௰௭ சென்-
6. ற நாள் வெணாடு வாண்ணருளி-
7. ன்ற ஸ்ரீ விர இரவிகெரள-
8. வர்ம்ம திருவடிக்கமை-

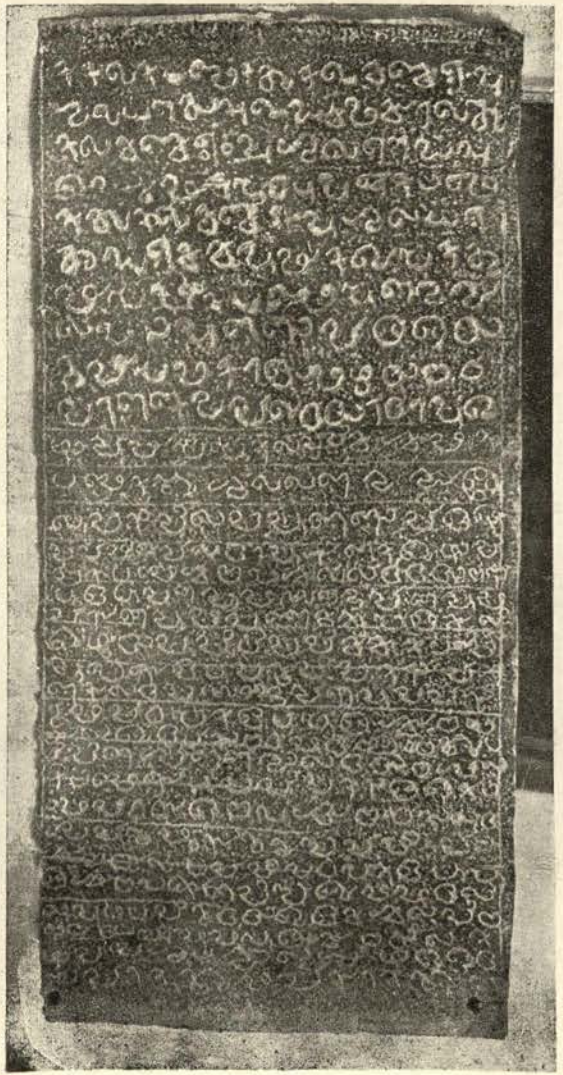
1 Vide the Uttaramallūr inscriptions of Parāntaka I published in the Director-General's Annual for 1904-5. Here are detailed the qualifications and disqualifications of members and voters, the mode of election, and the committees into which the *sabhai* was divided.

9. ந்த அதிகாரிகளும் கொதைந-
10. ல்லூர் ஸபையாரும் ஊர்-
11. ராரும் ஷெயூர்க் கடமை தண்டின்-
12. ற மருதகச்செரிக் கண்டந் தி-
13. ருவிக்கிரமனும் கூடி
14. ப்பறஞ்ஞு ஸபையடவி-
15. ல் இறைவரி நிலம் ௱௰௱-
16. த்தின்மெலும் அரக்கல்
17. கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௰௱சச-
18. ௵ சாரல் கடமைக்குர-
19. வு கலச்ச ௭௱௨௰௫ இ௵ மா-
20. க ஆண்டுவரை கடமைக்கு க-
21. லச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௰௭௱௯௰-
22. யும் ஊரடவு இறைநிலம்
23. ௫௰௫௱த்தின் மெலும் அர-

Second face.

24. க்கல் கடமைக்கு கலச்சை ஈவு-
25. நெல் ௭௱௯௮௨௵ம் சாரல்கு
26. கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௭௱௰௮
27. இயலுமாக ஆண்டுவரை கடமை
28. க்கு கலச்சை ஈவு நெல் ௰௭
29. ௯௰௭எச்சயுமாக இறுக்கு-
30. மாறும் கடமை அளந்நா-
31. ல் வரிபுள்ளி பாஞ்ஞு தி-
32. ருமாறும் கரணமெழுதின்ற-
33. வரள் கைய்யால்த் திரதரவு ஒ-
34. ழியுமாறுங் கல்ப்பிச்சொம் [॥*] க-
35. டமைக்கு நெல்லளந்நா-
36. ல் வரியில்ப்புள்ளி வாஞ்ஞு
37. துவாமி கையால் தரவு கொள்க [॥*] ஒழிவி-
38. து கடமை சென்று செல்லாத்ததின்னு
39. ஆண்டுவரையும் ஸபையாரையும்
40. ஊராரையும் வளைச்சு அஞ்சாலி
41. எழுதிப்பிடிப்பிச்சு கடமை
42. யுங் கொண்டு வருவிது [॥*] கரியொள்-
43. ள காலத்து ஸபையாரையும் ஊரா-
44. ரும் பற்றுகண்டு அஞ்சொன்றி-
45. னால் ஒண்டாகின்ற முதலுங்கூட்-
46. டி விளவொள்ள நிலத்தின் மெல்
47. கடமை கொடுப்பிது [॥*] கரிஞ்ஞு கட-
48. மை பற்றா என்று தொன்றுகில் த-
49. பையாரு மூராருந் துவாமியொடு
50. சொன்னால் துவாமி பற்றுகண்டு அ-
51. ஞ்சொன்று கொள்விது [॥*] இம்முதலி-
52. ல் பட்டவிருத்தி ஒணச்செலவின்-
53. னு ௨ ௭௱௩ ற மும் அஞ்சொன்றில் க-





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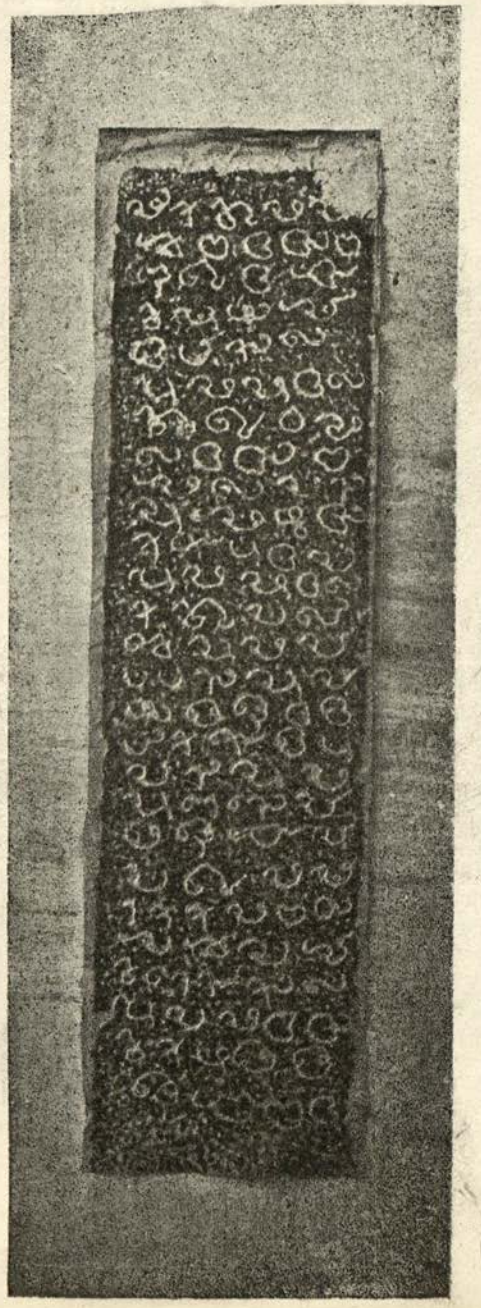


54. ழிவிது [॥*] கூ[1] நிலமொழிஞ்ஹ த-
55. வையார்க்கும் ஊரார்க்கும்

Third face.

56. மிக்கும்[மா]-
57. சனத்தின்-
58. ஹ எத்தொ-
59. ரு அழிவொ-
60. ண்டாகில்
61. அம்முதல்-
62. கு இற நி-
63. லத்தின்-
64. மெல் வரி-
65. யு மெழுதி-
66. க் கொடுத்து
67. அம்முதல்-
68. க்கு பலி-
69. சையும் பா-
70. ட்டரியு மொ-
71. ழிஞ்ஹ தண்-
72. டிக்கொண்டு
73. வரியும்
74. புள்ளி வா-
75. ஞ்ஹபொவி-
76. து [॥*] இம்மா-
77. ர்க்கமன்றி-
78. யெ செய்வொ-
79. ருளராகில்
80. அய்மத்தி-
81. ரு கழஞ்(ஞ)-
82. ஹ பொன் த-

Fourth face.

83. ண்டமும்
84. ம்வைச்சு பி-
85. ன்னையும் இ-
86. ச்செய்த்தெ
87. கார்யமா-
88. விதாகவும் [॥*]
89. ஆசரியார்-
90. வல்க் கல்-
91. ப்பிச்சு எ-
92. ழுதிய தரவு [॥*]
93. திருமுகத்-
94. தில்ப் பட்-
95. ட மார்க்க-
96. மெ எழுதிய-
97. மைக்கு இ-
98. து கலவெட்-
99. டாகும்

1 This is expressed by a symbol.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year when Jupiter stood in Vṛiśchika, on the 27th day, expired, in the month of Mēsha of the year opposite to the Kollam year four hundred and ten, the officers of the glorious and powerful Ravikērāḷavarman-Tiruvaḍi the ruler of Vēṇāḍu, (*the members of*) the assembly and the *ūrār* of the village of Kōdanallūr and Kaṇḍaṉ Tiruvikkiramaṉ of Marudakachchēri (*whose duty was*) to demand the assessment of the said village, having conferred together, ordered (thus):—

For the taxable lands in the possession of the (*members of the*) assembly, (having a sowing capacity of) . . . (*paṟai*) of seed, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *arakkal* is . . . and the quantity to be given as assessment for *śāral* is . . . (*thus*) for the whole year, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment is . . .

For the taxable lands in the possession of the village, (*having a sowing capacity*) of . . . (*paṟai*) of seed, the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *arakkal* is . . . ; and the quantity of paddy to be given as assessment for *śāral* is . . . ; (*thus*) for the whole year the quantity of paddy to be given as *kaḍamai* is . . . It was settled that the taxes shall be paid in the above said manner; that, when the assessment is measured, the accountant shall receive it; and that receipt (*tīrataṟavu*) acquitting the payment shall be taken from the hands of those who write documents.

When paddy is measured as assessment, *taṟavu* shall be obtained from the hands of the *svāmi* who receives revenue demands. For the rest (*of the lands*) for which assessment had been paid (*partially*) or for which it had not been paid, the members of the assembly and the village shall be held responsible by a written agreement for realising assessment (*later on*). During the time when there is *kari* (i. e. *famine*), the actual yield shall be ascertained from the members of the assembly and the *ūr*, and an additional amount of one-fifth (*of the kaḍamai*) shall be paid on the lands which had borne crop. If it appear that the yield had failed and that it was insufficient for paying the assessment and if the members of the assembly and the *ūr* represent (*the same*) to the *svāmi*, the *svāmi* shall see the yield (*paṟṟu*) and take (*only*) one fifth. From this amount of one-fifth, 73 *paṟai* of paddy (*required*) for the expenses of *Bhaṭṭa-vṛitti* and *Ōṇam*, shall be deducted. If any damage is caused to the members of the assembly, the *ūr* and other *mahājanas*, (*in respect of other*) lands than the above mentioned ones, the amount (*due thereon*) shall be entered against the taxable lands and the accountant shall be authorised to demand and receive (*the dues only*) leaving off the interest and *pāṭṭari* on it. Any one acting contrary to this settlement shall have to deposit (i. e. shall be liable to the payment of) a fine of fifty-two *kaḻañju* of gold and shall have also to continue to act in the prescribed way. This written document (*taṟavu*) was ordered (*to be in force*) as long as the moon and the sun endure: and this stone edict was written in accordance with the method specified in the royal order (*tirumugam*).

No. 20. PANNIPPAKKAM INSCRIPTION.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

No. 20.—An archaic inscription in the Pannippakkam temple.

The subjoined inscription is reported to be engraved on a pillar set up in the Pannippākkam Śiva temple at Kōdainallūr near Maṇalikkarai. It is written in archaic Tamiḻ characters: the language is also Tamiḻ. It is not dated; neither does it mention any king. Judging from the palæography of the record, it may be assigned to the beginning of the 9th century A. D. There are no top strokes for the letters *ka*, *cha*, *ta*, *ra*, *na*; the cross portion of *ka* is so slight that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish this letter from *ra*. The loops of *ṇa* and *ṉa* are developed, and the formation of *ṟa*, *ṟu*, *na*, *va*, *ṅa*, *tu*, and the vowel *ū* is characteristically old. The only Grantha letters used in the inscription are *svasti śrī* in line 1, *mahādēva* in line 2f and *kshi* in the last line.

The inscription registers a gift of twenty old *kāśu* for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruppaṇaikuḻam. While the direct management of the gift was left in the hands of the *ūrār*[1] of the village and the *dēva-karmis*, the members of the village assembly (*sabhaiyār*) of Brahmamaṅgalam and the *ūrār* of Pāgūr and Kūḻaikkōḍu were required to supervise and protect it. Of the places mentioned in the record, Kūḻaikkōḍu may be identified with Kuḻikkōḍu, one of the villages in the Kalkuḷam Taluk, which is reported to contain a Bhagavatī temple. Brahmamaṅgalam is perhaps the modern Brahmapuram in the same Taluk; and Tiruppaṇaikuḷam must be that part of Maṇalikkarai where the Śiva temple is situated. Pāgūrkōṇam is still a hamlet of Kōdanallūr.

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருப்ப-
2. [ணை]குளத்து உஹா-
3. தெவர்க்கு நொந்தாவி-
4. ளக்கினுக்கு கச்செட்-
5. டி விகளங்கன் இவ்-
6. வூர் ஊரார் கைய்யிற் [கு]-
7. டுத்த பழங்கா[சு]
8. இருபது நிலவிள-
9. க்கு ஒன்று [॥*] இக்காசு இ-
10. ருபது நறுநெய்
11. பொலி கொள்வதா-
12. கப் பொலிக்குக் கு-
13. டுத்துப் பொலி
14. நெய் கொண்டு [ஊரு]-
15. ம் தெவகருமிகளா[2]-
16. ய் நிற்பாரும் எரிப்பி-
17. ப்பது [॥*] இது செல-

1 On *sabhaiyār* and *ūrār*, see above, p. 60f.

2 Read தெவகன்மி.

18. வு ஆராய்ந்து[1] இக்காசு பி-
19. ரமமங்கலத்துச்
20. சவையாரும் பாகூரு-
21. ங் கூழைக்கொட்டு [ஆ]ரா-
22. ருங் கைகாவலாய் பு-
23. ற நின்று ரக்ஷிப்பது[॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! For (*burning*) a perpetual lamp in (*the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tiruppaṇaikuḷam, Kachchēṭṭi Vikaḷaṅkaṉ gave in the hands of the *ūrār* of this village twenty old *kāśu* and one lamp-stand. The (*members of the*) *ūr* and those that stand as *dēvakanmis* (*i. e. temple managers*) shall lend out for interest these twenty *kāśu* on condition of receiving good ghee as interest and shall burn (*the lamp*) with this interest of ghee. The members of the assembly of Brahmamaṅgalam and the *ūrār* of Pāgūr and Kūḻaikkōḍu shall scrutinise this payment and protect these twenty *kāśu*, guarding them from outside.

No. 21.—Pannippakkam inscription of Kollam 735.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the granite pedestal of Nandikēśvara in the temple of Mahādēva at Paṉṉippākkam in the Kalkuḷam Taluk. It is dated in Kollam 735 (=A. D. 1559), and registers a gift of land made to a certain Ayyikkuṭṭi for playing on the flute in the temple. References to flute (*kuḻal*) in inscriptions are very rare.

At my request, M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai had been kind enough to verify the date. He notes:—Kollam 735, Kārttigai, 16 expired, Wednesday, Rōhiṇi, ba 2=Wednesday 15th November A. D. 1559: On this day Rōhiṇi ended at ·72 of day (=43 *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise); while *bahuḷa* 1 began at ·09 of day (5½ *ghaṭikas* after mean sunrise). The day could be called either *Śukla* 15, which ended at ·09, or *bahuḷa* 1, which began at the same moment, but it could not be called *bahuḷa* 2 which, if the reading is quite clear,[2] must be an error for ba. 1. The month day was 16 Kārttigai and the 'expired' does not add a day to 16, as it does in other cases.

Text.

1. ஹரி: கொல்லம் எாஙயருஹு கா-
2. த்திகை மாதம் ய௬ சென்ற பு-

---

1 ய் is written below the line.

2 The reading of த்வி of த்விதிகை is by no means certain. After அமர there are what look like a ப and another corrected or cancelled syllable: But there is no mistaking the syllables திகையும் which follow. The only prefixes that are admissible in the case are த்வி or த்ரி and the former has been adopted. Another possible reading, if we leave off the cancelled or corrected letter, is அமாபாதிகையும்; but this does not help us over the difficulty for the day must be either வெளணாமெ or வ்ரயமெ according to calculation.

3. தனட்சையும் உரொகணியும்
4. அமரப[கூ*] [தீ]திகையும் இந்நாளால்
5. நயினர் திருப்பன்றிப்பாகத்து மா-
6. தெவர்[க்கு] மூன்று நெரமும் சன்னிதியில்
7. குழல் வாசிக்க நயினன் அழக-
8. ன் அய்யிக்குட்டிக்கு குடுத்த நிலம்
9. வண்ணன்குளத்தின் கி[ழ*] மந்தாரத்தடி
10. தடி[1] க உ சமா[2]யும் பெருங்குளத்தாலும் வ-
11. ள்ளி ஆற்றிலும் நிருண்டு நெல்வினையும்
12. குசித்தியறை தடி க உ சமா[2][வ]ம் ஆக தடி[1] உ னல் உ அ
13. மாயும் புல்லுவினை துண்டம் இரண்டும்

Translation.

Hari! On this day, (*i. e.*) the 16th, expired, of the month of Kārttikai of the Kollam year 735 which corresponded to a Wednesday, the Rōhiṇī (*Nakshatra*) and the second of the dark-fortnight, the (*following*) lands were given to Nayiṉār Aḷagaṉ Ayyikkuṭṭi for playing on the flute, thrice daily, in front of the god Mahādēva of Tiruppaṉṉippākam:—

4 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 1 *taḍi* in (*the field called*) Mandārattaḍi, fed by the tank Vaṉṉāṉkuḷam, and 4 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 1 *taḍi* in the paddy-growing field of Kuśittiyaṟai, fed by the water of the Peruṅguḷam tank and the Vaḷḷiyāṟu river,—in all 8 *mā* of land (*comprised in*) 2 *taḍi*,—together with two pieces of grass-growing land.

No. 22.—Suchindram inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 7.

This inscription, which is found on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine in the Śiva temple at Suchīndram, is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet with a Sanskṛit verse in Grantha characters at the commencement. The language is Tamiḻ. It is dated in the seventh year of the reign of the early Pāṇḍya sovereign Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa king. The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land made by the chief Teṉṉavaṉ Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Vīranārāyaṇaṉ of Uṟappaṉūr in Nāṭṭāṟṟupuram, to the temple of Paramēśvara at Tiruchchivīndiram in Nāñji-nāḍu, for burning a sacred lamp, for laying out a flower-garden and supplying garlands and vegetables.

Vīra-Pāṇḍya of the subjoined record is in all probability a contemporary of Sundara-Chōḷa Parāntaka II and of his son Āditya II *alias* Karikāla, who flourished in the third quarter of the 10th century A. D.[3] Of Āditya Karikāla, the large Leyden plates report that he, the light of the family of Manu, while yet a boy,

1 தடி is expressed by a symbol.

2 மா is denoted by a symbol.

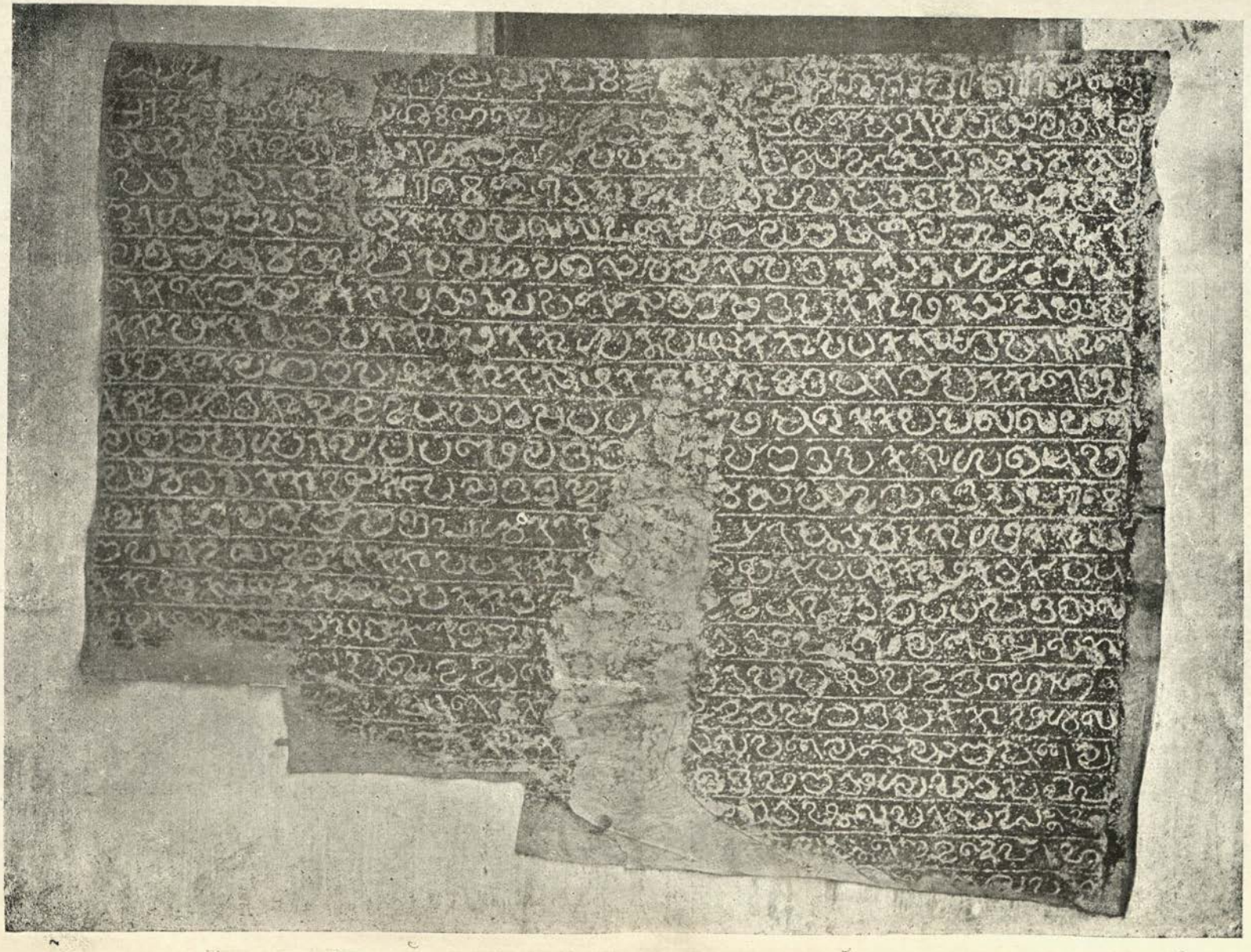
3 Sketches of Ancient Dekhan p. 240f.

played sportively in battle with Vīra-Pāṇḍya, as a lion's cub with a large elephant, wild with passion and confident of his strength.[1] And the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates add that he killed the Pāṇḍya king in battle, and having deposited in his town the lofty pillar of victory (viz) the head of the Pāṇḍya, he disappeared from this world with a desire to see heaven.[2] The battle of Chēvūr referred to in the Leyden grant must be taken to have been fought by Parāntaka II himself, because Āditya was then only a boy; and the statement of the plates shows that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was not killed on this occasion. In this connection, it is also worth noting that Sundara-Chōḷa's stone records found in the Tanjore district state that he drove the Pāṇḍya king into the forest.[3] The Kanyākumāri inscription also reports that the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Sundara-Chōḷa, contemplating on the prosperity of the Chōḷas, sheltered himself in forest.[4] It is not unlikely that in the sanguinary battle of Chēvūr the opponent of Sundara-Chōḷa was this Vīra-Pāṇḍya. I have elsewhere indicated that much time could not have lapsed between the demise of Parāntaka I, which took place in about A. D. 953, and the accession of Sundara-Chōḷa; that the latter event should be placed in the same year, perhaps after a few months when Gaṇḍarāditya and Arinjaya should have ruled over the Chōḷa dominion in succession; that Sundara-Chōḷa was the only Rājakēsari in the interval between Parāntaka I and Rājarāja I, that had had to contend against the Pāṇḍyas; and as such the epigraphs of Madiraikoṇḍa Rājakēsarivarman, ranging in date up to the 17th year of reign should be correctly ascribed to Sundara-Chōḷa. My surmise that Sundara-Chōḷa must have been a Rājakēsari has been confirmed by the newly discovered Aṉbil plates. It has also been shown that Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa and Āditya II *alias* Karikāla reigned together after Sundara-Chōḷa, as the title Parakēsarivarman assumed by both clearly indicates. The accession of Uttama-Chōḷa being fixed at A. D. 969-70, the period of rule of Sundara-Chōḷa, which extended to 17 years before that date, comes to 953-970. Since the title 'who drove the Pāṇḍya into the forest' occurs in the 4th year inscription of Sundara-Chōḷa, his encounter with the Pāṇḍyas must have happened in or prior to A. D. 957 and if future researches prove the correctness of the identification of Sundara-Chōḷa's Pāṇḍya contemporary with Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the latter's commencement of rule may be taken to A. D. 957. In all likelihood, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have succeeded Rājasimha. In this connection, it is worth noting that in an unpublished inscription of Tirupuḍaimarudūr,[5] dated in the 2 + 18th year of the reign of Śaḍaiyamāṟan, the title by which Rājasimha appears to have been known, reference is made to Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who must be none other than his son.

The other name Araiyan-Vīranārāyaṇaṉ, borne by the chief mentioned in the subjoined recod, shows that Vīra-Pāṇḍya had the surname Vīranārāyaṇa. This fact is also of importance as it indicates that he must have been so called after his grandfather Parāntaka-Vīranārāyaṇa-Śaḍaiyaṉ.

1 *Archæological Survay* of *Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 217.
2 Verses 67 and 68. *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part III, p. 420.
3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XII. pp. 121 ff.
4 See below No. 34.
5 Madras Epigraphist's collection for 1905, No. 128.

No. 22. SUCHINDIRAM INSCRIPTION OF VĪRA-PĀṆḌYA: REGNAL YEAR 4+3.



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The place names mentioned in the inscription are Nāñji-nāḍu, the ancient territorial division which included in it a number of villages in South Travancore; Tiruchchivīndiram, the ancient name of Suchīndram; Dēvarkuḷam, Vaikundapuram, Nṛipaśēkharavaḷanallūr, Taṉvaḷanallūr, Ālaṅgāḍu and Kaṟkāḍu, which must all be found in the vicinity of Suchīndram; and Uṟappaṉūr in Nāṭṭāṟṟupuram. Dēvarkuḷam is a hamlet in Tērūr Pakuthy: Kakkāṭṭūr or Kakkāṭṭuchchēri is a hamlet in Suchindram Pakuthy.

Nāṭṭāṟṟuppōkku occurs in an inscription of Tirukkurunguḍi where it is said that it was a *brahmadēya*. It is not known if the Nāṭṭāṟṟupuram of our inscription is identical with or different from Nāṭṭāṟṟuppōkku.

Text.

1. ஷ்வ [ஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ] [॥*] . . கூஷுவஷீவஷ . . . .
வ்ரகாஸ்ரநழி விஸ்ரநாஸ்ராயண:
2. வ்ராஷ்ஸ ஷஷ . . . ய ஸ்ஸழஷவெ [சொ]ழன் [றலைகொ]ண்ட கொ வி-
ராபாண்டி யற்கு யாண்-
3. ண்டு நான்கு இதனெதிர் முன்று இவ்வாண்[டு] நாஞ்சிநாட்டுத் திரு-
ச்சி-
4. விந்திரத்து வஸ்ஷெஸ்ஷற்கு நாட்டாற்றுப்புறத்து உறப்ப-
5. ஸ்ஸர் தென்னவன் அணுக்கப்பல்லவரையனுயின அரையன் விரநாரா-
6. யணன் [நி]சத[ம்] உரிய்[1] நெய் எரிவதாக வைத்த திருநொந்தாவி-
7. ளக்கொன்றி[னு]க்கும் திருப்பள்ளித்தாமத்துக்கும் கறி அமிது-
8. க்குமாக ஆற்றுக்கு மெக்கு பெருவழிக்கு வடக்கு தெவர் ஃள-
9. த்துக்கெய் பொன வழிக்குக் கிழக்கு [வை]ஷ்ணபுரத்துக் ஃளத்து-
10. க்குத் தெற்கு இந்நடுவிற்பட்ட [நி]லம் அணுக்கப்பல்லவரை-
11. யனென்று பெர் இட்டமைய்த்த [நந்த]வானத்துக்கு வெண்டும்
12. விசத்துக்குமாக வைய்த்த ஸ்ரீ[மி இ]ச்சிவிந்திரத்து வஸ்ஷெ-
13. ஸ்வர் தெவதானம் நீரவசெக[ரவளநல்லூ]ர் ஆற்றுக்கு மெக்கு [தெ]-
14. ன்வளநல்லூர்க்கு வடக்கும் . . . . . லங்காட்டுக்கும் கற்காட்டு-
15. க்கும் கிழக்கு ஆற்றுக் சத் [தெற்கு[॥*]இ]ந்நடுவிற்பட்ட உண்ணில-
16. [ம் ஒ]ழிவின்றி முன் காராண்மை . . . . . [2][மா]ற்றி உடையாரை
உரவ்யங்ச-
17. . . . . பொது இந்நிலத் . . . . . ரம் வழி வந்த ஸ்ரீமம்
18. . . . . [நொந்தாவி]ளக்கு . . . . . நந்தவானத்துக்கும் செல்
19. . . . . [3] த்தென் அணுக் . . . [4] ல்லவரையனுயின அ-
ரைய-
20. . . . . [5]ண்ணமன்றியெ மற்று விவ-
21. . . . . ற முலபாடை ஸ்ஷெ-
22. . . . . ஆரெனுங் ஷெவர் ஸ
23. . . . . .

1 Read உரி.

2 This gap may be filled up with the letters உடையாரை மா.

3 This gap can be filled up with the syllables வதாகக்குடு.

4 The letters missing here are கப்ப.

5 This gap must have contained the syllables ன் விரநாராயணனென் இவ்வ.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Vīranārāyaṇa gave . . . . to (*the temple of*) Śambhu (*i. e. Śiva*) . . . . a sacred lamp.

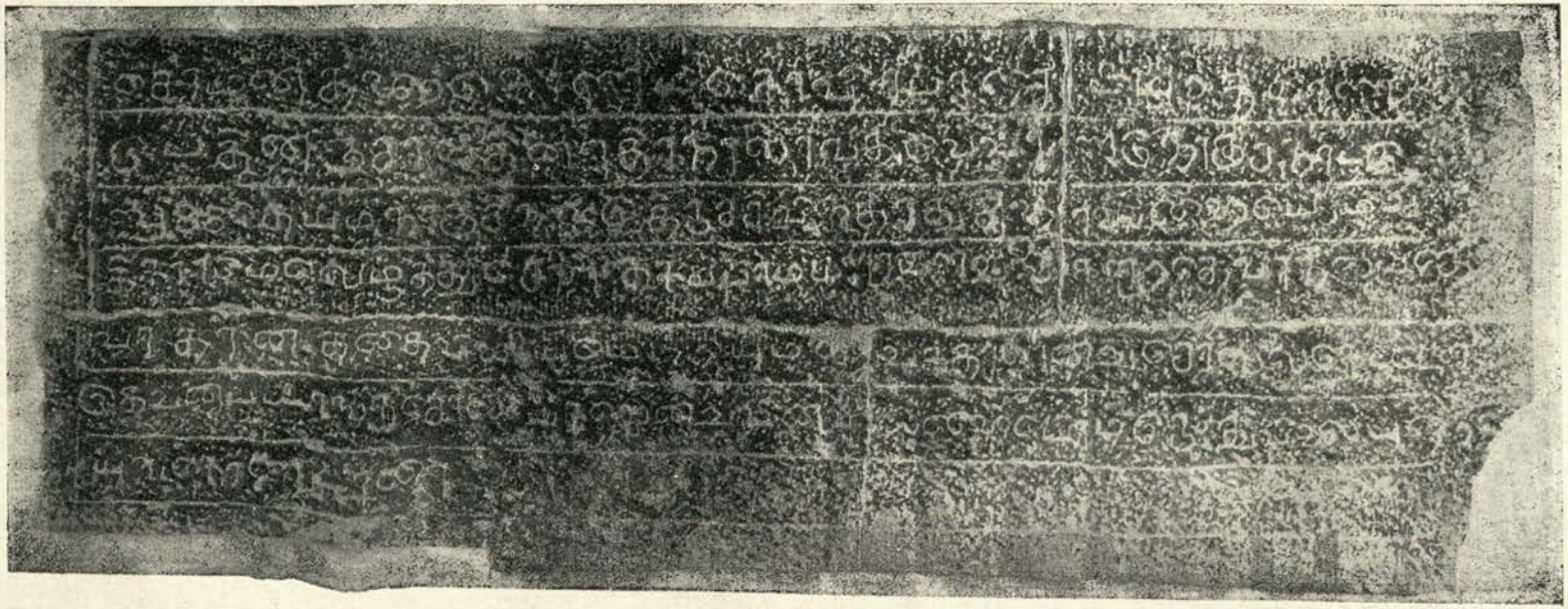
In this year, (*i. e.*) the third opposite the fourth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*sovereign*), Teṉṉavaṉ Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Araiyaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ of Uṟappaṉūrin Nāṭṭāṟṟuppuram, gave, to (*the temple of*) Parmēśvara (*i. e. Śiva*) at Tiruchchivīndiram (*situated*) in Nāñji-nāḍu, the land,—situated to the west of the river (*flowing through*) Nṛipaśēkharavaḷanallūr which was a *dēvadāna* of (*the temple of*) Paramēśvara of this Śivīndiram, to the north of Teṉvaḷanallūr, to the east of [Ā]laṅgāḍu . . . . . and Karkāḍu, and to the south of the river,— for one sacred lamp to be burnt daily with (*one*) *uri* of ghee, for sacred flower-garlands, for vegetable offerings and for the maintenance of the flower-garden named Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ which was laid in the land lying within the four (*boundaries*) *viz.* to the west of the river; to the north of the trunk-road; to the east of the path leading to Dēvarkuḷam; and to the south of the Vaikundapuram tank.

(All) this land, lying whithin these (*boundaries*), without the exclusion of *uṇṇilam*, (*had been obtained by paying*) money to, and changing the ownership of, those who previously held the right of *kārāṇmai* . . . . . with the *bhōga* (*i. e. income*) received by way of *karam* for sacred lamps, sacred flower-garden . . . . (by) Teṉ[ṇavaṉ] Aṇukkappallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Araiyaṉ Vīranārāyaṇaṉ. Any one . . . . contrary to the above said manner . . . . the members of the assembly.

No. 23.—Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 19.

This is also an inscription of the same king, found on the wall near the same rock. It is engraved in Tamiḻ characters which, however, appear to be much later than the time to which it relates *i. e.* the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya. As it is, the present record is left unfinished and contains some evident misreading of the original in the name Vaṅgaṇṇadēvar occuring in line 4. In the same line, what looks like Śērāntaka may also be read as Śōḻāntaka. In all probability, it is a copy of an earlier document which should have been complete.

The object of the inscription is evidently to register the finding of the assembly of Śuchīndram in an enquiry which they appear to have held in connection with a report made by the officer Śērāntaka Brahmamārāyaṉ that a certain person sold and mortgaged the *dēvadāna* lands for which he had not presumably the right to do. As regards the question of legality of the transaction, involved in the case, it is worth noting that cultivators or managers of *dēvadāna* properties had only the right of enjoyment under stipulated conditions, one of such being the performance of some specified service. From the accusation made by the officer, it is plain that persons who had been assigned *dēvadāna* lands had not the power to alienate their holdings by mortgage or sale.



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[1]In cases of assignments made for specific purposes such as for conducting worship in temples, for supplying music, *etc.*, it is said that donees and their descendants must do the service, receiving the income set apart it; that in cases where men possessing the requisite qualifications could not be found among the descendants, competent men must be chosen from among the relations of the unqualified persons to do the service and to receive the remuneration fixed therefor; and failing to get qualified men among such relations, other competent hands must be appointed to do the work.

Text.

1. சொழன் தலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டியற்கு யாண்-
2. டு பதினஞ்சாவதின் எதிர் நாலாவது இவ்வாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு
3. வ்ரஹ்மதெயம்[2] நாஞ்சிநாட்டு திருச்சிவிந்திர[த்*]து ஊரோலையொம் அ-
4. திகாரமெலெழுத்து செ[ரா]ந்தகப் பிரம்மாராயன் வங்கன்றதெவர் நிலம் தெ-
5. வர்தானத்தை விலையு மொற்றியும் வைத்தாரென்று சொல்ல கெட்-டென்
6. தெவன் பட்டாங்கு சொல்லுகவென்று வினவ வூரெயொம் இருந்து விலையு[ம்*] ஒற்றி-
7. யுங் கொண்டாரை

Translation.

This is the authorised writing of the great assembly of the *brhmadēya* of Nāñjināṭṭu-Tiruchchivīndiram in Nāñji-nāḍu, made in this year (*i. e.*) the fourth opposite to the fifteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (king).

Śērāntaka Brahmamārāyaṇ having reported, as heard by him, that Vaṅganṟadēvar sold and mortgaged *dēvadāna* lands and Dēvaṇ having been asked to narrate (*the facts*) as they actually occurred, we, the members of the assembly, being present . . . . . those who had purchased or obtained on mortgage.

No. 24.—Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 14.

This is also an inscription of the early Pāṇḍya king Vīra-Pāṇḍya who took the head of the Chōḷa sovereign. It is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine in the Śiva temple at Śuchīndram and is dated in the year opposite to the thirteenth of his reign. It registers a grant of money *viz.* 30

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. Part III, pp. 256-279, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XI. pp. 184ff and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan* p. 334.

2 Read ப்ரஹ்மதெயம்.

īḻakkāśu by the chief Śērantaka Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉāchchaṉ[1] of Poḻiyūr in Poḻiyūr-nāḍu in order to maintain a perpetual light near the god, in the central shrine of the Śiva temple at Śuchīndram. It is interesting to note that the money was paid into the hands of the members of the village assembly and that they bound themselves to invest it on land, get the income arising therefrom by way of interest, and to supply the necessary articles viz. ghee, wick etc. for burning the lamp, the capital remaining always undisturbed. The title Śērāntaka conferred on the chief might have been derived from one of the surnames of the king.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டியற்கு யாண்டு பதின்-
2. முன்றாம் யாண்டி னெதிராமாண்டு நாஞ்சிநாட்டு ப்ரஹ்மதெயம் தி-
3. ருச்சிவிந்திரத்து ஸடாரற்கு பொழிஊர்நாட்டுப் பொழிஊர்[ச் செ-
4. ராந்தகப் பல்லவரையனாஇன மாறனாச்சன் இத்தெவர் திருவுண்ணாழி-
5. கைஇல் மெ[ஸ்]மரஹத்தில் [நின்]று இவ்வாண்டு நாள் அறுநூற்று
6. ஐம்பத்து நாலு முதல் அந்த்ராதித்தவல்[2] இரவும் பகலும் நி-
7. யதம் உரிய் நெய்யால் முட்டாமெய் எரிவதாக வைச்ச திருநொ-
8. ந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று நிறை துலாம் [॥*] இதற்கு வைச்ச நெய் [உரி]-
9. யு ஞுந்த்ராதிவத்தவற் முட்டாமெய் [அ]ட்டுவதாக இவ்வூர் மஹாஸபை-
10. யார்வசம் ஸூமிமெலிட்டு ஸூமிப் பொலியூடடு அட்டுவதா-
11. [க]ப் பொலிக்கு முதலாக வைச்ச ஈழக்காசு முப்பது [॥*] இம்முப்-
12. பதுங் கொண்டு இக்காசு பூமி[மெ]லி டுப் பூமிப் பொலி[யூ]
13. ட்டு அட்டுவொமாயினொம் [மஹாஸபை]யொடு [॥*] இவ்விளக்கு-
14. ந் [தி]ரியும் நிலத்துக்கு . . . . . .[3] இட்டகாசு ஒன்று [॥*] இவ்-
15. விளக்கு அந்த்ராதித்தவல் முட . . . . . .[4] பகலைக்குந் தி-
16. [ரி] இடுவதா[க] இவ்வூர் வண் . . . . . யடுத்த
17. காசு ஒன்று [॥*] இவ்விளக்கு . . . . . இ-
18. து ரக்ஷித்தாருடைய ஸ்ரீபா . . . . . .[5]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the year opposite to the thirteenth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*sovereign*), Śērāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṉ *alias* Māṟaṉāchchaṉ of Poḻiyūr in Poḻiyūr-nāḍu gave one sacred lamp, weighing (*one*) *tulām*, to the (*temple of the god*) Bhaṭāra of Tiruchchivīndiram which was a *brahmadēya* in Nāñji-nāḍu (*so that it may be*) kept in the *sanctum* of the central shrine and (*allowed to*) burn daily with (*one*) *uṟi* of ghee night and day, from the commencement of the six-hundred and fifty-fourth

1 The same person figures in an inscription of Edirkōṭṭai in the Ramnad district; but there the title is read as Śōḻāntaka.

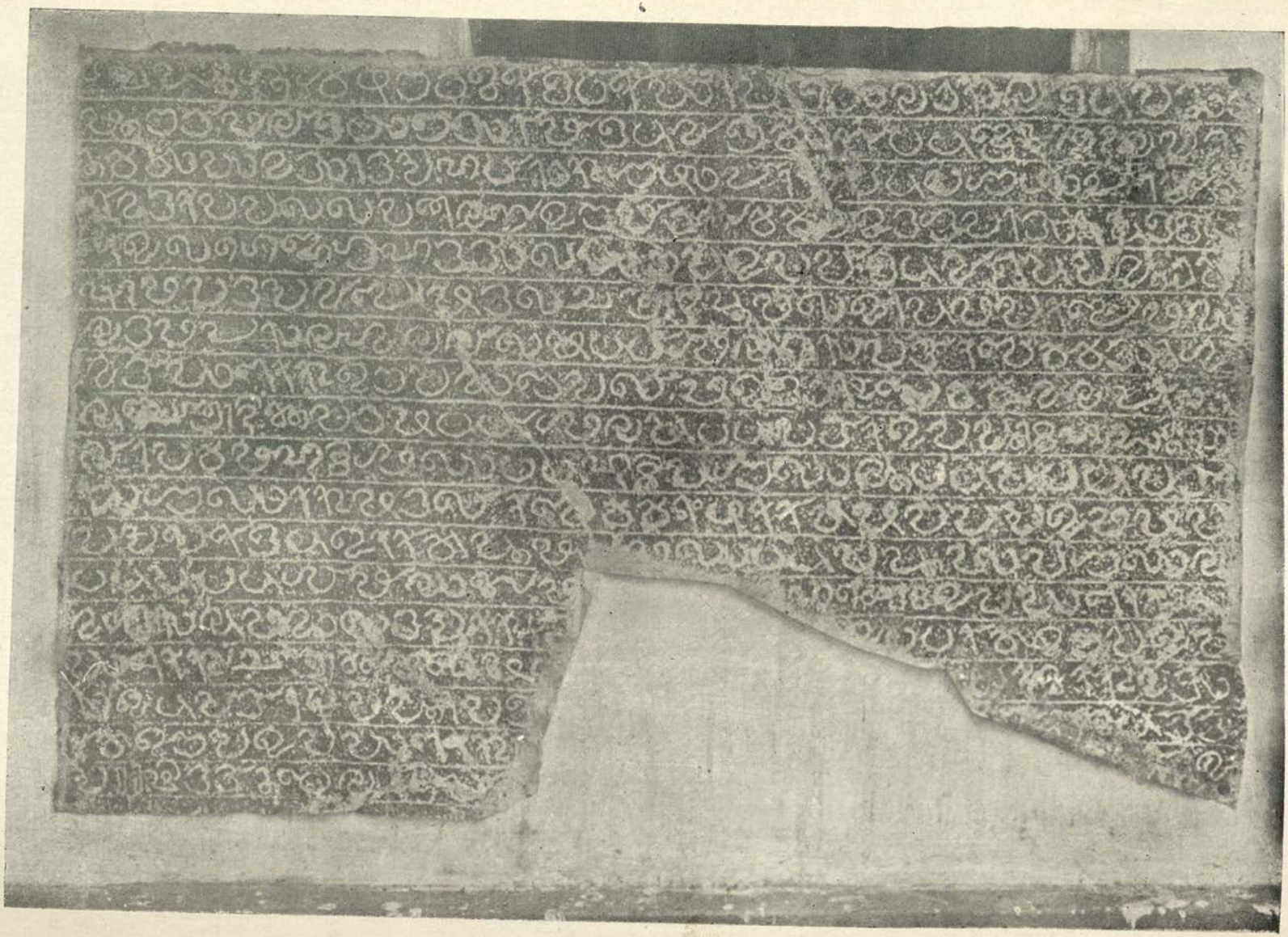
2 Read அந்த்ராதித்ய°.

3 பொலியூட்டாக is the word required here.

4 The missing letters are டாமெ எரிவதாக இரவும்.

5 This gap may be filled up with the syllables தம் என்றலை மேலன.

No. 24. SUCHINDRAM INSCRIPTION OF VIRAPANDYA. REGNAL [illegible]



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day of this (*regnal*) year,[1] till the moon and the sun last. In order that (*one*) *uri* of ghee provided for this (*lamp*) may be measured out without default as long as the moon and the sun (*endure*), thirty *īḷakkāśu* were deposited, as capital, for bearing interest, with the members of the great assembly of this village, so that the amount may be invested on land and produce interest. We, the members of the great assembly, having received this (*amount of*) thirty *īḷakkāśu*, bound (*ourselves*) to invest (*it*) on land and supply the income. For supplying wick without default, [night] and day for burning this lamp (*as long as the*) moon and the sun (*endure*), one *kāśu* was given to the [washerman] of this village. This lamp . . . . . The sacred [feet] of those who protect this (charity) [shall be on my head].

No. 25.— Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 8.

This inscription of Vīra-Pāṇḍya is also engraved on the same rock at Śuchīndram. The alphabet is Vaṭṭeḻuttu and the language Tamiḻ. It is dated in the fourth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of the king. Like the Trivandrum museum stone inscription of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, this epigraph would have mentioned, if complete, some battle fought by the king. Unfortunately, that portion of it is not accessible for copying as it is built in by the shrine of Kailāsa. Mention is made in line 4 of a regiment named Teṉṉāṭṭu-[2]Mūtta-Oṟṟai-Śēvagar and to its commander.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்-
2. டியற்கு யாண்டு நான்காமாண்டி னெதிர் நான்-
3. காம் யாண்டு வைய்யாசித்திங்கள் தென்ஞ்ட்டு
4. [மு]த்த ஓற்றைச்செவகரில் செவகர் அரைய-
5. . . . . ங்களில் பாய்-
6. . . . . .

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vaigāśi of the fourth year opposite to the fourth year of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*king*), the chief of the regiment of soldiers named Mūtta-Oṟṟai-chēvagar of Teṉ-ṉāḍu . . . . . .

No. 26.— Suchindram Inscription of Vira-Pandya: regnal year 10.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language, on the rock near the Kailāsa shrine at Śuchindram. It is dated in the 10th year of the reign of Vīra-Pāṇḍya and registers a gift of sheep for maintaining a

1 Since it is stated that the lamp has to be maintained from the interest accruing on the money granted by the donor by an investment of it on landed property and since usually such interests are paid once every year at the time of the harvest, the first interest would become due only a year after the grant. Hence the donation may be said to have been made on the (654-*minus* 265) 289th day of the regnal year in order that the object of the grant may take effect from the 654th day of the same regnal year. Such citation of days is not uncommon.

2 On Teṉṉāḍu see above p. 54.

lamp in the temple of Tiruchchivīndirattuu-Emberumāṉ, by a native of Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu. The Sanskṛit letters that occur in the inscription are *śvasti śrī* in line 1 and *saṁkirānti* in line 3. Tirukkōḷūr may be identified with Tirukkaḷūr in the Tiruchchendūr Taluk of the Tinnevelly district. The Tamilised Sanskṛit words in the inscription are *niyadam*, *paraḍai*, *niyāyam* and *śavaiyār*: they are derived from *niyata*, *parishad*, *nikāya* and *sabhā*. It is not quite unlikely that *niyāyam* is the Tamiḻ form of *nikāya* and not of *nyāsa*. It seems to denote a class or body of men entrusted with certain fixed functions, which, however,are not apparent at present. The word *niyāyam* also figures in inscriptions as the title of a body of men, who are mostly of the military class, e. g. Niyāyam-Perundanattu-Vaḷaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāra-paḍaikaḷ, Niyāyam-Śiṟudanattu-Vaḷaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāra-paḍaikaḷ, Niyāyam-Śiṟudanattu-paṇimakkaḷ, and Niyāyam-Uttamaśōḻaterinda-andaḷagattāḷar.[1]

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சொழன்றலைகொண்ட கொ விரபாண்டி-
2. யர்க்கு யா[ண்]டு நான்கு இதனெதிர் ஆறு இவ்-
3. வாண்டு கன்னிநாயிறு பிறந்த ஸங்கிராந்தி மு-
4. தலாகத் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து எம்பெருமாணு-
5. க்கு நியதம் உழக்கு நெய் முட்டாமல் எரி-
6. வதாகத் திருவழுதிவளநாட்டுத் திருக்கொளூர்ச் சா-
7. த்தஞ் சிங்கம் வைத்த நிரிநொந்தாவிளக்கு ஒ-
8. ன்று [॥*] இதுக்கு விட்ட சாவா மூவாப் பெராடு
9. மூன்று நியாயமும் பிழையாதன ஐம்-
10. பது [॥*] இவை பருடைச் சவையார்க்கு காட்டி குடு-
11. த்தன [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity! In the sixth year opposite to the fourth of (*the reign of*) king Vīra-Pāṇḍya, who took the head of the Chōḷa (*sovereign*) Śāttam Śiṅgam, (*a native*) of Tirukkōḷūr in Tiruvaḷudi-vaḷanāḍu gave one sacred lamp[2] (*which had to be*) burnt,from the *saṅkrānti* (*day*) of the month of Kaṉṉi of this year, with (*one*) *uḻakku* of ghee per day, whithout any impediment, in (*the temple of*) Emberumāṉ at Tiruchchivīndiram. For this (*lamp*) were assigned fifty ewes which neither die nor grow old and which had not wronged the three bodies (niyāyam).[3] These were shown (*i. e. brought before*) and given to the members of the assembly.

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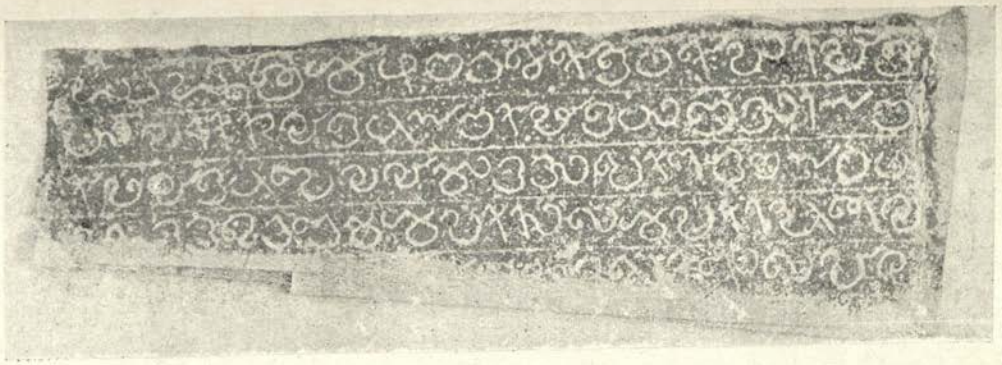
1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. pp. 96f, 100-105 and 256.

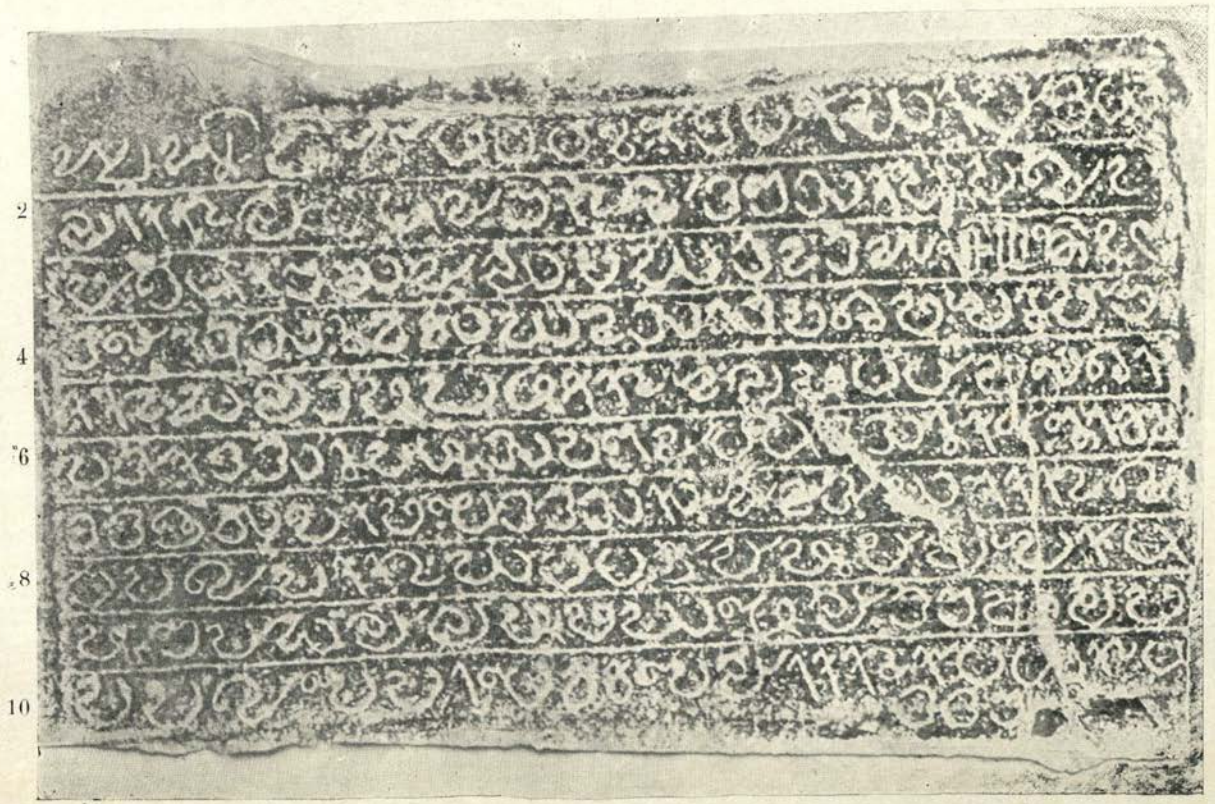
2 *Tiri-nandā viḷakku*, means 'a lamp whose wick requires no trimming'. It is not incorrect to take *tiri* as the Tamiḻ form *Śrī* which is sometimes written as *śiri* in Tamiḻ.

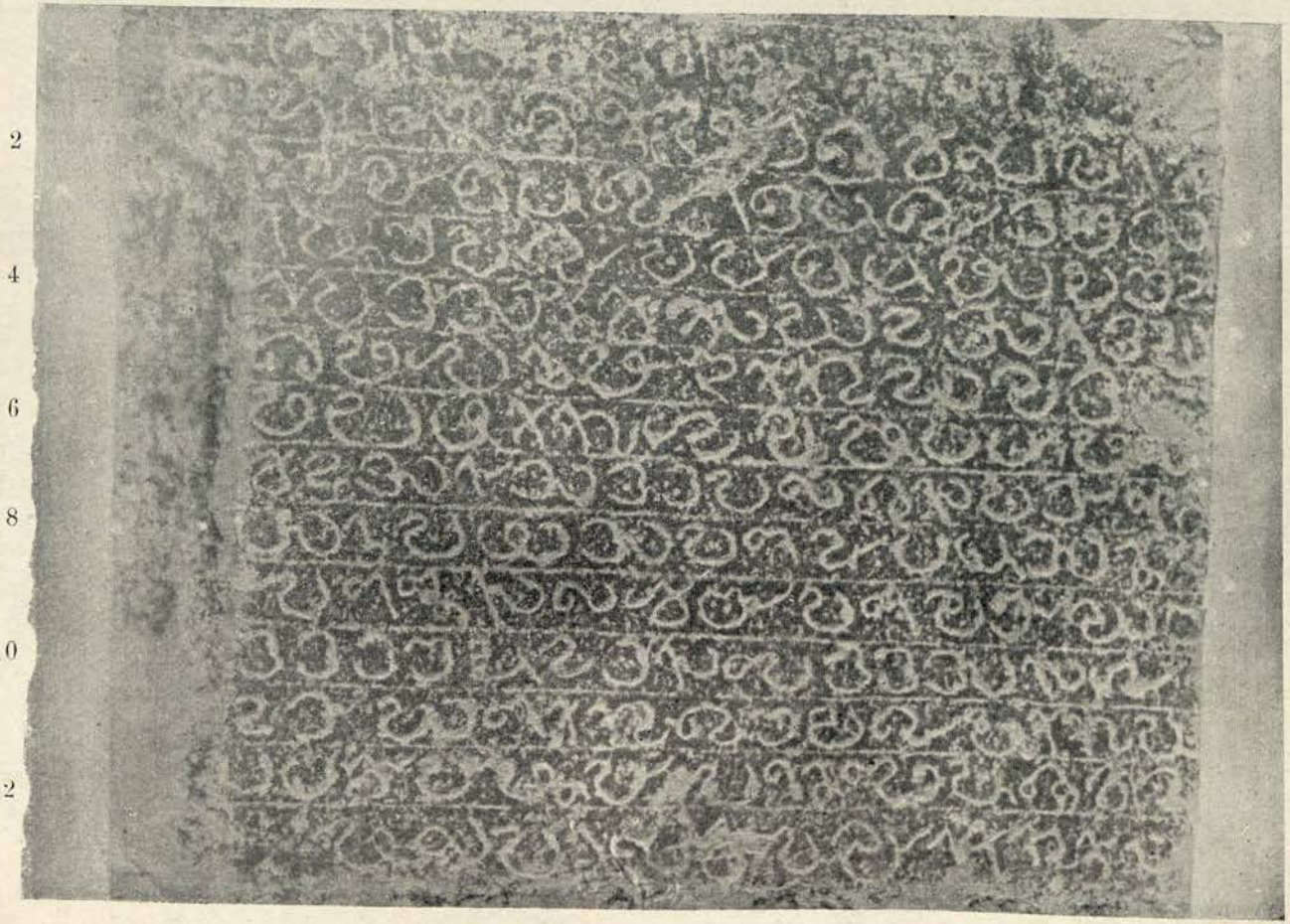
3 The meaning of the phrase '*mūṉṟu-niyāyamum-piḻaiyādaṇa*' is not quite clear. It goes with the word 'sheep'. Perhaps the writer intended to indicate that the sheep were not the unlawful property of the donor.

No. 25 (face p. 73)



No. 26 (face p. 74)





K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

No. 27.—Suchindram inscription of Maranjadaiyan: regnal year 5.

This inscription is engraved on the rock inside the enclosure of the Kailāsa shrine in the Sthāṇunāthasvāmin temple at Suchīndram. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language and is dated in the fifth year of reign of the early Pāṇḍya king Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ. There is no clue in the inscription to establish the identity of this king with any member of the Pāṇḍya pedigree furnished in copper-plates. A gift of buffaloes made by Sēṉāvaraiyaṉ *alias* Tattan Andari of Tiruveḻḻūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḻanāḍu to the temple of Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram for maintaining a lamp, is registered in the record. The native place of the donor must be looked for in the Śrīvaikuṇṭham Taluk of the Tinnevelly district.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொ மாறஞ்சடையர்க்-
2. கு யாண்டு இரண்டு இதனெதி-
3. ர் மூன்று இவ்வாண்டு மிதுனநா[ய]-
4. ற்றுத் திருச்சிவிந்திரத்து
5. எம்பெருமானுக்கு நியத-
6. ம் உழக்கு நெய் முட்டாமல்
7. சந்திராதித்தவல் எரிவதாக[த்]
8. திருவழிதிவளநாட்டு திரு-
9. வெள்ளூரில் செனவரையனுயின
10. தத்தன் அந்தரி வைத்த திரிநொ-
11. ந்தாவிளக்கு ஒன்று [॥*] இதுக்கு வி-
12. ட்ட சாவா மூவா[ப்*] பெரெருமை அஞ்சு [॥*] இ-
13. [வை][1] முலபாடை சவையார்க்கு காட்[2]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Mithuna of this year (i. e.) the third opposite to the second year of (*the reign of*) Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ, Śēṉāvaraiyaṉ *alias* Tattaṉ Andari of Tiruveḻḻūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḻanāḍu gave one sacred lamp[3] to (*the temple of*) Emberumān at Tiruchchivīndiram (*that it*) may be burnt without (any) impediment as long as the moon and the sun endure, with one *uḻakku* of ghee per day. To this were assigned five buffaloes which neither die nor grow old. These were shown (and handed over) to the members of the assembly.

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1 The syllable வை is completely worn away.

2 The syllables lost at the end may be டி குடுத்தன.

3 See note 2 above page 74.

Stone Inscription of Tirukkannankodu.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the south side of the temple at the village of Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu in the Eraniel Taluk. It is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet which, on palaeographical grounds, may be assigned to the 10th century A. D. The characters of this inscription are similar to those of the Kaviyūr inscription of Kali 4052.[1] Lands granted to the temple at Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu for offerings, by a certain Kaṇḍaṇādāṅgi, a *kāvidi* of Tiruvidāṇkōḍu, are registered in this document. The term *kāvidi* applied to the donor shows that he was either an accountant[2] or a minister: most probably the latter. In the Tamiḻ idyll *Maduraikkāñchi*, *kāvidi*, as a title, is distinctly applied to experienced and capable ministers;[3] and as title of an accountant it occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. Of the places mentioned in the inscription, Puduvūr may be identified with the *kara* of Pudūr in the Tiruvidāṇkōḍ-pakuthy and Śiraikkaṛai may be the same as Cherakkara in the Viḻavankōḍ Taluk.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இடபத்து[5] வியாழ[ன்*] நின்ற யாண்டு
2. மிரிச்சிக ஞாயிற்று திருமுதான்கொட்டு
3. [கா]விதியன் கண்டனுதாங்கி புதுஊர் நிலம்உம்[6] மண்ணையும் துடா
4. லும் சிறைக்கரைத் துடவலும் முனைவாளகண்ணும் இந்நாலு செ[ய்*]யும் திருக்கண்ணங்[7]
5. தெவர்க்கு சுட்டின திருவக்கிரத்[துக்கு]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Vṛiśchika of the year when Jupiter was in Ṛishabha, Kaṇḍaṇādāṅgi, a *kāvidi* of Tirumudāṇkōḍu gave for the offerings of the god at Tirukkaṇṇaṅ[kōḍu] these four fields viz. *maṇṇarai* and *tuḍaval* belonging to the lands of Puduvūr, the tuḍaval of Śiṛaikkarai and muṇaivāḻakaṇṇu.

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1 See above, Vol. I. p. 288.

2 The Tamil Nighaṇḍu has "காவிதியரெண்ப கணக்கர்தம் வழியினுள்ளாரெ".

3 See lines 493 to 499 which run as follows:

நறுஞ்சாந்து சீவிய கேழ்கிள ரகலத்-
தாவுதி மண்ணி யவிர்துகின் முடித்து
மாலிசும்பு வழங்கும் பெரியோர் போல
நன்றுந் தீதுங் கண்டாய்ந் தடக்கி
யன்பு மறனு மொழியாது காத்துப்
பழியொரீஇ யுயர்ந்து பாய்புகழ் நிறைந்த
செம்மை சான்ற காவிதிமாக்களும்.

4 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. No. 67 para 492.

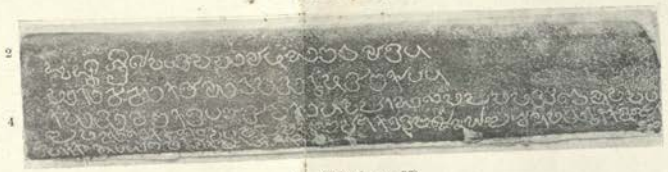
5 The syllables யத் are written over an erasure: and the first two letters are interchanged.

6 Read நிலமும்.

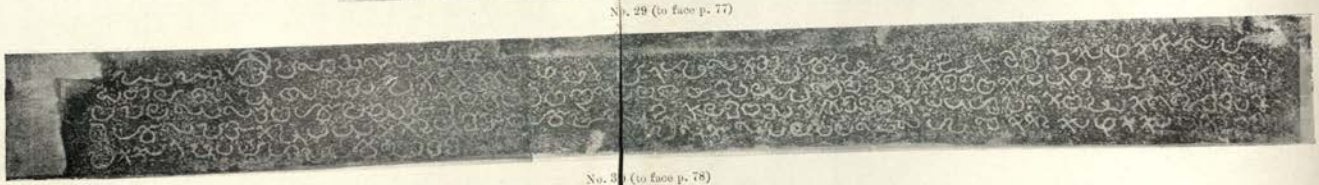
7 The syllables கொட்டு are lost at the end of this line.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF TIRUKKANNANGODU

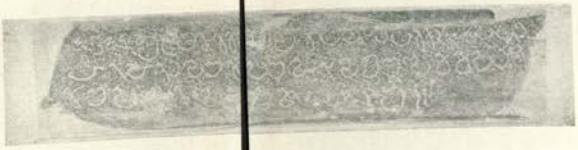
No. 28 (to face p. 76)



No. 29 (to face p. 77)



No. 30 (to face p. 78)



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

No. 29.—On the east wall of the same temple.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the east wall of Śiva temple at Tirukkaṇṇaṉkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language; and registers a gift of land for offerings, made by a certain Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kīḻmarudūr. It is interesting to note that the lands were originally obtained by the donor as a grant for service, either as minister or as commander of the forces of the king. This seems to be indicated by the term *ēṉādippēṟu* given to the portion enjoyed by the donor. Like *maruttuvappēṟu*, this word must denote a grant made by the king to an *ēṉādi*, and it is not unlikely that it is an equivalent of *amaranāyakam* which occurs in a Kṛishṇāpuram record. It may be noted that though *ēṉādi* is a general term applicable to 'a barber, a minister or a military commandant',[1] yet in the particular instance before us, it may be correct to suppose that it refers either to a minister or a general because the title *Sōmayāji*, which occurs as part of the name, clearly indicates that he was a Brahmin by birth and had perfomed *Sōmayāga*. Instances of Brahmins serving as ministers and military officers in ancient times are not un-common. From Tamiḻ works, we gather that *ēṉādi* was a title conferred by a king on a general[2] and that the investiture of it was usually accompanied by decorating the person of the recipient of the honour, with a gold badge or diadem[3] (*paṭṭa*) and a gold ring both of which belonged to the order. Among the 63 Śaiva devotees, there was one named Ēṉādi-Nāyaṉār. At the present day, there is a class of people in the Telugu districts who go by the name *ēṉādis*. They live mostly in huts, possess no property and are employed as menials.

Sōmāyi, which occurs in our inscription, is a corruption of the word *Sōmayājin*. On the word *agram* see page 6 above.

On palaeographical grounds, our record may be assigned to a period not later than the 11th century A. D.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] துலாத்தில் வியாழ[ன்*]
2. நின்ற யாண்டு ஆனித் திங்கள்க் கிழ்மருதூர் மெலகத்து சொமாயி நாரய
ணன் கிழ்க்கால்வா-
3. ய் வயலில் தன் சொமாயி நாராய[ணன்] றன்னுடைய ஏனாதிப்பெறைய்
திருக்கண்ணன்கொட்டு ஒரு திருவக்கிர-
4. ஞ் செல்வதாக அட்டிக் குடுத்தான் சொமாயி நாராயணன் [॥*] திருக்க
ண்ணன்கொட்டு தெவர்கன்மிகள் இத்திரு-
5. வக்கிர[ம்*] முட்டாதெய் செலுத்த . . . . . மெல்க்கால் வய
லில் பெறைக்கு கிழக்கின் [குன்ற][4]

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1 ஏனாதி மஞ்சிகன் மந்திரியுந் தந்திரியு மென்ப—Nigaṇḍu.

2 The following stanza makes this clear:
போர்க்கடலிகற்றும் புரவித்தேர்ப் பல்படைக்குக்
கார்க்கடல் பெற்ற கரையன்றோ- போர்க்கெல்லாந்
தானாதியாகிய தார்வேந்தன் மோதிரஞ்சே
ரேனாதிப் பட்டத் திவன்

3 சூழ்மணி யாழி செம்பொற் சூட்டொடு கண்ணி காதற் றோழர்கட் கருளி occurs in the *Jīvaka-chintāmaṇi*.

4 The record is unfinished.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Āṇi of the year in which Jupiter stood in Tulām, Sōmayāji Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kīḻmarudūr-Mēlagam gave with libation of water his i. e. Sōmayāji Nārāyanaṉ's portion held as *ēṉāḍippēṟu* in the land called Kīḻkkālvāy-vayal, for a sacred feeding at Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu. In order that the managers of the temple (*dēvarkaṇmi*) of Tirukkaṇṇaṉkōḍu might have this sacred feeding made without (*any*) default . . . . . this hill to the east of the *pēṟu* in the field called Mēlkkāl-vayal.

No. 30.—On the same wall.

This inscription is reported to be engraved on the east side of the temple of Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language and registers a gift of five buffaloes for maintaining a lamp. The gift was made by Kāmaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ, the *vāriyaṉ* of the village. The term *vāriyam* occurs often in inscriptions and means 'supervision': *e. g.* Ēri-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ, Tōṭṭa-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ, Kaḻaṉi-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ, Samvatsara-vāriya-Perumakkaḷ, which have been taken to mean 'the great men in charge of garden supervision, field supervision and annual supervision'. Accordingly, the donor of our inscription must have been one of the members of the committee appointed to supervise the village.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருக்கண்ணங்கொட்டு தெவ[ர்*]க்கு இவ்வூர்
2. ஊர் வாரியன் காமன் நாராயணன் வைச்ச விள[க்]-
3. கொன்று யெருமை அஞ்சு [॥*] ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! To the god at Tirukkaṇṇaṅkōḍu, Kāmaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ the *vāriyaṉ* (supervisor) of this village, gave one lamp and five buffaloes. Hail ! Prosperity !

No. 31.—On the east wall of the Siva temple at Tiruvidankodu.

This inscription, which is said to be engraved on the east base of the central shrine of the Śiva temple of Tiruvidāṅkōḍu, is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and the Tamiḻ language. It registers a gift of the land called Śiṟukuḷāvaṟai for maintaining a vṛiśchika lamp in the temple of Īśāṉa-Mahādēva, for offerings to the deity and for the rice to be given to the man who had to watch the lamp. By *vṛiśchika-viḷakku* is perhaps meant the light that had to be kept during the month of Vṛiśchika i. e. Kārttigai.

Svasti śrī and *Mahādēva* are the only words written in Grantha letters. *Kuṟi* in this inscription corresponds to *tuḍai* or *taḍavai* of other epigraphs.[1] It may be noted that there are several instances in this record of unnecessary doubling of consonants. The characters are old enough to be assigned to the 10th century A. D. All the *ya's* are so shaped as to have an inward loop.

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சுவாமி ஈசான[2]ஹாதெவர்க்கு வைச்ச விரிச்சிய[2] விளக்கு ஒன்று[॥*] இதுக்கு குடுத்த பூமி சிறுகுளாவறைய்[3]
2. இறைவரி [4]முக் கணிப்பாடும் [॥*] இது செல்லுத்துவது[5] [॥*] மிகில் தான்னெ[6] கொள்வது [॥*] குறையில் இட்டு செல்லுத்துவது[5] [॥*] ஒரு குறி முட்டில் மு-
3. ட்டிரட்டியும் வைச்சு ஒருகாசு தண்டமும் பட்டு இவ்விளக்கு செல்லுத்துவது[5] [॥*] இவ்விளக்கு வைக்கு[ம்*] நாள் நான்நாழி[7] அரிசி திருவமி-
4. துக்கும் விளக்கு கொக்குவான்[னு]க்கும்[8] நான்நாழி[7] அரியும்[॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! To the god Īśāṉa-Mahādēva was given one Vṛiśchika lamp. The land given for (*the maintenance of*) this was the taxable Śiṟukuḷāvaṟai with the sowing capacity of three *kuṟuṇi* of seed. This expense shall be met (*as provided for*). If there is (*any*) excess, it can be taken by himself (*i. e. the donor*). If deficient, (*it should be*) supplemented and (*the expenses*) defrayed. If default is made once, double the quantity at default shall be paid together with a fine of one *kāśu*: the (*usual*) expenses for the lamp shall (*also*) be met. On the day when this lamp is lighted, four *nāḻi* of rice required for the sacred offering and four *nāḻi* of rice for the person that had to watch the lamp (*shall be given*).

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1 See above, p. 49.

2 Read விருச்சிக.

3 Cancel ய் occurring at the end of this word.

4 Read முக்குறுணி

5 Read செலுத்துவது.

6 Read தானே.

7 Read காழி.

8 Cancel the letter ன்

No. 32.—On the north wall of the same temple.

This inscription, which is said to be engraved on the north base of the central shrine in the Śiva temple at Tiruvidāṅgōḍu, is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language. It registers a gift of five buffaloes, by Araṅgaṉ Tiruvāyppāḍi, a native of Vēmbaṉūr in Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu for burning a lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumudāṅkōḍu *i. e* Tiruvidāṅkoḍu. It may be noted that Vēmbaṉūr is a village in the Nīṇḍakara Pakuthy of the Eraniel Taluk. After the conquest by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, the Pāṇḍya and Chēra countries together came to be called Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu. The Pāṇḍya territory alone was called Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu.

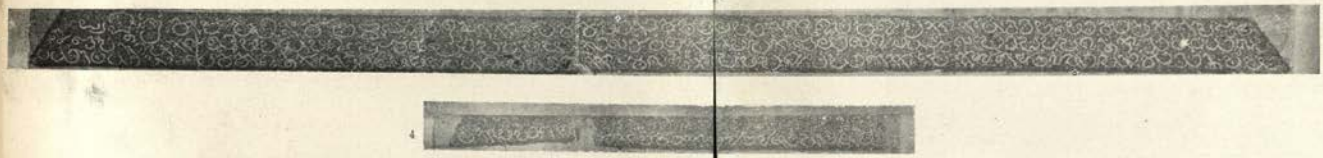
Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] இராசராசத் தென்னாட்டு வெம்ப-
2. னூர் அரங்கந் திருவாய்ப்பாடி செ-
3. ந்[தி]னங்கையைச் சார்த்தித் திருமுதான்-
4. கொட்டு மாதெவர்க்கு வைய்த்த நுந்தாவி-
5. ளக்கு ஒன்று[க்*]கு எருமை அஞ்சு[॥*] இது செ
6. ய்த்துவானமைந்[த]ார் ஸவையார்.

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! Araṅgaṉ Tiruvāyppāḍi of Vēmbaṉūr, (*a village*) in Rājarāja-Teṉṉāḍu, gave five buffaloes for one perpetual lamp (*to be burnt in the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tiruvidāṅkōḍu for (*the merit of*) Sēndi Naṅgai. The members of the assembly agreed to burn this (lamp).

No. 31 (to face p. 79)



No. 32 (to face p. 80)

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer

No. 33.—Palaiyur Copper-Plate of Kollam 781.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single plate measuring $8\frac{1}{2}''$ by $1\frac{7}{10}''$. The plate is without ring or rim. It evidently belongs to the Church at Pālaiyūr. I edit it from one set of impressions taken and kept in my office.

The inscription is written in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the period to which it belongs. The following peculiarities deserve to be noted:—*ṟ* is shaped sometimes like an *anusvāra*: the short and long forms of *a* (*l.* 2) and *pu* (*l.* 16) are not distinguished and the formation of *ṉō* is peculiar: in line 16, the word *tāḻkki* occurs and I take it to be a change of the Sanskṛit *sākshi* whose other variants are *śākki* and *tākki*. It is interesting to note that, as a rule, *ta* is often found, in Vaṭṭeḻuttu epigraphs, to take the place of *śa* or *sa* *e. g.* *tantadi* for *santati*, *tāḻikkirāmam* for *śāḻigrāmam*, etc.

The language of the inscription may be said to be Malayāḷam on account of the use of forms like பஸிச, கரணமாவித, ஆயிரத்த, தெசத்த, அதின, வித்தினு, பணத்தின, கிழியுமாற *etc.* In this inscription marked preference is given to *a* endings instead of the Tamiḻ *u* and the dative termination is *u* instead of the Tamiḻ *ku*.

This document evidences the conveyance of a landed property situated in Iḷaṅguḷam in Iriñṅappuram-dēśam, as a set off against interest due on money lent by the Vicar of the Pālaiyūr Church to a resident of Kūṭṭañchēri.[1] The Nambūdiri of Kōḍanallūr[2] figures as a witness; and a certain Śāttappa-Mēṉōṉ of Māḍakkāva attests the deed.

Pālūr mentioned in the inscription is one of the traditionary places where the first seven Christian Churches were built. It is in the Pālaiyūr-amśam of the Ponnani Taluk in British Malabar and contains a Syro-Roman Church.[3]

Text.

First Side.

1. கொல்லம் எஅயிக-மத கும்ப ஞாயற்றில் எழுதிய [வெம்][4]-
2. பாட்டம் நெற் பஸிச ஓலகரணமாவத [ய*] ப[ர]ஞற்பள்ளிலெ விகாரியு
   ம் புரொ-
3. த்திக்காரரும் கூட கை(ர)ய்யால் ஆயிரத்த அண்பத்த அஞ்-
4. சு புது பணம் கொண்டான் கூத்தம்செரி இரெவிநாராணன்

1 This name may also be read 'Kūṭṭamvēli or Kūṭṭampēri'.

2 This word may also be read as Kodavallūr.

3 Logan's a Malabar, Vol. I., p. 199.

4 இவ பாட்டம் occurs in line 8f.

5. கொண்டான்[॥*] கொண்டன[1] பரிசாவத[॥*] இக்கொண்ட புத
[க பணம்][2] கூறிய-
6. று-னும் காரியம் தன்றெ இரிங்ஙப்புரம் தெசத்த இளங்-
7. குளத்த வடிக்கெழுறி[3] பறம்பும் அதின [அடு]த்த கண்டங்-
8. ஙள் கால்ப்பதினழி வித்து[னு க]ண்டவும் கூட நில [பா-
9. [ட்டமுள்]ப்பட ஆயிரத்த அன்ம்பத்த அஞ்சு பணத்தின

Second Side.

10. நெற்பலிச கிழிடுமாற[4] எழுதிக் கொடுத்தான் இரெவி நாராணன்[॥*]
11. இம்மார்க்கமெ இச்சொன்ன இளங்குளத்தெ வடக்கெழுறிப் பற[ம்*]-
12. பும் அதிடுத்த[5] கண்டம் நாழி வித்தின்னு கண்டவும் கூடி ஆ-
13. யரத்த[6] கூறியரு[7]த்தின்ன நெற்பலிச கிழியுமாற எழு-
14. திச்சு கொண்டாற் பாலூற் பள்ளியில் விகாரி[॥*] பரூக்குளங்ஙரெ
15. இட்டி அச்சனூரும்[8] புரொத்திக்காரரும் கூடி இப்படிக்க
16. இதட்டுயும்[9] [॥*] தாழ்க்கி கொதநல்லூர்[10] நம்புதிரி[॥*] மா-
17. டக்காவில் சாத்தப்பமெனேன் [11]கையழுத்த[॥*]

Translation.

The (*following is*) the document evidencing (*the transfer of*) the rent of land, for rightful[12] interest on money, executed in the month of Kumbham of the Kollam year 781. From the Vikāri (i. e. Vicar) of the Church at Pālūr and Purōttikkārar, (*a certain*) Iravi Nārāṇaṉ of Kūttañchēri received one thousand and fifty-five new *paṇam*. Thus was it received. The consideration for this grant of 1055 new *paṇam* is:—

Iravi Nārāṇaṉ wrote and gave (*i. e. conveyed*), as a set off against interest due on the said (*one*) thousand and fifty-five *paṇam*, the rent of his land called

1 Delete ன.

2 Here Malayāḷam 1 and *paṇam* sign are engraved.

3 Read வடக்கேழுறி as in text-line 11: ழ may also be ட.

4 Read கிழியுமாற as in text-line 13.

5 Read அதடுத்த or அதின அடுத்த as in line 7.

6 Read ஆயிரத்த.

7 There is a symbol before this word which must stand for *paṇam*.

8 Read அச்சனூரும்.

9 This word has to be corrected into இத அறியும்.

10 This word may also be read as கொதவல்லூர், as the inscription does not make much difference between ந and வ: but the text reading is preferable

11 Read கையெழுத்த.

12 I am informed by my friend Mr. T. K. Joseph, B. A., L. T., that *nēr-palisa* is the term applied to 12 per cent interest and *Purōttikkār* means an accountant in a Church.

Vaḍakkēmuripaṟambu in Iḷaṅguḷam of (i. e. *belonging to*) Iriṅṅapuram-dēśam, together with the fields adjoining it, of the sowing capacity of forty *nāḻi* of seed. In this wise, the Vikāri (i. e. Vicar) of the Church at Pālūr got it written and received (i. e. purchased), the rent of land as a set off against the interest due on the (*sum of*) 1055[1] *paṇam*, the said Vaḍakkēmuri-paṟambu of Iḷaṅguḷam, together with the fields adjoining it, with the sowing capacity of four[2] *nāḻi* of seed. Iṭṭi-Achchaṉār of Parūkkuḷaṅgara and Purōttikkārar thus know this. The Nambūdiri of Kōdanallūr (is) witness. (This is) the signature of Śāttappa-Mēṉōṉ of Māḍakkāvu.

1 In words 'thousand' is engraved before 1055.

2 *Four* is evidently a mistake for '*forty*' or *vice versa:* see text-line 8.

Kanyakumari Inscription of Vira-Rajendra.

No. 34.—KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Cape Comorin, also called Kanyākumari, is the most southerly point of India. It is situated at a distance of 3½ miles from Agastyēśvaram, a village in the taluk of that name in the Padmanabhapuram Division of the Travancore State. It seems to have got its name Kanyākumari from the Virgin goddess *i. e.*, Pārvati or Durga to whom the important temple in the place is dedicated. The village is variously known as Kanni,[1] Kumari or Kanyākumari.

Hipparchos observes that the southern extremity of India is under the same degree of latitude as Merve. Ptolemy (A. D. 150) refers to Cape Comorin under the name *Komaria Akron* and the author of the *Periplus* (A. D. 85) speaks of pilgrims bathing at the place in honor of the goddess which is supposed to represent the Indian Diana or Hecate. Both describe Kolkhoi, which is the modern Korkai and the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas, as an emporium of pearl trade, situated on the sea coast to the east of Cape Comorin, and as giving its name to the Kolkhoi gulf or gulf of Mannar. "After Bakare", says the author of the *Periplus*, "occurs the mountain Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia (where the pearl fisheries are, which belong to the Pandion) and a city of the name of Kolkhoi. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celebacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed "[2]

Kanyākumari is considered a very sacred place by the Hindus and its antiquity can be traced to a remote past. Bathing in the sea at this point, and worshipping the goddess, duly observing vows, were believed to remove all sins, secure merit, ensure the uplifting of souls to blissful regions. In the *Vana-Parva* of the *Mahābhārata* (v. 23) it is said that "one should bathe in the *tīrtha* called Kanyā on the sea coast. Bathing there, one is cleansed of all sins" and further on (in vv., 136-8) it is added that "going to Kanyā with regulated diet and subdued mind, one reaches the region of Manu, the lord of creation. Whatever gift is made at Kanyā, the Ṛishis of rigid vows say, becomes everlasting". Imprecations occurring at the end of inscriptions give us to understand that the most heinous of sins are those committed on the banks of the Ganges and (Kanyā) kumari. These imprecations are not uniform in all records and the variation in the wording has led to differences in their interpretation. The following are two of the forms of the imprecation which introduces this place:—

i. *இது அழித்தார் கங்கையிடைக் குமரியிடை செய்தார் செய்த பாவத்துப் படுவார்*

ii. *கங்கையிடை குமரியிடை எழுநூற்றுக்காதஞ் செய்தார் செய்த பாவங்கொள்வார்.*

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1 '*கன்னியே குமரியென்ப*' and '*மின்னிடைக்குமரி கன்னி*'. See J. Mc. Crindle's *Ancient India* Vol. VI. p. 95.

2 Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly, p. 19 and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII.

They are taken to mean:—

i. "Those who destroy this (charity) shall incur the sins committed on the banks of the Ganges and Kumari:" and

ii. "Shall incur the sins comitted by all persons living in the tract of country extending over 700 *kādam* between the Ganges and Kumari" or

"Shall incur the sin of committing 700 murders (*kādam* for *ghāta*) on the banks af the Ganges and Kumari."

It is not our object to discuss here the correctness or otherwise of the interpretations but only to show how sacred the composers of ancient inscriptions regarded the place Kanyākumari.

That a large concourse of people frequented this place for a bath in the sea is gathered from the Tamiḻ poem *Maṇimēgalai.*[1] In this work, it is stated that Śāli, the wife of a Brāhmaṇa named Apañchikaṉ versed in the Vēdas and a resident of Vāraṇāśi (i. e. Benares) wronged her husband by straying out of the path of virtue and lost her chastity, and, that fearing the punishment that awaited her, she went, walking all the way to Kumari in the southern region with a fatigued body, bathed there, worshipped the feet of the Virgin Goddess and got rid of her sin.[2] These references bear out the statement of the *Mahābhārata.*

Early Tamil literature abounds in allusions to the place which point to its having been included in the dominion of the Pāṇḍya kings, the limit of whose southern boundary it was. Describing the fame of the ancient Pāṇḍya king Kuḍumi (i. e. Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi), the poet Kārikiḻār says that it extended in the north far beyond the northern high and snow-clad mountain (i. e. the Himalayas); in the south the (river) Kumari swelling with

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1 "குரங்கு செய் கடற் குமரியம் பெருந்துறைப்
பரந்தெசென் மாக்கடொடு தேடினன் பெயர்வோன்." Canto. V.

2 "வாரணஞியோர் மறையாள
ரரண வுவாத்தி யபஞ்சக னென்போன்
பார்ப்பனி சாலி காப்புடை கழிந்து
கொண்டோற் பிழைத்த தண்டமஞ்சித்
தென்றிசைக் குமரி யாடிய வருவோள்." Canto XIII, *ll.* 3-7.

"நடவை வருத்தமொடு நல்கூர் மேனிபள்
வடமொழியாட்டி மறை முறை யெய்திக்
குமரிபாதங் கொள்கையின் வணங்கித்
தமரிற் றீர்ந்த சாலியென்போடஃ." *ibid. ll.* 72-5.

"பார்ப்பார்க்கொவ்வாப் பண்பினின் ஒழுகி." *ibid. l.* 80.

flood; in the east the sea dug out by the Sagaras with its waves beating against the shore; and in the west the ancient western ocean.[1] Another poet Kuruṅgōḷiyūrkiḷār of the *Saṅgam* period, praising the achievements of the Chēra sovereign Yāṉaikkaṭ-chēymāndarañchēral-Irumboṟai, records that he protected the family of the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṉattu-cheru-veṉṟa-Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ who ruled the territory lying between the southern Kumari and the northern great mountain and bounded by the seas on the east and west.[2] These two references make it plain that Cape Comorin was situated in, and marked the southern boundry of, the Pāṇḍya territory. The titles குமரிச் சேர்ப்பன் and கன்னிகாவலன், applied to the kings of the Pāṇḍya dynasty, also tell the same fact.[3] The ancient bard Neṭṭimaiyār, eulogising the feat of the Pāṇḍya king Kuḍumi (i. e. Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi), already referred to, prays that his patron may be spared for as many years as are counted by the sands in the excellent river Pahruḷi which was opened by Vaḍimbalambaniṉṟa-Pāṇḍya, one of the ancestors of that king, who conducted a festival in honour of the ocean god.[4] From this, we gather that the river Pahruḷi flowed past Comorin and it might be that it is identical with the modern Paḷaiyāṟu which, irrigating the lands near Kōṭṭāṟu empties itself in the Indian Ocean near the cape. In this connection, it is worthy of note that in Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, commenting on the geography of classical authors, Col. Yule mentions "Paralia" which, according to the *Periplus*, was the name of a region extending from a point a few miles south of Quilon to Cape Comorin and writes "this is no doubt *Purali*, an old name of Travancore, from which the Rāja of Travancore has the title *Puralīśan* 'lord of Purali.'[5]

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1 வடாஅது பனிபடு நெடுவரை வடக்குந்
தெனு அதிருகெழு குமரியின் தெற்குங்
குணு அது கரைபொரு தொடுகடற் குணக்குங்
குடா அது தொன்று முதிர் பௌவத்தின் குடக்கும்".—Verse 6 of *Puṟam*.

2 Verse 17 of *Puṟanānūṟa* has

தென்குமரி வடபெருங்கல்
குண குட கடலா வெல்லை
* * * * * * *
சுடர் நேமி முழுதாண்டோர் வழிகாவல.

3 See the Tamil Niganḍu under the 'Pāṇḍya".

4 முந்நீர் விழவி னெடியோ
னன்னீர்ப் பஃறுளி மணலினும் பலவே.

5 Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 256. There is a river called Paraliyāṟu which commences somewhere near Ponmana (Kalkulam Taluk), joins at Mūnāṟṟumugam near Tiruvaṭṭāṟu with Kōdaiyāṟu and passing through Kuḷitturai empties itself in the sea at Teṅṅāppaṭṭaṇam.

The Muhamadan historian Abulfeida (A. D. 1203-4) refers to Cape Comorin under the name Ras Kumhāri and states that it was the limit between Mabar (the country of the Pāṇḍyas) and Malabar. The Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the place at the end of the 13th century A. D. He describes it in the following terms:—[1]

"Cumari is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it, you must go some 30 miles out to sea and then you see it about a cubit above the water." "This is a wild country, and there are beasts of all kinds there, especially monkeys of such peculiar fashion that you would take them for men. There are also Gat-Pauls in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions and leopards, in abundance."

Tamil was the language spoken in early times at this place. This is learnt from the references given below which mark out the boundaries of the Tamil land:—

"தெடியோன் குன்றமுந் தொடியோள் பௌவமுந்
தமிழ் வரம்பறுத்த தண்புன லுடு"—*Śilappadigāram.*

"வடவேங்கடந் தென் குமரி யாயிடை
தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகம்"—*Tolgāppiyam.*

A word about the position of the temple and the inscription in it will not be out of place here.

A spaceous rectangular ground at the very shore of the sea is walled off on all sides and the enclosed court contains a pile of buildings, at the centre of which is the *śanctum* of the goddess Kanyābhagavatī, facing the east. The innermost shrine which contains the deity does not preserve the old structure. It was probably renovated years ago.[2] There are no inscriptions on the walls to furnish a clue as to when it was repaired or renewed. Neither is there any sculpture worth mentioning. Leaving a little space all round the walls of the adytum, a covered inner circuit runs; and the floor of the part is on a higher level than that of the intervening space. On the south-west corner of this circuit, there is a shrine of Gaṇēśa, facing the east. The entrance to it, which must have been put up in recent times, covers portions of early inscriptions. The outer walls of the surrounding verandah on the north and south sides are prolonged towards the east *i. e.* in front, but are screened by cross walls put up on either side of the entrance into the central shrine provided with openings which lead one from the inner circuit to the surrounding parts of what is known as *maṇi-maṇḍapa.* This last is erected in front of the *garbhagṛiha* and is supported by six inscribed cylindrical pillars, four of which are placed at the four corners of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* and the two remaining ones are fixed at either side of the entrance into the adytum. Brick walls

1 Col. Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II. p. 318.

2 It is said to have been built by Kṛishṇarāja of Narasinga—*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 317.

erected on the north and south sides, parallel to the prolonged portions of the outer *prākāra* walls, convert the space between, into small chambers. The portion, so walled off on the south, contains two small rooms one within the other, and this seems to have once served the purpose of a *karivēlam i. e.* a store-room. The portion on the north, furnishes two rooms one of which serves for keeping the worshipping vessels and the other enshrines the *utsava* image. The modern brick wall on the north side is put up in such a way as to cover two or three inscribed pillars which may contain the end of the Chōḷa *praśasti* engraved on the six cylindrical pillars already referred to. The inner and outer faces of the north, west and south *prākāra* walls contain ancient inscriptions; but are so completely covered by a thick layer of chunam that we can form no idea as regards the number and importance of the inscriptions which they envelope.

The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* or assembly hall is in front of the *maṇi-maṇḍapa*. It is more long than broad. On either side there are rows of pillars somewhat sculptured. The structure is not very ancient but is of importance for the belt of sculptural scenes representing some Puranic story, carved on the four sides almost at the top, immediately above the columnar heads. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* bears some modern painting. On the south-western corner there is a small compartment now used for keeping oil and lamps, while on the north eastern side, a flight of steps leads down to the bottom of a well from which water is taken for temple purposes. Leaving a little space behind the rows of pillars on the north and south wings, the inner *prākāra* walls extend. The easternmost portion of this hall is screened by a cross wall with an entrance leading into the second *prākāra* very near the *dhvajastambha*. There is also an entrance on the north side opening into the same *prākāra*.

The first *prākāra* walls enclose within them

i. the *garbhagṛiha*,

ii. the *pradakshiṇa* round it with the shrine of Gaṇēśa,

iii. the *maṇi-maṇḍapa* with its inscribed pillars and the compartments on either wing *i. e.* the *karivēlam*., the shrine of the *utsava* and the room where worshipping vessels are kept,

iv. the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* with a small chamber on the south-west corner and the flight of steps leading to the well on the north-west corner.

The second or *Śrī-bali-prākāra* is broader than the first and better lighted. It gets its name from the circumstance that *bali* stones are kept all round and the image of the deity is taken in procession daily through it, accompained by a drummer, one bearing light, a dancer and a *Śānti-pōtti*, in order to offer flower and rice to the *bali* stones. On the southern side of the *prākāra* there are spacious rooms for cooking the offerings to the deity and preparing meals for feeding Brahmans in the *namaskāra-maṇḍapa* which in this temple is a portion of the *prākāra* adjoining the kitchen. On the north side is the shrine of Tyāgasundarī and on the east is the *dhvajastambha*.

Almost in the middle of the north *prākāra*, there is an entrance with a small raised platform on either side having three inscribed pillars. Going out through this entrance, we arrive at a passage, on one side of which is the *ūñjāl-maṇḍapa* and on the other a compartment for keeping the vehicles of the godess and for stringing garlands of flowers.

As has been already noted, the subjoined inscription is engraved on six cylindrical pillars set up in the *Maṇi-maṇḍapa* of the Kanyā-Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. The existence of it was known to scholars for a long time, though it was neither read nor its importance ascertained. Mr. R. Sewell notices it in his *Lists of Antiquities* under the village Agastyēśvaram thus:—

There are a number of inscriptions here, all said to be in Tamil. They are to be seen on the pillars round the shrine at Kanyakumari.[1]

The Madras Epigrapical Department visited the place in 1896 and secured copies of as many as 13 inscriptions.[2] In this collection, our record does not find place. Being covered with a thick layer of oil mixed with fine dust, it defied at first all attempts made to decipher it *in situ:* and the preparation of inked estampages was also fruitless. Finally and mainly by the exertion of Pandit Srinivasa Śastri, *Smritiviśārada*, an eye-copy of the record was made and a fairly good impression of it secured: and with the help of these, the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao contributed an article to the *Epigraphia Indica* which contained a preliminary notice of the inscription.

Though the impression prepared previously was a tolerably good one, it was not fit for reproduction. Owing to the oil that had adhered to the pillars, there were spots here and there that had not come out well in the estampage. In such places, the correctness of the reading could only be verified by referring to the stone original. With a view to obtain a better impression and to clear many a doubtful point in the reading, I went to the cape and made a fresh endeavour. All the doubtful readings were verified on the spot and necessary corrections made.

The epigraph opens with three invocatory verses addressed to Śiva (Bhavānīpati and Śaṁbhu) and Vishṇu (Hari), for the prosperity of the Chōḷa family and for the removal of their sins. Out of sport, Śiva became the author of creation, preservation, and destruction (v. 1), and carried in himself Māyā (primordial matter or Śakti) which produces the pairs of opposites, knowledge and ignorance and pleasure and pain (v. 2). Verses 4, 5, and 6 detail the order of creation. Reference is here made to the supreme will of the lord of the universe

1 *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 256.

2 These are. Nos 92 to 109 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1896. (*Vide.* G. O. Nos 814, 815, Public, 6th August 1896).

resulting in the evolution of the world. He first created water and sowed in it his own seed. Thence came Brahmāṇḍa which enveloped (i. e. contained) the three worlds and Brahmā[1] (v. 4).

Verse 5 states that from Brahmā emanated the worlds and divers objects as well as the Munīndras among whom was Marīchi. From Marīchi came Kaśyapa. His sons were the Dēvas and Asuras who were constantly fighting with each other (v. 6) and Vivasvān (i. e. Sūrya) whose brilliance woke up Brahmā from sleep and dispelled the darkness of the universe[2] (v. 8). Sūrya's son was Manu, the first of the kingly race and the expounder of the *dharma*[3] (v. 9). His son was Ikshvāku[4] (v. 10) and the latter's son was Vikukshisrava (v. 11). Of him the purāṇas say that he killed some hares at his father's bidding, and after eating a portion of the flesh, brought the residue for being offered in the ancestral obsequies which Ikshvāku was celebrating. By this fact hs was called Śaśāda, the hare-eater. Purañjaya was his son. It is reported of him that, on a violant war breaking out between the Dēvas and Asuras, he made Indra a bull, stood on his hump and vanquished the Asura foe and acquired the name Kakutstha (v. 12). The name of Kakutstha's son Anēnas is omitted in the inscription; but the latter's son Pṛithu, who was one of the powerful sovereigns of the solar line, is mentioned (v. 13). The *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* says that the earth derived its name Pṛithvī from him.[5] He is reported to have newly started cultivation, pasture, agriculture and merchandise. Between Pṛithu and Kuvalāśva, there were Viśvagaśva, Ārdra, Yuvanāśva, Śravasta and Bṛihadaśva. Of these kings, whose names are omitted in the mythical

1 From here commences the mythical genealogy of the Solar kings. The information contained in it agrees, as will be pointed out below, with the account furnished in the early literature of the country which should have embodied more ancient traditions current at the time when they were first utilised by the authors. It is not likly to violate the probability of facts concerning the past history of the country, if only apparent improbabilities are eschewed. They could not be pure inventions, but must contain a certain amount of historical matter. As such, we notice the mythical account furnished in the Kanyakumari inscription, though it is not very pertinent for Chōḷa history, the narration of which was the object of the writer of the *praśasti*.

2 These four members are thus introduced in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*:—

ஆதிமால் கமலநாபிகமலத்தயனுதித்-
தயன் மரீசியனுமண்ணீ ரளித்தபரிசுங்-
காதல்கூர்த்ரு மரீசிமகனுதி வளருங்
காசிபன் கதிரருக்கனீ ரளித்தபரிசும்

The position of Marīchi and Kaśyapa are interchanged in the *Vikkiramaśōḷaṉ-ulā* (v. 3).

3 In introducing Manu, both *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Vikkiramaśōḷanulā* refer to his act of running a car over his own son, in order to do justice to a cow, whose calf had been accidentally killed by the wheals of his son's car:-

அவ்வருக்கன் மகனுதி மனுமேதினிபுரந்-
தரியகாதலனீ யாவினதுகன்றுநிகரென்-
றெவ்வருக்கமும் வியப்பமுறைசெய்ததையும்-
இக்குவாகுவிவன் மைந்தனெனவந்த பரிசும்- *Kalinga°*.
ஈந்தனீ யாவிற்குமுற்றத்திருத்தேரின்-
மைந்தனீயூர்ந்த மனுவோனும்- *Vikkira°*

4 This relationship is given in the *Kalingattupparaṇi*: see note 3.

5 Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purāṇa*, p. 104.

genealogy, Purāṇas have not got much to say except the fact that Śravasta founded the city of Śrāvastī.[1]

Verse 14 speaks of Kuvalāśva's defeat of the powerful demon Dundhu who, concealing himself in the sands of the river Sindhu afflicted the Dēvas. This verse thus hints at the surname Dundhumāra assumed by king Kuvalāśva. It is to be noted that the name Kuvalāśva, which occurs as such in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, appears in the slightly altered form Kuvalayāśva in the Vishṇu and other Purāṇas as well as in the *Mahābhārata*.[2] The next person mentioned in our record is Māndhāta.[3] Here we notice the omission of the names of seven kings *viz.* Dṛiḍhāśva, Haryaśva, Nikumbha, Saṁhatāśva, Kriśāśva, Prasēnajit and Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhāta, all of whom came to throne in regular succession after Kuvalayāśva.

In introducing Muchukunda, our record states that he came in the family of Māndhāta but does not say that he was his son. The Purāṇas, however, declare that Purukutsa, Ambarīsha and Muchukunda were the three sons of Māndhāta, born to his queen Bindumatī.[4] Hariśchandra, who is next mentioned, was the descendant of Purukutsa, the line continuing in the persons of Trasadasyu, Sambhūta, Anaraṇya, Pṛishadaśva, Haryaśva, Sumanas also called Vasumanas, Tridhanvan Trayyāruṇa and Satyavrata *alias* Triśaṅku, whose son Hariśchandra was.[5]

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1 This place has been identified with Fa Hian's *She-wei* and Hiuen Tsiang's *She-lo-va-sa-ti* located by both the pilgrims in the neighbourhood of Fyzebad in Oudh.

2 We learn from the *Mahābhārta* that Dundhu was the son of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, that he obtained great boons by performing severe penance, that he oppressed the Dēvas in order to avenge the death of his parents, harassed Uttanka-maharishi; and that king Kuvalayāśva, obtaining the energy of Nārāyaṇa, along with his twenty one thousand sons excavated the sands of the Sindhu river where the demon lay concealed. By the fire of Dundhu's breath all the sons of Kuvalayāśva, with the only exception of three, perished; but after a severe contest, the king killed the demon and thus earned the name Dundhumāra (Vana-Parva, ch. CCIII).

3 In the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere it is said that Yuvanāśva being left without any issue, took to penance; that while residing in the forest, he inadvertantly drank the water, endowed with prolific efficacy, reserved for his queen Saudāmini by a certain Ṛishi; and that he conceived and brought forth a son from his right side. There was none to nurse the child. Indra offered to do it and said *mām dhāsyati*; and hence the name Māndhātṛi was given to the child. Māndhāta is reported to have been a very pious and virtuous monarch, to have brought the seven continents under his sway, to have perfomed one thousand sacrifices and offered 10000 *padmas* and rich *dakshiṇas* to Brāhmaṇas and to have removed a twelve years famine that raged in the country. (Mbh, Vana, Chap. CXXVI.)

4 Wilson's *Vishṇu-Purāṇa* p. 363. *Kaliṅga*° and *Vikkir*° state that his rule was so benign that tiger and deer drank water together from the same *ghat*. In the former work he is referred to as 'ஒருதுறைப்புனல் சினப்புலியுமானு முடனே யுண்ணவைத்தவரோ னுலகில் வைத்தவரு ளும்' and in the latter work 'அடுபுலியும் புல்வாயுங்கூட நீருட்டிய கொற்றவனும்'

5 The genealogy given in the Matsya-Purāṇa is Purukutsa, his son Dussaha, his son Sambhūti, and his son Tridhanvan. Liṅga-Purāṇa makes Sambhūti a brother of Tresadasyu; Agni substitutes Sudhanvan for him; and Bhāgavata omits him entirely. As in the Matsya, the Agni and Brahma-Purāṇas omit the names of Anaraṇya, Pṛishadaśva, Haryaśva and Sumanas. Vāyu has Bṛihadaśva in place of Sumanas; and according to the Bhāgavata version, Anaraṇya's son was Haryaśva, his son Aruṇa, his son Tribandhana and his son Triśanku.

Many of these are notable characters in the Hindu mythology. Māndhāṭri figures as the author of a hymn in the Ṛig-Vēda and he is even called an Angiras by Āśvalāyana. Harita, the son of Yuvanāśva and the grand-son of Ambarīsha, became the ancestor of the Angirasa-Haritas. Linga and Vāyu Purāṇas state that Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva and his sons were the Hāritas; they were followers of Āṅgiras and were Brāhmaṇas with the properties of Kshatriyas.[1] We may note that it was quite common in those days for persons of Kshatriya origin to become disciples of Brāhmaṇas, particularly of the Āṅgiras and Bṛigu sects and afterwards to found schools of religious instruction themselves.[2] Hārīta is the name of an individual sage considered as the son of Chyavana. To him, a work on law is ascribed. Traiyāruṇa is another member of the solar race who is noted for his contribution to the Ṛig-Vēda. Every body knows how staunch a friend Triśaṅku was of Viśvāmitra, by whom he was elevated to heaven, against the curse of Vasiṣṭha and the condemnation of his own father. He is spoken of as *satyavādi* and *jitēndriya* and is cited in the Taittirīya-Upanishad as a Vēdic authority.

Verse 19 alludes to the story of Hariśchandra, who discharged his debt to the insatiable Viśvāmitra by selling himself, his wife and son. Our inscription passes over the names Rōhitāśva, his son Harita, his son Chunchu, his sons Vijaya and Sudēva; Vijaya's son Ruruk, his son Vṛika and his son Bāhuka, who was deprived of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, and forced to live in forest, where, after his demise, his son Sagara was born and carefully tended by the sage Aurva. This king Sagara is introduced in verse 20 which hints at the several sacrifices performed by him and of the successful attempts made by his sons in digging the ocean.[3]

The names of Amśumat and his son Dilīpa are omitted in our record but reference is made (in verse 21) to the hard lot that befell the sons of Sagara and to the attempt made by the next great king of the solar line i. e. Bhagīratha to bring down the heavenly river Gaṅgā in order to conduct the obsequies of Sagara's sons.[4] As in the Vishṇu-Purāṇa, our inscription hints that the river was called Bhāgīrathī after king Bhagīratha. Passing over the names of Śruta, Nābhāga, Ambarīsha, Sindhudvīpa and Ayutāśva, whose reigns were uneventful, the inscription mentions (v. 22) Ṛituparṇa, the son of Ayutāśva, who is said to have been a friend of Naḷa, the son of Vīrasēna, skilled profoundly in dice.[5] Omitting

1 Vishṇu-Purāṇa Ch. III of Bk. IV.

2 As. Res. VIII. 385.

3 The story of Sagara is thus told in the Mahābhārata: He defeated the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who did his father wrong. He took to wife two princesses, one a Vaidarbhī and another a Śaibya and had 60001 sons. On the occasion of performing a horse sacrifice, the animal having been stealthily removed to the abode of Kapila, Sagara sent his sons to search for it. Excavating the earth, they found it out; but in the attempt to rescue it without the permission of the Ṛishi and having insulted him, they were burnt to ashes. Aṁśumān, the son of Asamañjasa and grandson of the king, being then sent on the same mission, had it prudently executed.

4 Mbh. Chaps. CVI and CVII of Vanaparva: also see chaps. CVIII and CIX.

5 Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bk. 4, Ch. 4.

the names of Sarvakāma, his son Sudāsa, his son Saudāsa, named also Mitrasaha, the husband of Madayanti, his son Aśmaka, born for Vasishṭha, his son Mūlaka, his son Daśaratha, his son Ilvala, and his son Viśvasaha, about whom nothing of importance is said in the Purāṇas, verse 23 introduces king Dilīpa, the second of that name, who, in a war between the Dēvas and Asuras, helped the former and vanquished the latter. The four descendants of Dilīpa viz. Dīrghabāhu, Raghu, Aja and Daśaratha are passed over; but Rāma and his brothers Lakshmaṇa, Bharata and Śatrughna, who together formed the incarnation of Vishṇu, as well as Śibi are mentioned as having been born in the solar race to relieve the world from the afflictions caused by the wicked demons (v. 24). In verses 25 to 27, the characteristic feature of this *avatār* i. e. the establishment of *dharma*, is finely portrayed, reference being made at the same time to the killing of Rāvaṇa and the construction of a dam across the ocean. Says the writer of the *praśasti* "He (i. e. Rāma) did not kill the lord of the demons out of anger; neither did he take back Sīta out of passion. But he did them for the sake of *dharma* only. If not, why did he destroy the unoffending Śūdra that was performing penance on the Malaya mountain and abandon again Sīta of established constancy."

So far, the composer of the *praśasti* has pursued the history of the solar race mentioning the principal kings of the line starting from the very time of creation up to the advent of Rāma and narrating the chief incidents connected with their reigns. We see from this account, which mainly follows the Harivaṁśa and the Purāṇas, that Puṛukutsa was the first sovereign of the solar dynasty to advance as far as the Narmadā; that during the days of Sagara, the country stretching on the eastern side as far as the Bay of Bangal was explored; and that during the reign of Bhagīratha, the source of the river Ganges was traced. The pedigree of the solar line, with the names of the kings mentioned in this record printed in fat type is given below (App. I).

From verse 28 the chronicler commences to handle the quasi-historical portion of the Chōḷa annals. Of the eponymous Chōḷa, he gives more detailed information than are to be met with in the hitherto available authorities for Chōḷa history. In what looks like an episode adapted from the Rāmāyaṇa, the account runs that king Chōḷa, who loved games (v. 28) and made the forests, — abounding in sages and affording enough sports and seclusion,— his pleasure garden (v. 29), roamed in the woods desirous of hunting deer; and being allured by a demon who appeared before him in the form of an antilope, he wended his way southwards to a jungle, (v. 30) followed by the commanders of his army mounted on fleet steeds (v. 31). There, he killed the demon-antilope, bathed in the nectar-like water of the *Kāvērī* (v. 32), looked for Brāhmaṇas to bestow gifts and finding none, made a fresh settlement of them, brought from the Āryāvarta (v. 33). And clearing the ground of forest, planted, on the banks of the river, extensive groves of areca-palms and betel-vines (v. 34). Verse 35 states that ablutions and penance made on the banks of the Kāvērī secure for the virtuous a more exalted place in the abode of the gods than that to which they could reach by the performance of the same on the banks of the Ganges.

It cannot now be said how and when the Chōḷa kingdom was founded; neither is it possible to state whether the country and its tribe came to be called after the king or the reverse was the order. Purāṇic accounts invariably point to

the conclusion that countries were named after kings e. g. Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra etc., were the earliest kings of the respective kingdoms. In consonance with the above, our record introduces king Chōḷa and speaks of him as clearing the forest and settling a number of Brāhmaṇa families brought from the Āryāvarta, in the jungle tracts, watered by the sacred river Kāvērī, thus laying the foundation of a new kingdom which must have been thenceforward known by the name Chōḷa. The anecdote about the Rajanichara-antilope might indicate that the original inhabitants of this region were Rākshasas and that a few Ṛishis had penetrated the southern fastnesses and established their hermitages there even prior to the advent of king Chōḷa. Similarly we find in the genealogy furnished in Pallava copper-plates that the originator of that family was a certain Pallava. Kātyāyana's view that one sprung from an individual of the Chōḷa tribe as well as the king of their country should be called Chōḷa, would, on the other hand lead to the inference that the term Chōḷa was first applied to the tribe and then to the country and its king. This conception, if pushed further, would indicate the indigenous growth of kingdoms and not colonisation from without. Whatever might be the origin, there is no doubt regarding the antiquity of the Chōḷa kingdom.

The earliest epigraphical reference to the Chōḷa country is contained in the second and thirteenth rock edicts of the Buddhist emperor Aśōka who flourished in the third century B. C. The former records that the Maurya sovereign provided medicines for men and animals not only in his own kingdom but also in the frontier dominions of which the Chōḷa was one. In the latter edict, which registers his conquest of Kalinga and promulgates an order regarding security to all creatures, respect for life, peace and kindliness in behaviour, we are given to understand that the people of the Chōḷa country respected Buddhist morals. Notice of the Chōḷa country is also made in the *Periplus Maris Erythrae* and Ptolemy. According to the Purāṇas, the Chōḷa territory was one among the several situated in the Dakshiṇāpatha.

Verse 36 notes that Rājakēsari was the son of king Chōḷa. Then follows a damaged portion from which nothing more could be made out than that Parakēsarivarman was the son of this king. It is a point worthy of note that our inscription omits to register the important fact recorded in the Leyden grant and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, that Chōḷa kings assumed the titles Rājakēsari and Parakēsari alternately at the time of their coronation. Mention is made, in verses 33 to 46, of Mṛituyujit,[1] who conquered death; Vīrasēna; Chitra *alias* Vyāghrakētu,[2] who obtained Indra in his banner; Pushpakētu of beautiful limbs; Kētumāla, who indulged in taking the flags of enemy kings; Samudrajit, who joined the two seas;[3] Pañchapa[4] who, by cutting open five arteries of his body, fed with blood

1 *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* probably refers to this king by the passage *Kālaṇukk-idu-vaḷakkeṇav-uraittav-avaṇ*" and *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇ-ulā* by the words "*Kūṟṟukku-ttēṟa-vaḷakk-uraitta Śembiyaṇ.*"

2 Vyāghrakētu is spoken of in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* as "*Puliyeṇak-koḍiyil-Indiraṇai-vaittavaṇ*".

3 Compare with "*Puṇariy-oṉṟiṇiḍaiy-oṉṟu-puṇaviṭṭavaṇ*" of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and "*mēl-kaḍalil-viṅgu-nīr kīḻ-kaḍalil-viṭṭōṇum*" of *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇ-ulā*.

4 In the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, Pañchapa is referred to by the words "*Valiyiṇiṟ-kurudiy-uṇkeṇav-aḷittavaṇ.*"

five Yakshas; Nṛimriḍa, the conqueror of Death; and Manōratha. These names are not traceable in any of the Purāṇas. But as they are mentioned in the large Leyden grant,[1] the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates,[1] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and other Tamiḻ works of varying dates, one will be almost inclined to believe that they are not fictitious personages, but are real characters that have left marks of their existence in the country. It is not possible to declare either that they are real characters borrowed from life, since it is quite likely, that some one of the early annalists invented these names and adopted them in the Chōḻa genealogy, and the chroniclers that came after, simply followed the earlier account.

As a prelude to what follows it is necessary to note that no continuous dynastic account of the Chōḻas prior to the 9th century A. D., when Vijayālaya started a new, or revived the old, line with his capital at Tanjore, is given in any of the authorities for Chōḻa history that have been brought to light so far. However, a few of the members of the earlier line are mentioned by name in inscriptions on stone and copper as well as in Tamiḻ works like *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which attempt to give the pedigree of the Chōḻas. The irregular way in which these few persons figure in the various authorities, shows that at the time when the later charters of the Chōḻas were drawn up even the order in which the earlier sovereigns ruled was forgotten and that there were no written records or State papers to indicate the succession of kings of their time. For instance while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates place Kiḻḻi at the head, Karikāla in the middle and Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ at the end, the Leyden grant mentions Karikāla first, Kochcheṅgaṇṇāṉ in the middle and lastly Kiḻḻi. A third order is followed in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which mentions Kiḻḻi first, Kōchcheṅgaṉ in the middle, and Karikāla afterwards. The Kanyākumari record under review differs from all these and strikes an entirely new line, giving the names of three additional sovereigns, by omitting Kōchcheṅgaṇṇāṉ, and by mentioning them in the following order *viz.* Perunatkiḻḻi, Karikāla, Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyāḷabhayaṅkara. In spite of the dearth of information in inscriptions about these early sovereigns, there is yet another source *viz.* that contained in the early Tamiḻ works of what is called the *śaṅgam* period which throw light on the past history of Southern India or at least of the Tamiḻ country.

1 Here are the verses that speak of these persons:-

मृत्युजित्—

तद्वंशे सुरगुरुरस्तवैरिवर्गो राजेन्द्रो रविकुलकेतुराविरासीत् ।
यो जित्वा रणभुवि मृत्युमप्यजय्यं दुष्प्रापामलभत मृत्युजित्समाख्याम् ॥ Leyden grant.

व्याघ्रकेतुः—

व्याघ्रकेतुरभवत्तदन्वये वैरिवारणमृगाधिपो नृपः । Leyden grant.
व्याघ्रकेतुरिति चित्ररथोभूद्व्याघ्रवद्द्रुजपटः क्षितिनाथः ।
तत्कुले प्रथितविक्रमराशिर्धातकीकुसुमभूषितमौलिः ॥ Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

पञ्चपः—

पञ्चपोऽजनि तदन्वये बली पार्थिवोऽर्थिजनकल्पपादपः । Leyden grant.
जितपञ्चशरो वपुर्गुणैर्विजयी पञ्चप इत्युदीरितः ।
अधिपं च दिवो विडम्बयन् समभूत्तत्कुलभूषणं नृपः ॥ Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Now we turn to our inscription to see what information it gives about the kings that preceded the founder of the revived Chōḷa line *i. e.* Vijayālaya.

Verse 47 states that there were many kings in the Chōḷa family who were equal to the highly powerful and prosperous Perunatkiḷḷi. It will be useful to note here that the Tamiḻ *śaṅgam* work *Puṟanānūṟu* mentions more persons than one who bore the name Kiḷḷi. One of these kings, Śōḻaṉ Kuḷamuṟṟattu-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷi-vaḷavaṉ laid seige to Karuvūr and conquered the Chēra king of his day. No less than eleven poets, including Kōvūrkiḻār, composed verses in his honour. This poet is the author of certain stanzas which are believed to speak of Kāriyāṟṟu-tuñjiṉa-Neḍunkiḷḷi of Uṟaiyūr, of his friend Iḷandattaṉ, and of Śōḻaṉ Kurāppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ, the destroyer of Karuvūr. Another bard of the time of Kurāppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṉ is the author of certain other stanzas in the same collection which are said to refer to Śōḻaṉ Ilavandigai-ppaḷḷi-tuñjiṉa-Naḷaṅkiḷḷi Sēṭcheṉṉi, the contemporary of Neḍuṅkiḷḷi and of Ēnādi-Tirukkiḷḷi. It thus appears that all these Kiḷḷis belonged to the same time or, at any rate, were not far removed from each other in point of time. The contemporaneity of the bards and the kings whom they celebrated, is assumed in the work under reference and there is nothing to discredit it.

It is not unlikely that many of the kings whose names are noted above were members of the royal line and that they figured largely in the wars undertaken by the reigning king. The principal event of the time was the war with the Chēras and their defeat at Karuvūr.

Another Chōḷa sovereign celeberated in the Tamiḻ literature is Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, who may be identical with the king of that name referred to as the ancestor of the Chōḷas in the large Leyden grant, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the Udayēndiram charter of Pṛithivīpati II and of the Kanyākumari inscription. He is credited with having defeated the Chōḷa king Māndarañchōral-Irumpoṟai, who was the lord of the Kolli mountain who freed the village of Viḷaṅgil, who was the friend of the poet Kapilar and who was taken captive by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālaṅgāṉattu-śeru-veṉṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ and was subsequently set at liberty. There were other kings also who bore the name Perunatkiḷḷi. These are Muḍittalaikkō-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, whose Chēra contemporary was Śēramāṉ-Anduvaṇchēral-Irumpoṟai; and Vēṟpahraḍakkai-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, who claimed to have slain Kuḍakkō-Neḍuñchēral-Āthaṉ. The relation-ship that existed between the various Kiḷḷis is not stated anywhere but as the performanace of the ceremony indicates, Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa Purunaṟkiḷḷi may be considered to have been the most powerful of all. The Tamiḻ work Maṇimēgalai reveals the name of another Chōḷa sovereign Veṉṟivēṟkiḷḷi who is said to have married or kept as concubine the Nāga princess Pīlivaḷai, the daughter of Vaḷaivaṇaṉ.

Evident traces of the rule of the Kiḷḷis are found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts in such place names as Kiḷḷinallūr Nalaṅkiḷḷinallūr, Kiḷḷikuḍi etc.

The following table shows at sight that the seven kings mentioned in the above paragraph are contemporaries, elder or younger. The poet Kōvūrkiḷār connects numbers 1, 2, & 3 with No. 4 while the bard Kōṇāṭṭu Erichchalūr Māḍilaṇ Madiraikkumaraṇ connects numbers 5, 6, & 7 with No. 4.

I.

1 Iḷandattaṇ.
2 Kāriyāṟṟu-tuṇjiṇa-Neḍuṅkiḷḷi.
3 Śōḷaṇ Kuḷamuṟṟattu-tuñjiṇa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṇ.

} Kōvūrkiḷār { 4 Śōḷaṇ Kurāppaḷḷi-tuñjiṇa-Kiḷḷivaḷavaṇ. } Kōṇāṭṭu Erichchalūr-Māḍilaṇ Madiraikkumaraṇ. {

5 Śōḷaṇ Ilavandigaippaḷḷi-tuñjiṇa Nalaṅkiḷḷi.
6 Neḍunkiḷḷi.
7 Ēnādi Tirukkiḷḷi.

II.

Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunatkiḷḷi × { Māndarañchēral *or* Yāṇaikkaṭchēy-Māndarañchēral Irumboṟai and Śēramān Māveṇkō. } × Talaiyālaṅgāṇattu-Śeruveṉṟa-Neḍuñjeḻiyaṇ. and Ugra-Peruvaḷudi.

If the commonly accepted view that the authors of the stanzas embodied in the collection known as *Puṟanānūṟu* were contemporaries of the kings celebrated by them—a view which is based largely upon the note, entered at the end of each stanza—is correct, there is every possibility of fixing the dates when some of the kings flourished.

The data obtained from these works for fixing the time of the Chōḷa king Rājasūyamvēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi are:—

i. That he defeated the Chēra king Yāṉaikkaṭchēy-Māndarañchēral-Irumboṟai.

ii. That this Chēra sovereign Yāṉaikkaṭchēy was put in prison, and subsequently set at liberty, by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ, the victor in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgāṉam.

iii. That this Pāṇḍya was a lineal descendant of Palśālai-Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi according to Maduraikkāñchi of Māṅguḍi-Marudaṉār.

iv. That Nakkīrar was one of the poets that celebrated the fame of this Neḍuñjeḻiyaṉ.

v. That the same poet Nakkīrar is credited with having written a commentary in which he had composed a number of stanzas in exemplification of the rules of Agapporuḷ. The stanzas are more than 300 and record the achievements of another Pāṇḍya king of his day, called Neḍumāṟaṉ or Māṟaṉ (a shortened form of Māṟavarman).

vi. That this commentary (1) speaks of conquests effected by Neḍumāṟaṉ in a number of battle-fields among which are Nelvēli, Śeṉṉilam and Pāḻi; (2) states that his principal foes were the Chēras and (3) that there was a severe famine in the country in his time.

These six points are of great importance, and appear to be sufficient, to fix the date of Rājasūyamvēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi, as will be seen from the sequel.

The Vēḷvikkuḍi copper-plates whose contents have been noticed in the Madras Epigraphist's Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908, furnish the following genealogy of the early sovereigns of Madura:—

1 Pāṇḍya Palyāgaśālai Mudukuḍumi-Peruvaḻudi.
: 2 Kaḷabhra inter-regnum.
3 Kaḍuṅgōṉ.
|
4 Māṟavarman.
|
5 Śeḻiyaṉ Śēndaṉ.
|
6 Māṟavarman (Arikēsari, Asamasaman), who won victories in the
| battles of Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi.

7 Śaḍaiyaṉ, who fought the battle of Marudūr.

|

8 Tēr-māṟaṉ, who defeated the Pallavas; married a Gaṅga princess and subdued Maḻakoṅgam.

|

9 Parāntaka Neḍunjaḍaiyaṉ whose minister was Madhurakavi also called Madhuratara, Māraṉkāri and Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṉ.

At Āṉaimalai near Madura has been found a stone inscription of No. 9. That record[1] is dated in Kali 3871 (=A. D. 769-70) in the reign of Parāntaka Śaḍaiyaṉ and mentions the king's minister Madhurakavi *alias* Māraṅkāri *alias* Mūvēndamaṅgalappēraraiyaṉ, thus leaving absolutely no doubt as regards the identity of the king and his minister, with No. 9 and his minister of the Vēḷvikkuḍi plates. The only thing that could be said and that has to be said is, that the minister was living in the 3rd year of the king's reign when the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant was issued but was dead at the time of the Āṉaimalai record dated in 770 A. D.

It would be safe to view therefore that A. D. 770 fell not in the commencement of the king's reign but perhaps at the middle or end. Provisionally taking A. D. 770 to be the last year of No. 9 and assigning a reign of 30 years to each king we get for No. 5 A. D. 650-680. Now taking the last item i. e., vi. of the data, it does not require much intelligence on one's part to say that Nakkīrar's celebrity i. e. Māṟaṉ who gained victories in the battles of Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi is identical with No. 6 of Vēḷvikkuḍi pedigree who was also a Māṟavarman and the victor in the very same battles *viz.* Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi. Nakkīrar has, therefore, to be considered as having flourished in the period A. D. 650-80,—the date of rule of this king. It must be noted that the verses composed in commemoration of the exploits of Neḍumāṟaṉ should form part of the original scheme of the commentary of Nakkīrar.[2]

Now we shall see how far the results we have obtained are confirmed by other sources. Śēkkiḻār, the author of the Tamiḻ work Periyapurāṇam, states that the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandha had for his contemporary the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāṟaṉ, who had acquired lasting fame by a brilliant victory won in the battle of

1 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. pp. 319ff. The wording of the inscription is कलेः सहस्रत्रितयेब्दगोचरे गतेष्टशत्यामपि सैकसप्तसौ; अकृत कृती मधुरकविर्म्मधुरतरो मारसूनुरिदम्। मन्त्री स एव मतिमान्पाण्ड्यस्य परान्तकाभिधानस्य ॥ கொமாறஞ்சடையற்கு உத்தரமந்த்ரி களக்குடி வைஜ்யந முவெந்தமங்கலப்பெரரையன் ஆகிய மாறங்காரி இக்கற்றளி செய்து நிர்த்தளியாதெய் ஸ்வஸ்தாரொஹணஞ் செய்த பின்னை.

2 Without these stanzas, the commentary is not worth its name; and it will even fail in its object. Though in a work of this kind there is room for admitting any number of stanzas from various authors there is no need to suppose, as is sometimes done, that the verses about Neḍumāṟaṉ cited in Nakkīrar's commentary illustrating the text of Agapporuḷ did not form part of the author's work. That such a view would be quite unnatural is clear from the fact that these verses form the bulk of the commentary and are essential to it as has already been shown. Here and there a few stanzas might have been inserted in later times and these will be apparent to any careful reader. It may be said that by expunging these later additions, the commentary would not suffer in the least; but it is not the case if we remove the stanzas about Neḍumāṟaṉ, because it will materially and seriously affect the commentary.

Nelvēli; and that the Pallava king of his day was he who gained success in the field of Vātāpī' i. e. Narasiṁhavarman. The time of this Pallava king and his Vātāpī battle has been accepted to be the middle of the 7th century A. D., a fact which proves the correctness of the date of Māṟaṉ, the victor of Nelvēli, and the hero celebrated by Nakkīrar in his commentary on Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ. Jñānasambandha and his biographer Śēkkiḻār might be cited further to vouchsafe the truth of another fact relating to the time of Neḍumāṟaṉ embodied in the same commentary, viz, the existence of a famine.

Both Periyapurāṇam and the Dēvāram hymns of Jñānasambandha bear testimony to the fact that there was a severe famine in the country in the middle of the 7th century A. D. It is reported in the former work that the two Śaiva saints Appar and Jñānasambandha were sorely afflicted with the thought of feeding the hosts of religious men that followed them in their peregrinations, that they were given each a gold *kāśu* from the temple at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai the place of their sojourn. A short hymn on that place composed by Jñānasambandha strangely enough echoes the same fact.

In this connection we have also to point out that the prevalence of famine in Southern India in the middle of the 7th century A. D. receives confirmation from another independent source. *Hwui-li* records that the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang who visited India about that period and reached as far south as conjeeveram, was prevented from proceeding further to Malakūṭa owing to the outbreak of a draught in that place.

This faithful reflection of the condition of South India or more particularly of its southern extremity, in the records left by foreign travellers, is a most convincing proof that adds strength to the account preserved in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the commentary on *Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ*. There is thus no doubt that the king represented in the last work *i. e.* Māṟaṉ or Neḍumāṟaṉ is identical with the one of the same name (*i. e.* Nelvēli-pōr-veṉṟa-niṉṟaśīr-Neḍumāṟaṉ) who was the contemporary of the Śaiva saint Jñānasambandha and with No. 6 Māṟavarman the lineal descendant of Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍimi-Peruvaḻudi and the son of Śeḻiyaṉ. It is easy to perceive that Nakkīrar, the contemporary of king Māṟavarman, perhaps in the early part of the latter's reign, could well have been the contemporary of the king's father Śeḻiyan or Neduñ-Jeḻiyan, as he is called in Tamil works, just as Māṟaṉ is called Neḍumāṟaṉ; and as such, there is every likelihood of his having written the verses in praise of Neḍuñjeḻiyan as well as of his successor Neḍumāṟaṉ.

The genealogy furnished in the Vēḻvikkuḍi plates and the facts stated therein about the kings, therefore, support strongly the tradition and literary evidence regarding the contemporaneity of Nakkīrar with (1) Neḍuñjeḻiyan, the victor in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgānam and the hero of the poems Neḍunalvāḍai and Maduraikkāñchi; and with (2) Neḍumāṟaṉ, the victor in the battles of Nelvēli, Śennilam and Pāḻi and the hero celebrated in the verses embodied in the commentary on Iṟaiyanār-Agapporuḷ; and thus furnish the date A. D. 620-650 roughly for the Chōḻa king Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa-Perunaṟkiḷḷi and many of the celebrities of the last *śangam* period.

Verses 48 and 49 introduce Karikāla, whose fame had spread far and wide and who, in order to prevent the inundation of the Kāvērī and the destruction

caused by it to crops and lands on either bank, erected a bund formed of earth, carried and thrown in baskets by enemy kings.

Students of Chōḷa history know very well that there were more kings than one who bore the name Karikāla;[1] but there is no fear of mistaking, on this account, the king who is referred to in the verses just quoted, for any other than the first of that name and it will be pointed out in the sequel that there is no room for entertaining any reasonable doubt in this connection. Before proceeding to discuss the events of the period to which Karikāla belonged, we may just note that the name Karikāla occurs sometimes in the slightly altered form Kalikāla. Two epigraphs of the Telugu-Chōḷa chief Tammusiddhi[2] and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I[3] substitute Kalikāla for Karikāla. In either case, the name is significant, denoting, as it does, the king 'who was Death to the Kali-age', 'who was Death to the elephants (i. e. the forces of hostile kings)', or 'who had a charred leg'. The last carries with it a tradition that Karikāla came to be so called because he had his legs burnt.[4]

The wars waged and the battles won by this king seem to have greatly enriched and extended his dominion and brought in prosperity. The persons that lived at the time did not fail to notice his military exploits. In fact, in the compositions of the poets of his day, we find his deeds extolled in measured lines which prove the greatness of his fame, the splendour of his court and the wealth of his dominion. A glowing description of the Chōḷa territory and of its capital Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṇam is given in the Tamiḻ idyll *Paṭṭiṇappālai* which has been translated in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI, pp. 146ff. Some of the king's achievements were only of ephemeral or local importance as for example his fight with the neighbouring Chēra and Pāṇḍya powers and the subjugation of other potentates of the Tamiḻ country[5] though they should have been highly valued at the time. In the *Rājapārampariyam* of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, certain stanzas refer to the achievements of Karikāla-Chōḷa.[6] Some of these facts find mention in the *Vikkiramaśōḷaṉulā* also. It is stated that Karikāla caused the Himalaya mountain to whirl round; that he engraved the tiger mark on it; that he made the subjugated kings to build the embankment of the Kāvērī; that he won a battle at Kurumi; and that he bestowed on the author

1 According to two Telugu-Chōḷa inscriptions, Karikāla had a grandson who was also named Karikāla (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900 p. 17). Āditya II son of Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II was known as Karikāla. The third king that born the name was Vīrarājēndra I (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III p. 198). It was during the reign of this last sovereign that the Kanyākumari record was engraved. Therein also he is called Karikāla.

2 See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. pp. 119ff. and 148ff.

3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 418.

4 At the end of the commentary of Nachchinārkkiniyār on *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai* is found the following stanzas:—

முச்சக் கரமு மளப்பதற்கு நீட்டியகா
லிச்சக் கரமே யளந்ததாற் செய்செ
யரிகான்மேற் றோன்றுதிக்கு மாய்புனனீர் நாடன்
கரிகாலன் காணெருப் புற்று.

5 These are given in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLI, pp. 146ff.

6 See verses 1, 20 and 21, which are reproduced below, p. 105, foot-note 1.

of *Paṭṭiṇappālai* 1,600,000 gold pieces for his composition.[1] Though many were the achievements of Karikāla, the events that proved to be above passing interest were two, of which the more important was the construction of the Kāvērī embankment, which he caused to be put up to prevent the destruction of crops and lands during floods. He was almost the first sovereign to attend to this need. There are reasons to believe that this must have been done during the close of his eventful reign.[2] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* makes it certain that the king who constructed the embankment to the Kāvērī was the very sovereign in whose honour *Paṭṭiṇappālai* was composed. In other words, it establishes the identity of the Karikāla of the *śaṅgam* works with the Karikāla who is reported in inscriptions to have built the Kāvērī bund. This being the most useful service rendered to humanity, posterity never failed to recognise it and to mention the same in their writings.

Accordingly, we find it noticed in the *Vikkramaśōḷaṉ-ulā*,[3] *Śaṅkaraśōḷaṉ-ulā* and others, as well as in the copper-plate charters of the Chōḷas[4] and the

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1 செண்டுகொண்டு கரிகாலனெருநாளிமயச்
சிமய மால்வரை திரித்தருளி * * * * * *
* * * * * * மேரு முதலிற்
பாய்புலிக் குறி பொறித்தது மறிந்தபொழுதே

தொழுதுமன்னரே கரைசெய்பொன்னியிற்
தத்துநீர்வரால் குருமி வென்றதுந்
தழுவு செந்தமிழ் பரிசில் வாணர் பொன்
பத்தொடாறுநூறுயிரம் பெறப்
பண்டு பட்டினப் பாலை கொண்டதும். Kaliṅgattupparaṇi.

தென்னருவிச்
சென்னி புலியேறிருத்திக் கிரிகிரித்துப்
பொன்னிக் கரைகண்ட பூபதியும். Vikkiramaśōḷan-ulā.

2 This is perhaps the reason why it is not mentioned in the works composed during his life time such as *Paṭṭiṇappālai*.

3 See foot-note 1 above.

4 The Leyden grant refers to it in these words:–

अरिकालो महीपालः करिकालस्तदन्वये ।
आविरासीदसौ चक्रे कावेरीतीरबन्धनम् ॥

(p. 206 of Arch. Survey of Southern India Vol. IV.):

and the Tiruvālangāḍu plates have:

कालत्वात्करिणां कलेश्च सकलक्षोणीभृतां नायकं
यं प्राहुः कलिकालमुन्नतिमतामग्रेसरं सद्गुणैः ।
काञ्चीं यश्च नवीचकार कनकैस्सोभूदमुष्यान्वये
कावेरीतटबन्धनप्रकटितस्फीतात्मकीर्तिर्नृपः ॥

(p. 395 of Vol. III. of *South-Indian Inscriptions.*)

Telugu Chōḷas.[1] Certain early epigraphs on stone and metal, belonging to the Chōḷas[2] of the Telugu country, of about the 8th century A. D., also refer to the event.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of the time of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I gives the valuable information that Karikāla made the town of Kāñchī new with gold.[3] Karikāla's connection with Kāñchī is known even otherwise. A stone inscription states that he ruled from that place.[4] The interest taken by the king in improving the city which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from the earliest times, proves beyond question that he acquired it by conquest. Perhaps he wanted to it his strong-hold. From the Telugu-Chōḷa inscriptions we learn that the Pallava contemporary of Karikāla was Trilōchana-Pallava and that the latter was one of those kings that were subordinate to him and helped in the construction of the Kāvērī bund.[5] The passage in question runs thus:—

Charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana Trilōchana-pramukh-ākhila-pṛithivīśvara-kārita-tīra.

This information corroborates and suppliments what is registered in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates. The Chellūr plates of Vīra-Chōḷa and the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya state of Vijayāditya, the founder of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmī, that he fought with Trilōchana-Pallava and died.[6] Thus it appears that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava lived at the same time.

The Western Chalukya chronology as settled by Dr. Fleet would yield for Vijayāditya the founder of the line, a place at the end of the 5th century A. D.

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1 An inscription of Tammusiddhi (Ep. Ind. Vol. VII. p. 123) reads:

तत्कुले कलिकालोभूत् कावेरीतीरकृन्नृपः।
यत्केलियष्टितुलिते मेरौ व्यतिकृता दिशः॥

and another of the same king (Ibid. p. 150) has it in a slightly altered form thus:

तस्मिन्कुले समभवत्कलिकालचोलो वीरः कवेरतनयां तटिनीं विधाता।
यत्केलियष्टिपरिघट्टितमात्र एव मेरुश्चलन्व्यतिकरं हरितां चकार॥

With the latter part of the two verses compare 'செண்டுகொண்டு கரிகாலனெரு காளிலிமயச்மிமய மால்வரை திரித்தருளி' of the *Kalingattuparani* and 'தென்னருவிச்சென்னி புலியேறிருத்திக்கிரி திரித்து' of the *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇulā*.

2 The Puṇyakumāra plates (Ep. Ind. Vol. XI. p. 345) read:

दिनकरकुलमन्दराचलमन्दारपादपस्यकवेरतनयावेलोल्लंघनप्रशमनप्रमुखाद्यनेकातिशयकारिणः त्रैराज्यस्थितिमात्मसात्कृतवतः करिकालस्यान्वये काश्यपगोत्रः नन्दिवर्मा नाम नृपतिरभवत्.

3 See foot-note 5 above.

4 Annual Report on epigraphy for 1900, p. 17 para 46.

5 Ibid para 44 and Ep. ind Vol. XI p. 40 foot-note 2.

6 तद्वंश्यो विजयादित्यनामा राजा विजिगीषया दक्षिणापथं
गत्वा त्रिलोचनपल्लवमधिक्षिप्य दैवदुरीहया लोकान्तरमगमत्
(S. I. I. Vol. I. pp. 49ff. and Ep. Ind. Vol. VI., pp. 352).

Karikāla, being a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Vijayāditya, has therefore been assigned the same date.[1]

An important fact revealed in the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates is the capture of Kāñchī attributed to Kumāravishṇu I,[2] which shows beyond doubt that the very capital of the Pallavas was lost by one of Kumāravishṇu's ancestors; probably by his immediate predecessor on the throne and it confirms the account given about Karikāla with regard to the occupation of Kāñchī. Kumāravishṇu I must have driven back the Chōḷas and got possession of his capital; else, there is not much significance in the boast of a Pallava king capturing his own capital. The Pallava chronology would only support the date assigned to Karikāla, for between the father of Kumāravishṇu I and Simhavishṇu (A. D. 580) there were only four generations,[3] which could have covered a period of 100 years.

In the following three verses (vv. 50—52), kings Vaḷabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyāḷabhayaṅkara are introduced. Of these, Vaḷabha is referred to in the large Leyden plates where, however, he is mentioned as the son of Muchukunda.[4] The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates state that Vaḷabha founded the city of Vaḷabhi.[5] Jagadēkamalla appears as a distinct Western Chalukya title in later times. But since we know that some of the Chōḷas of the Telugu country, who trace their descent from Karikāla, bore Pallava and Western Chalukya titles,[6] it is not unlikely that this Jagadēkamalla was a member of that branch of the Chōḷas. Vyāḷabhayaṅkara is entirely new to history. Perhaps he was also one of the same line.

Verses 53 and 54 speak of Vijayālaya, the founder of the revived Chōḷa line at Tanjore. While the Kanyākumari record states that he constructed the town of Taṅchāpurī, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates hint that he captured it.[7] The latter information appears to be more correct as the existence and importance of the town in earlier times is clearly proved by the epigraphs on the Śendalai pillars. It is fairly certain that Vijayālaya should have taken Tanjore from a member of the Muttaraiyan kings, one of whom *i. e.* Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyan of the 8th century called himself king of Tanjore.[8] It is worthy of note that not a single inscription of any Chōḷa king prior to the time of Vijayālaya for over a

1 In. Ep. Ind. Vol. XI p. 340 M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib. H. Krishna Sastri correcting a small error in my paper on Karikāla contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XLI. pp. 146ff, *viz.* of identifying Vijayāditya with the grandson, instead of the founder of the Western Chalukya line, writes on the date thus: "It may be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-pallava were almost contemporaries. From the account given in the Eastern Chalukya copper-plates, it appears as if five generations had passed between Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgidēśa and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, in or about A. D. 615. Calculating backwards for five generations we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya, and therefore also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A. D."

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. page 510.

3 See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII. pp. 233ff. and *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 33.

4 *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 206, text-lines 11 and 12.

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 415. v. 18.

6 The Pallava names Nandivarman, Simhavishṇu, Mahēndravikrama, and the Western Chalukya name Vikramāditya occur as surnames or names of these kings: See page 48 of the Madras Epigraphist's report for 1905.

7 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. page 418, verse 45.

8 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. p. 136.

century has yet been traced in the ancient Chōḷa territory which comprised the Tanjore and Trichinapoly districts. As has been said already, we have direct evidence to show that it was ruled by the Muttaraiyans in the 8th century A. D. The existence of an epigraph of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya in the Trichinopoly cave[1] and a few others[2] in the Tanjore district, coupled with the fact that Varaguṇa-Mahārāja was encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar river (South Arcot district) in Toṇḍai-nāḍu while he made a gift to the temple at Ambāsamudram[3] clearly indicate that the Pāṇḍyas had occupied the ancient Chōḷa territory and were striving hard to take possession of the southern portion of the Pallava dominion also. There are grounds for thinking that the kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas adjoined each other and that the Muttaraiyans allied themselves with one party or the other[4] in the 8th century A. D. and the earlier part of the 9th. Before the establishment by Vijayālaya of a new dynasty of Chōḷas at Tanjore, the Chōḷas must have held a subordinate position under the Pallavas. In this connection, the statement of the Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman, the grandson of Pallavamalla, that the *vijñapti* of the grant registered in them was a certain Chōḷa-Mahārāja, is worth remembering. That this person was not a private individual but was one holding an influential position and authority is made clear by the description given of him. It is said that he was the heroic head-jewel of the Chōḷa race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karṇa and that his conduct upright.[5] His proper name was Kumārāṅkuśa. Nandivarman, in whose reign this Chōḷa-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa flourished, was not far removed in point of time from Vijayālaya. While Nandivarman was the grandson of Pallavamalla, who flourished in about the end of the 8th century A. D., Vijayālaya was the grandfather of Parāntaka I, whose accession took place in A. D. 907. If Vijayālaya came of the same family as the Chōḷa-Mahārāja Kumārāṅkuśa, it is very likely that he was the grandson of his. No upstart could have commanded what needed to establish a new line, and in a short time to uproot a reigning dynasty. In all likelihood, therefore, the very Chōḷas who held a subordinate position under the Pallavas should have seized a fitting opportunity to throw off the yoke of submission and to proclaim their independence. Such an opportunity presented itself in the middle of the 9th century A. D., when the Pāṇḍyas were pressing hard against the Pallavas. During the first half of the ninth century, the Pāṇḍya country was ruled by Varaguṇa-Mahārāja and his son Śrīmāṟa-Parachakrakōlāhala.[6] And since it is said that this Varaguṇa-Mahārāja was once encamped at Araiśūr on the Pennar,[7] it is clear that he penetrated into the very heart of the Pallava territory. At this time, the latter's

1 No. 414 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

2 No. 17 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 from Tiruviśalūr, No. 51 of the same collection for 1985, found at Tillasthanam, No. 13 of the same collection for 1909 found at Kumbhakonam and two others (Nos. 358 and 364 of 1907) from Āḍuturai, might also belong to the same king.

3 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. pp. 84 to 94.

4 Some of the Muttaraiyans appear in the records of the later Pallavas as well as in the epigraphs of Māṟaṉjaḍaiyaṉ and Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII. p. 134ff.)

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 512, verse 26 and the Tamil portion which follows it.

6 These two, being the father and grandfather of Varaguṇavarman, who ascended the throne in A. D. 862, have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century.

7 See above, note 3.

dominion was governed by either Nṛipatuṅga or his father Nandivarman.[1] The Pallavas were not slow to retrieve their loss. The Bāhūr plates report that Nṛipatuṅga marched as far as the river Araiśil in the Tanjore district and made the very army, that had formerly been defeated by the Pāṇḍyas, burn down the hosts of enemies along with the prosperity of the oppenents kingdom.[2] But this Pallava king did not live long, for it is said that, though young, the widely renowned Nṛipatuṅga was reputed like Rāma not only in this world but also in the other,— a clear hint that he met with an early death.[3] Varaguṇa-Mahārāja's successor Śrīmāra is reported in the Śiṇṇamaṇūr plates to have successfully met in battle the Pallavas among a host of others.[4] In fact he was called Pallava-bhañjana and the battle was fought at Kuḍamūkku i. e. Kumbhakōṇam. These facts are enough to show that peace did not reign in southern India consequent on the circumstance that the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas were making their best endeavours to establish their suzerainty in the Dekhan. The closing of the events noted above takes us to the reign of Varaguṇavarman and of his contemporaries the Chōḷa Āditya I and the Pallava Aparājita, as will be seen in the sequel. And it may be noted that some of the events noticed might have happened during the reign of Vijayālaya. But it is quite significant that Vijayālaya claims no victory over the Pāṇḍyas, though the battles were mostly fought in the Tanjore district. Can it be that he was acting only on behalf of his overlord the Pallava, and the inclusion of his name in the Chōḷa pedigree is due to the fact that he was the father of Āditya, who really subverted the Pallavas ? Could it not be that Vijayālaya was entrusted with the government of the southern part of the Pallava dominion before he or his successor asserted his independence ?

Verse 55 speaks of Vijayālaya's son Ādityavarman. From it we learn for the first time that he was called Kōdaṇḍarāma. His defeat of the Pallava king, which is also reported therein, is not a new information. "Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though he was Aparājita (i. e. the

1 The genealogy of the Pallavas of this period stands as under:—

N. Pallavamalla
|
Danti
|
Nandi
|
Nripatunga.

As Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign extended up to the last quarter of 8th century, A. D. the last two have to be assigned to the first half of the 9th century.

2 The verse that contains this fact reads as follows:-

यत्प्रसादाज्जिता सेना पाण्ड्येन समरे पुरा ।
पारेऽरिचित्सराज्यश्रि ददाह रिपुसंहतिम् ॥

See *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 515. Verse 16.

3 *Ibid.* Verse 17.

नृपतुङ्ग इति ख्यातो बालोऽपि भुवनेश्वरः ।
ख्यातो न केवलं भूमावमुष्मिन्नपि रामवत् ॥

4 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1907, p. 68, para 23.

unconquered", says the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant "he (viz. the Chōḷa king Āditya) also took possession of his queen (viz) the earth and thus accomplished his object".[1] The statement is plain and there is no mistaking the fact that Aparājita was the Pallava contemporary of the Chōḷa Āditya I and that the latter defeated and took possession of his kingdom of Toṇḍai-nāḍu. This event must have happened at the end of the third quarter of the 9th century A. D.[2] But it has to be said that Aparājita, allying himself with the Gaṅga king Pṛithivīpathi I, fought a battle at Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya and gained a victory, though the Gaṅga ally lost his life in the strife.[3] This event, which is recorded in the Udayēndiram grant, cannot be connected with the one mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates for the reason that Aparājita was successful in the former, but was defeated and deprived of his kingdom in the latter. The Śrīpurambiyam battle must, therefore, have happened in the early years of Aparājita's reign. Since Aparājita's epigraphs range in date between the third and eighteenth years of reign,[4] he must have lost possession of Toṇḍai-nāḍu in the 18th year of reign[5] and this should have fallen in about A. D. 870. The fact that Aparājita was able to come unopposed by the Chōḷas as far south as Śrīpurambiyam in the Tanjore district, in the first instance, might be taken to indicate that even Āditya I held a subordinate position under him or that he fought on his behalf. The latter is unlikely because no mention is made in the Udayēndiram grant of the part played by the Chōḷas. We have only to hold that the clashing of interest between the Pallavas and the Chōḷas did not arise till about the 18th regnal year of Aparājita, when the Pallava kingdom was subverted by Āditya I. The extention of the Chōḷa dominion into Toṇḍai-nāḍu is also recorded in a Tillaisthānam[6] inscription. That Āditya had the title Rājakēsarivarman needs no saying, for his son Parāntaka I was distinctly a Parakēsarivarman. Since effecting the conquest of Toṇḍai-nāḍu, he appears to have been known as "Toṇḍai-nāḍu pāviṉa-Rājakēsarivarman" just as his son Parāntaka I was called in later years "Madiraikoṇḍa or Madiraiyum Īḻamam-koṇḍa Parakēsarivarman". Long before the discovery of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which for the first time explicitly stated that Āditya I took possession of Toṇḍai-nāḍu defeating its ruler Aparājita, and the Tillaisthānam record referring to the same event, Mr. Venkayya attributed to Āditya I a Rājakēsarivarman epigraph of Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam, in which it is stated that this Chōḷa king renewed a grant which was made by the Pallava king Skandaśishya and confirmed by Narasimhavarman I the conqueror of Vātāpī, clearly indicating that the rulers of that part of the country prior to Āditya's occupation, were the Pallavas.[7] The necessity for the renewal of earlier grants, it needs hardly be said,

1 Ep. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 88.

2 Parāntaka I having commenced his reign in A. D. 907, his father Āditya has to be assigned to the last quarter of the 9th century.

3 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 87, and *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 384, verse 18.

4 No. 435 of the *Madras Epigraphist's collection* for 1905 is dated in the 18th year of the reign of Aparājitavikrama while No. 351 of the same collection for 1908 is dated in the 3rd year of his reign.

5 See foot note 2 above.

6 *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 221.

7 *Christian College Magazine* for October 1890.

was the change in the government of the country. The Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam epigraph is thus one of great importance to Chōḷa history as it proves the reality of the claim made in stone and copper-plates.

Now we have to point out one other event which probably occured during the reign of Āditya I. It is the conquest of Koṅgu. Inscriptions of Parāntaka I found in the Koṅgu country i. e. at Sōmūr and other places and the mention of Koṅgapperuvaḷi and Koṅgu people in his inscriptions show that Āditya I should have conquered Koṅgu, for Parāntaka I did not lay claim to it though his inscriptions are found there.

The Ḳanyākumari inscription further brings to notice the fact that Āditya I was called Kōdaṇḍarāma. One other person in the Chōḷa line bore this name. It was Rājāditya. Three inscriptions[1] refer to prince Kōdaṇḍarāma and in one of them he is distinctly stated to be the eldest son of Parāntaka I, thus making the identification of prince Kōdaṇḍarāma with Rājāditya rest on firm basis. In discussing the contents of a Tirumālpuram inscription, the late Mr. Venkayya drew attention to a Toṇḍamanāḍ epigraph of Parāntaka I wherein it is stated that the temple of Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara *alias* Ādityēśvara at Toṇḍamān-Pērāṟṟūr was erected as a *paḷḷippaḍai* to the king who died at Toṇḍaimāṉ-Āṟṟūr, and said that Toṇḍaimān-Āṟṟūr must be identical with Toṇḍamanāḍ near Kāḷahasti for the reason that it is called in the inscriptions Toṇḍaimān-pēr-Āṟṟūr.[2] Though he was at first inclined to think that the temple should have been called after the son of Parāntaka I, he corrected himself and said later on that the temple in question should stand probably near the burial ground of Āditya I or over it.[3] The point to which we have to draw attention is that the name Kōdaṇḍarāmēśvara itself is derived from the other name of Āditya I and that the temple must have been built during the time of Parāntaka I whose record it bears and in honor of his father. It needs no saying that the shrine could not have been erected in honor of prince Rājāditya who was then living, because it is expressly stated that the temple was constructed as a *paḷḷippaḍai*.

The achievements of Parāntaka I are recorded in the next five verses (56—60). It is said that he was the son of Āditya I (v. 56); that he killed the Pāṇḍya king together with all his forces, took possession of his wealth and reduced to ashes Madura and aquired the title Madhurāntaka (v. 57); conquered the unconquerable Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and thus obtained the title Vīra-Chōḷa (v. 38); killed the lords (i. e. the kings) of Siṁhaḷa (Ceylon) and assumed the significant surname Siṁhaḷāntaka (v. 59); and built *agrahāras* called after his name Vīranārāyaṇa and gave them away to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas (v. 60).

Friendly relationship existed between the Chēras and Chōḷas during the reign of Parāntaka I, as in the days of Āditya I. The Chōḷa queen Kōkkiḷā-

1 Nos. 318 and 347 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1904 and No. 164 of the same collection for 1912.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905, p. 50; and the same for 1907 p. 72.

3 *Ibid*, p. 72.

ṉaḍigal was a Chēra princess.[1] Nīlī, the daughter of the Chēra king Vijayarāga, visited Tiruvoṟṟiyūr in the Chōḷa dominion and made presents to the Śiva temple of Ādhipurīśa.[2] The army and retinue of prince Rājāditya counted several persons who were natives of the west coast.[3] In fact, Veḷḷaṅkumaran, the general of Rājāditya, was of the Kēraḷa country.[4] All these circumstances bear testimony to the same fact.

The Pāṇḍyas, as we have already seen, proved a formidable obstacle in the way of the Chōḷa expansion. Accordingly, Parāntaka I had to direct his attention first to the subjugation of this refractory people. Before the third year of his reign had passed, he appears to have struck a blow against them and assumed the title of "Madiraikoṇḍa" as his stone inscriptions amply prove.[5] The Udayēdiram grant probably refers to this event when it says that "Parāntaka's army having crushed at the head of a battle the Pāṇḍya king together with the army of elephants, horses and soldiers, seized a herd of elephants and the city of Madura".[6] The king conquered the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas. Subsequently, the Pāṇḍyas sought the help of the king of Ceylon and the following version of the *Mahāvansa* relating to this circumstance is worth noting.[7]

"King Pāṇḍu who had warred with the king of Chōḷa and was routed, sent many presents unto Kaśśapa V that he might obtain an army from him. And the king, the chief of Laṅkā, took council with his ministers and equipped an army: and appointing Śakkasēṇāpati to the command thereof, accompanied himself to Mahātitha. And he stood on the shore and brought to their mind the victories of former kings and gave them courage and then sent them into the ships. And Śakkasēnāpati carried them safely to the other side of the sea and reached the Pāṇḍiyan country. And when king Pāṇḍu beheld the army and the captain thereof, he was greatly pleased and exclaimed: "All Jambudvīpa shall I now bring under the canopy of one dominion" and then he led the two armies (his own and the Singhalese king's) to battle. But he succeeded not in conquering the king of the Chōḷian race. And so he abandoned the struggle and returned to his own place."

The date of Kaśśapa V is given in the *Mahāwansa* as A. D. 925—939. If the chronology of the Singalese work is to be relied upon, the above event

1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII. p. 133: *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 383, verse 8 and No. 261 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907. Rājāditya was the son of this queen, and one of her servants built the Tiruttoṇḍīśvara temple at Tirunāmanallūr in the South Arcot district.

2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 236.

3 Iravikōdai (331/02), Iyakkan Rāman of Malai-nāḍu (346/02) Tirukkuṉṟappōḷaṉ Śēndakumāran (343/02), Vēḷakulasundaran of Kaṇḍiyūr in Malai-nāḍu (341/02), Kaṇḍaṉ Kāman of Maṉkarai in Vachcha-nāḍu a subdivision of Neḍumpuraiyūr-nāḍu (337/02) and Māṉavallaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ of Īśāṉamaṅgalam in Neḍuṅkālai-nāḍu figure in the inscriptions of Parāntaka I found at Tirunāmanallūr (Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India, for 1905-6 p. 181).

4 Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India for 1905-6 pp. 181f.

5 No. 29 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1907.

6 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

7 Wijesinha's Translation Chap. LII. p. 80.

should have occurred between the dates A. D. 929—939. But it looks as if the Udayēndiram charter of Prithivīpati II (A. D. 921—2) refers to the same event when it says that "Parāntaka I having slain in an instant at the head of a battle an immense army despatched by the lord of Laṅkā which teemed with elephants, brave soldiers and was interspersed with troops of elephants and horses, he bears in this world the significant title of Sangrāmarāghava i. e. who resembled Rāma in battle".[1] Another inscription of Parāntaka, dated in the 12th year of reign corresponding to A. D. 918—919, also refers to the invasion against the combined forces of the Pāṇḍyas and the Singhalese and states that the battle was fought at Vēḷūr.[2] If all the three sources celebrate the same event, it might be said that it should have taken place not long before A. D. 918—9 and in which case there is clearly an error in assigning the period of rule of Kaśśapa V.

The defeat of the Singhalese troops that came to the aid of the Pāṇḍya was not the occasion for Parāntaka's assuming the title "Madiraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa", which he seems to have done after conquering the island of Ceylon in about the close of his reign i. e. about A. D. 944.[3] Accordingly, we find it mentioned in epigraphs dated later than the 37th year of reign. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant speaks of it in these words[4]:—

"All the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōḷa king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the kings of Siṁhaḷa, cut and killed by the king's weapons."

The immediate cause of this invasion of Ceylon was the shelter given by its king to the Pāṇḍya sovereign who, fearing the wrath of the Chōḷa, appears to have sought it. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say "The Pāṇḍya king, intent as it were, on extinguishing the fire of the Chōḷa king's valour entered the ocean deserting his hereditary dominion"[5] And the *Mahāwansa*[6] records. "Now at the time (Dappula V's reign ranging between A. D. 940—952), king Pāṇḍu, because he feared the Chōḷians, left his country, got into a ship and landed in Mahāṭitha. And the king sent unto him and was well pleased to see him, gave him great possessions and caused him to live outside the city. And while the king of Laṅkā was yet preparing for war thinking unto himself "Now shall I make war with the Chōḷian king, take two seaports and give them unto king Pāṇḍu".

If the Kanyākumari inscription registers the events of the reign of Parāntaka I in chronological order, as it seems likely and as could be proved by other evidences, there is in it a very significant fact to which we must draw particular

1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II. p. 387, verse 10.

2 *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5 Part II. para 8: Do. for 1907, p. 72.

3 *Ibid*, p. 73.

4 See verse 52 p. 396 of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III.

5 Verse 51 Do. Do.

6 Chapter LIII. p. 81f.

attention. Unlike the large Leyden plates[1] and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant[2] our inscription attributes to Parantaka I conquest over the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and places this event before the conquest of Ceylon, detailed above. As regards the last, the facts worth remembering are that while the inscriptions of Parāntaka I dated prior to A. D. 944 refer to the king by the epithet "Madiraikoṇḍa", those dated after that year invariably call him by the epithet "Madiraiyum Īḻamum-koṇḍa" indicating that the king's Ceylon expedition in which he gained unqualified success took place after that year. Now if his conquest or fight with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III was effected prior to this, it must have fallen in about A. D. 942—3 allowing a year or two for the preparation of the southern expedition. The writer of the Kanyākumari inscription says:—

यज्जिगाय विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजितं नराधिपैः ।
भूरिविक्रमविवर्धितद्युतिर्वीरचोळ इति तेन कीर्त्यते ॥

that by conquering the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja, Parāntaka acquired the surname Vīra-Chōḷa. Thus, this inscription places beyond doubt the fact that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III occupied Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and contested first with the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I and not with his son Rājāditya; it also makes clear that Rājāditya's encounter witn the same Rāshṭrakūṭa king in which he was killed by the Gaṅga Bhūtuga in a hand to hand fight on the back of the elephant was quite a different one, which took place sometime later in about A. D. 947—8.[3] That Kṛishṇa III occupied Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam in or prior to A. D. 942 is proved by an inscription of his dicovered at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam, dated in the fifth year of reign.[4] Since the highest regnal year of Kṛishṇa III is known to be 30 and his death took place in Śaka 889[5] (=A. D 967), it is plain that Kṛishṇa III should have ascended the throne in A. D. 937. His fifth year of reign should, therefore, correspond to A. D. 942, when he was in possession of a part of the Chōḷa dominion. My inference in this respect, made a few years ago, receives confirmation from the Kanyākumari inscription, which in plain and unequivocal terms states that Parāntaka I fought with the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and it places the event before the king's Ceylon expedition which took place in A. D. 945. This valuable information is quite new and refers to a different event from the one recorded in the large Leyden plates.

1 The Leyden plates say "the heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race, having confounded the unconquerable Kṛishṇarāja with his army in battle, by his own sharp arrows filling all sides and having his heart pierced while seated on the back of his elephant by crouds of sharp arrows discharged by him (i. e. Kṛishṇarāja and being famous in the three worlds, ascended the car of the gods and went to the world of heroes." The actual person that killed Rājāditya was Kṛishṇa's Gaṅga ally Bhūtuga. This is learnt from the Ātakūr inscription which as interpreted by Mr. Narasimhachari is as follows:-
"Bhūtuga undauntedly mounted the elephant on which Rājāditya was seated and engaging him in hand to hand fight in the howdah itself, stabbed him with a dagger and thus killed him."

2 In the Tiruvālaṅgaḍu plates it is said that Rājāditya after conquering Kṛishṇarāja went to heaven (V. 54. p. 396 of *S. I. I.* Vol. III.)

3 See note 1 above.

4 No. 375 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1909.

5 No. 236 of the same collection for 1913.

Verses 61 and 62 speak of Arindama and say that he was the son of Parāntaka I and won some military distinction. It has to be observed that the inscription passes over the names of Rājāditya[1] and Gaṇḍarāditya, as it does later on with the names of Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and Uttama-Chōḷa. The reason for the omission is not far to seek. The writer seems to have concerned himself only in tracing the direct line of Vīrarājēndra. It may be well, however, to bear in mind that none of the authorities for Chōḷa history so far available attributes to any of the three sons of Parāntaka I conquest over the Pāṇḍyas. In fact none of them held the reins of government for long. Rājāditya passed away five years prior to the death of his father, and, as has been shown elsewhere, Gaṇḍarāditya and Arindama could not have reigned for more than a few months.

In speaking of Sundara-Chōḷa *alias* Parāntaka II, the Kanyākumari record says (v. 63) that the quivering Pāṇḍya contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. In some of the stone inscriptions, Sundara-Chōḷa assumes the epithet "Pāṇḍiyaṇai-churam-iṟakkiṇa" i. e. "who caused the Pāṇḍya king enter the forest". After Parāntaka I, it may be said that Sundara-Chōḷa was the next sovereign that is reported to have fought with the Pāṇḍyas. Though the large Leyden grant records that this king fought a sanguinary battle at Chēūr, it does not mention the name of his enemy. But when it says that his son Āditya II Karikāla, while yet a boy, played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya as a lion's cub with a mast elephant, it may be correctly presumed that Sundara-Chōḷa's Pāṇḍya opponent was Vīra-Pāṇḍya.

Of Rājarāja I, who ascended the throne in A. D. 985 and did much to extend the Chōḷa territory, nothing more is recorded in the Kanyākumarī inscription than that he was the son of Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa (*v.* 65), that he defeated the Western Chalukya king Satyāśraya (*v* 67), and slew many enemy kings (*v.* 66). But a better account is preserved in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant. It states that his proper name was Aruṇmoḷivarman[2] (v. 70), that when his brother Āditya died, the subjects requested him to occupy the throne, but he did not want it while his paternal uncle desired to have it,[3] (*v.* 69), that when he became king

1 The physical impossibility of Rājāditya's survival after his father,—the former having been killed in battle in 947 A. D. and the latter having ruled over the Chōḷa dominions up to A. D. 953, must be clearly borne in mind. The entire absence of records of the time of Gaṇḍarāditya and Arindama cannot but indicate that both of them passed away soon after Parāntaka I. Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have led a pious life as is amply proved by his wife's erecting temples in his honour.

2 The name Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu was given to the territorial division Teṉkaḍuvāy which comprised parts of the Negapatam, Nannilam, Tirutturaippundi, Mayavaram and Mannargudi taluks. One of the quarters of Tanjore was known by the name Arumoḷidēva-terinda-tirupparikalattārvēḷam. Arumoḷidēva-chatuvēdimaṅgalam was a village in Puraṅgarambai-nādu and Arumoḷi-Īśvara the name of a temple. These figure in Tanjore inscriptions. There was also a grain or liquid measure bearing the name Arumoḷidēvan-marakkāl.

3 That Madhurāntakan Uttama Chōḷa, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, had a better title to the Chōḷa throne, but that he was a minor during the period of rule of Ariñjaya and Parāntaka II and had shared in the government of the Chōḷa country with Āditya II, during the latter's short reign have been indicated by me elsewhere (*Historical Sketches* p. 233ff). It is a very significant fact that Rājarāja refused to ascend the Chōḷa throne in spite of the wish of the people. But for this stroke of policy there would have been a civil war in the Chōḷa dominions.

he directed his attention to the conquest of the quarters commencing with the south (*v.* 76), that he seized king Amarabhujaṅga[1] (*v.* 78), while his general captured Viḷindam[2] (i. e. Viḷiñam) which had the sea for its moat (V. 79), burnt the lord of Laṅkā[3] (v. 80.), fought with Satyāśraya and put him to flight[4] (v. 81.), killed the Andhra king Bhīma[5] who had put to death a certain Rājāraja (*v.* 82), conquered the country created by Paraśurāma[6] (*v.* 83), and that he subdued, and received homage from, Gaṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Māgadha, Āraṭṭa, Oḍḍa, Saurāshṭra, Chalukya and other kings[7] (*v.* 84). The Vikkiramaśōḷaṉulā, registers the fact that, in retaliation for the insult offered to an envoy, Rājarāja took possession of eighteen forests together with Malai-nāḍu (i. e. Malabar)[8] and Kulottuṅgaśōḷaṉ-ulā refers to him as one cutting off eighteen heads and setting

1 From the wording of the plates we cannot be sure that Amarabhujaṅga was a Pāṇḍya king, though it is not very unlikely. It may be pointed out here that the name Amarabhujaṅga actually occurs among the Kērala kings of the Koṅgu country (see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (Madras) for 1906. p. 75.

2 Viḷiñam was one of the most ancient places of the Chēra country. According to the Śiṉṉamaṉūr copper-plates, the Pāṇḍya king Śrīmāra Parachakrakōlāhaḷa fought a battle at this place. From the commentary on the Iṟaiyaṉār Agapporuḷ, we learn that the Pāṇḍya king Arikēsari Māṟavarman (A. D. 620-650) contended here against the Chēra. The place is described as being situated on the sea shore (*Historical Sketches* p. 124). The Madras Museum plates of Jaṭilavarman state that the Pāṇḍya sovereign caused the excellent port of Viḷiñam to be destroyed (Ibid. p. 133). Napier Museum stone epigraph (*Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol. I p. 158) also mentions it.

3 Tanjore inscriptions state that part of the revenues derived from Ceylon were assigned to the big temple of Rājarājēśvara at Tanjore. Ceylon itself was called Mummuḍi-Śōḷa-maṇḍalam after one of the surnames of Rājarāja I (Annual Report for 1913, part II. para 21) and an inscription of the king is also found in Ceylon.

4 It is recorded in a stone inscription that the army of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, numbering 900,000 men, pillaged the country of the Western Chalukyas, slaughtered ruthlessly even women, children and Brāhmaṇas and taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste.

5 The Late Rai Bahadur Venkayya surmised that the Bhīma killed by Rājāraja might be Aṇiyaṅka-Bhīma-Vimalāditya (*Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1906, p. 68).

6 Inscriptions of Rājarāja I are found in the Travancore State, which formed part of the Chēra country.

7 We cannot seek for much fact from this general statement which simply mentions some of the ancient territorial divisions of India. Gaṅga may refer to the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakkāḍ: Kaliṅga included part of the circars and was situated to the south of the Suhma and north of the Āndhra. Vaṅga was to the south-east of Puṇḍra. Magadha is in South Bihar. The natives of Magadha are represented as closely related to the Vrātyas in the Atharva-Vēda (XV). Āraṭṭa is stated in the Mahābhārata (Karna-Parva XLV) to comprise that part of India through which the five rivers flow after issuing from the mountain, that virtuous men should not spend there more than two days: it is mentioned along with Prasthala, Madra, Gandhāra, Kaśa, Vasati, Sindhu and Sauviras whose people are said to be wicked; that Vahikas dwell in this country that the low Brahmans of that territory do not either study the Vēdas or perform sacrifice. It has, therefore, to be located in West Punjab. Oḍḍa is the modern Orissa.

8 Verse 16 runs thus:—

தாதற்காய்ப்-
பண்டு படலான்றின்றொன்பது சரமுங்-
கொண்டு மலைநாடு கொண்டுடனும்.

fire to Udagai.[1] Victory in the battle of Udagai is claimed for him in the *Kalingattupparaṇi* also.[2] From the last authority and certain stone epigraphs we learn that this king was born in the asterism Satabhishaj.[3] The large Leyden plates record the achievement of the king by saying that he conquered Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa, Simhaḷa, Satyāśraya and took possession of their forces and territories.[4] From the stone epigraphs of the king, which are found in large numbers, we learn that the earliest act of the king was the conquest of the Kēraḷa dominions to effect which he had to contend also against the Pāṇḍyas. Consequent on this circumstance, he assumed the surname Mummuḍi-Chōḷa i. e. 'the Chōḷa who wore the three crowns viz. of the Chēra, Chōḷa and the Pāṇḍya. Since two epigraphs of Rājarāja,[5] dated in the 4th year of reign mention him by this name, we have to conclude that this conquest of the two southern powers should have occurred in or prior to that year (A. D. 989). The earliest reference to the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūrśālai is, however, to be found in the epigraphs dated in the 8th year (A. D. 993) of the reign of the king. Rājarāja is referred to by the simple epithet 'Kāndaḷūr-śālai kalam-aṟutta-Rājakēsarivarman' up to the 13th year of reign (A. D. 998).[6] The fact of the omission of this achievement in earlier inscriptions than the 8th, suggests that it must have been effected in that year. If so, it must relate to an expedition against the Kēraḷa, different from the one which gave Rājarāja the surname Mummuḍi-Chōḷa already in the 4th year of reign (A. D. 989). Inscriptions of Rājarāja I have been found at Tirunandikkarai, Eraṇiel, Suchīndiram, Cape Comorin and other places in the Travancore State, thus establishing his conquest of the Kēraḷa and Pāṇḍya countries. Some of these are dated in the 10th year of reign and mention the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr. That Kāndaḷūr must be a place in the Malai-nāḍu has been

1 The late Mr. Venkayya surmised that Udagai must be a strong-hold of the Pāṇḍyas (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Introduction p. 3). As Udiya means Chēra, it is not unlikely that Udagai was a place in the Kēraḷa country, for it is said that Rājarāja obtained a victory at Udagai after defeating the Udiyas.

2 Verse 24 (Canto VIII) of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* runs as follows:

சதைய நாள் விழாவுதியர் மண்டலங்
தன்னில் வைத்தவன் றனியொர் மாவின்மே
லுதயபாநு வொத்துதகை வென்ற கோ
லெருகை வாரணம் பலகவர்ந்ததும்.

3 See note 2 above and No. 274 the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1910. One of the Tirunandikkarai inscriptions states that Rājarāja I assigned the village of Muṭṭam with its name altered into Mummuḍiśōḷanallūr, to the temple of Tirunandikkarai-Mahādēva, for conducting a festival on the day of Śadaiyam in the month of Aippaśi which was the birth day of the Perumāḷ (*i. e.* king) (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I. p. 292). It is worthy of note that Tirunandikkarai is in the Kēraḷa country (the *Udiyarmaṇḍalam* of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*).

4 Leyden grant has:

जित्वा स पाण्ड्यदुळुकेरळसिंहळेन्द्र-
सत्याश्रयादिनृपतींस्निजबाहुवीर्यात् ।
आदाय तत्करितुरङ्गमरत्नराष्ट्रा-
ण्याशा दशापि यशसा धवळचिकार ॥

5 Nos. 283 and 265 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection* for 1906.

6 No. 538 of the collection for 1905.

surmised already.[1] And it has been suggested that the place must be the same as Trivandrum.[2] But it looks very likely that it is identical with the village of its very name in the Neyyattinkarai Taluk.[3] King Amarabhujaṅga should have been seized and the port of Viḷiñam captured in either of the two occasions noted above. The second conquest of the Kēraḷa country should have been followed by the capture of several principalities such as Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Coorg, Kollam (Quilon), Koḍuṅgōlūr and Ceylon which were all effected before the 20th year of the king's rule (A. D. 1005).[4] The defeat of the Pāṇḍyas and the Chēras gave Rājarāja immense wealth which consisted of pearls, coral, silver, ruby, diamond and other gems.[5] The conquest of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍuṅgōlūr is specially mentioned in a Śēṇūr inscription of the 20th year[6] which also states that Rājarāja burnt Madura. After conquering the southern country Rājarāja changed the name of the Pāṇḍya country into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu and the whole south including the territory of the Kēraḷas appears to have been termed Rājarāja-Teṇṇāḍu. During this period, the Pāṇḍyas and Chēras seem to have been allied together against the Chōḷa, for it is stated in the Tanjore inscriptions that Rājarāja defeated the Chēra king and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai-nāḍu and carried away their treasures.[7] Rājarāja's expedition against Satyāśraya was later than the events registered above. If the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant mentions the events of the reign of Rājarāja in chronological order, there appears to have been another invasion against the Chēras which must have taken place after he had defeated Satyāśraya. Says the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant[8]:—

सर्वक्षत्रवधव्रतप्रणयिना रामेण यन्निर्मितं
राष्ट्रं शिष्टजनाभिराममतुलं दुर्गं महीध्राणवैः ।
जित्वा तत्सकलावनीन्द्रमकुटश्रेणीलसच्छासन-
स्सोऽभूत्सर्वधनुर्भृतां क्षितिभृतामानन्दसन्दोहकृत् ॥

With the capture of 12000 islands in the Indian ocean and the performance of the *tulābhāra* ceremony in the 29th year of reign (= A. D. 1013) when his queen Dantiśaktiviṭaṅki *alias* Lōkamahādēvī passed through a gold cow, the career of Rājarāja came to an end.

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1 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, Introduction p. 2.

2 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 1f.

3 Kandaḷūr is 7 miles from Neyyāttinkarai.

4 No. 394 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1911.

5 See Nos. 59 and 91 of Vol. II. of the *South-Indian Inscriptions*.

6 See note 4 above.

7 See note 5 above.

8 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 398.

9 The latest regnal year found so far for Rājarāja is the 29th. These facts are recorded in an graph discovered by me at Tiruviśaḷūr (*Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1 p. 65).

The achievements of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I are next recorded in verses 68 to 72. Of these, verse 69, which is partially damaged, speaks of his conquests over the lords of the Kuntala country by which is meant the territory ruled over by the Western Chalukyas, Kadambas and their subordinate chieftains.[1] The Tamiḻ historical introduction of the king probably refers to the same event when it says that he captured the countries of Iḍaituṟai-nāḍu, Vanavāsi, Koḻḷippākkai, and Maṇṇaikkaḍakkam, which have all been located in the Kanarese provinces.[2] The next item noticed is the seizure of the Kēraḷa king. At the time of effecting it, the Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates report that the Chōḷa general struck a blow against the Pāṇḍya king, and as a result, the latter abandoned his country and took shelter in the Malaya mountains.[3] The kingless Pāṇḍya country was left under the protection of Rājēndra-Chōḷa's son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya i. e. Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya.[4] The Kēraḷa country was then attacked and annihilated. This done, Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya was left in charge of the entire south;[5] and Rājēndra-Chōḷa proceeded against the Western Chalukya Jayasiṁha. The last mentioned conquest is indicated in the Kanyākumari inscription in verse 70 where it says that Rājēndra-Chōḷa made Mānyakēṭa[6] the play ground of his army. Then followed the slaying of the chiefs of Kulūta and Utkaḷa,[7] by the generals of the king. From the

1 The Kadamba king Mayūraśarman is said to have brought eighteen Brāhmaṇas from Ahichchhatra and established them in the Kuntala country. This shows that during the days of Kadamba supremacy, this territorial division was included in their dominions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, p. 251-3). About the exact location of the Kuntala country, Mr. Rice notes that 'an inscription of the twelfth century A. D. at Badanikke describes Kuntala as the province governed by the Mauryas. This roughly speaking would be the country between the rivers Bhīma and Vēdavatī, bounded on the west by the Ghats including Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and the Nizam's dominions' *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 289). Some of the Western Chalukya kings ruled over it (*South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 230; and Vol. III, p. 140). Later on, it came under the sway of the Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara kings. In fact, Vijayanagara is stated to have been situated in the Kuntala-vishaya, a subdivision of the Karṇāṭa country (*South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I, pp. 160 and 164): and Hosapattana which formed one of the boundaries of Āṇegondi (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Sk. 136) and from which the earlier Vijayanagara kings issued their grants, is stated to have been a place in the Hoysaḷa territory (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. XI, Cd. 2). In the *Madhurā-vijayam*, Gaṅgādēvi refers to Bukka I by the words **कर्णाटलोकनयनोत्सवपूर्णचन्द्रः** and **कुन्तलभूमिपालः** (See Messrs. Srinivasa Sastri and Harihara Sastri's edition, pp. 9 and 13).

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX. p. 230.

3 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 398, v. 91. Though the plates report that the Chōḷa general fought with the Pāṇḍya, a stone epigraph (No. 363 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1917) states that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I constructed at Madura a huge palace 'by whose weight even the earth became unsteady' and anointed his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya as the Viceroy of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

4 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, p. 292ff. An inscription of Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya is found at Āṉaimalai, 6 miles from Madura.

5 *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. III, p. 399, v. 99. In the inscriptions of Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya found at Mannārkoyil near Ambāsamudram two Chēra kings Rājarāja and Rājasimha figure as Chōḷa feadatories (*Ep. Ind.* XI. 292f.).

6 Manyakēṭa was the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 63 and Vol. VI. p. 29). Later on it came under the sway of the Western Chalukyas.

7 In the Tamiḻ introduction of the king's epigraphs, Utkala is called Oḍḍa-vishaya.

Mahēndragiri pillar epigraph, it is learnt that Vimalāditya was the Kulūta chief overcome by the Chōḷa general whose name is given out to be Rājēndra-śōḷa-Pallavaraiyan.[1] None of the sources for Chōḷa history hitherto available specifically attributed to Rājēndra-Chōḷa conquest over Vēṅgī and Kaliṅga. Coupled with this, the statement of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates that Rājēndra-Chōḷa, desirous of conquest, reached the Gōdāvarī and bathed in its water, while his powerful general got the water of the Gaṅgā to his master, after defeating Mahīpāla,[2] gave room to doubt if the Chōḷa king's claim to have overrun the countries of northern India was anything more than a tour of pilgrimage.[3] As such, the information furnished in the Kanyākumari record that he destroyed the Kaliṅga king together with the chief of Viṁśa is of very great importance. In this connection, we have also to note that a stone epigraph of Eṇṇāyiram contains interesting information regarding the king's conquest of the northern region, of his stately return march with all the splendour of a victor, of his wedding the Gaṅgā and hence assuming the title Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa. The wording of the inscription indicates that the Chōḷa king was himself engaged in the expedition against the rulers of Northern India (*uttarāpatha*). The most important event of the reign, however, is the burning of Kaṭāha *i. e.* the conquest of Burma,[5] referred to in verse 72. The Chinese work *Sungshih* states *Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-lo i. e.* Rājēndra-Chōḷa sent an embassy to China in A. D. 1033: and it is fairly certain that this embassy should have taken a sea route.[6] The Tamiḷ historical introduction of the king gives a detailed account of his northern and southern expeditions from which it can be gathered that the king himself was engaged in the wars against the several powers, though particular feats might have been performed by individual generals.

Verse 73 of the Kanyākumari inscription settles the relationship that existed between Rājēndra-Chōḷa I and Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra. It states that, like unto the three fires of a sacrifice, there were born to Rājēndra-Chōḷa I three sons of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I. The verses that follow further make it plain that Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra were the younger brothers of this Rājādhirāja I. Though verse 73 is partially damaged, yet from the preserved portion of it, it is seen that Rājādhirāja I destroyed the city of Kalyāṇapura before conquering its overlords. This information agrees with what is recorded of the king in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the *Vikkiramaśōḷaṇulā*.

1 *Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology* in India for 1911-12, p. 171.
2 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. p. 400, v. 119.
3 *Annual Report of the Director General of Archæology in India* for 1911-12, p. 171ff.
4 Madras G. O. No. 1172 Home (Education), dated 6th September 1918, p. 145.
5 This conquest and that of the countries on the Ganges are thus referred to in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*:

களிறு கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணெயிற்
கலவி மண்ணெறிந்து கலவு செம்பொனைக்-
குளிறு தெண்டிரைக் குரை கடாரமும்-
கொண்டு மண்டலங் குடையுள் வைத்ததும்.

Vikkiramaśōḷaṇulā also states that the king sent an army and took possession of the Ganges river and Kaḍāram:

தண்டேவிக்-
கங்கா நதியுங் கடாரமும் கைக்கொண்டு-
சிங்காதனத்திருந்த செம்பியனும்.

6 *Historical Sketches*, p. 257.

From the former, we gather that he set up a pillar of victory at Kampili and defeated the king of Kalyāṇa.[1] Certain stone epigraphs substitute Vijayarājēndra for Rājādhirāja I.[2] At Dārāśuram in the Tanjore district there are two fine stone images of *dvārapālas* with inscribed pedestals stating that Vijayarājēndradēva *i. e.* Rājādhirāja I, brought them after his victorious fight at Kalyāṇapuram.[3] The *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā* speaks of him as the matchless hero who marched thrice against Kalyāṇi and defeated its king. His other achievements are subjugation of the Pāṇḍya kings Mānābharaṇa, Vīrakēraḷa and Sundara-Pāṇḍya; defeat of the Vēṇāḍu king; destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-śālai and the overcoming the three kings of the famous Irāmakuḍam: and the invasion of the island of Ceylon.[4]

From his stone inscriptions we learn that he had a few sons, an elder brother and a paternal uncle (*i. e.* father's younger brother).[5] It is not unlikely that the last mentioned royal relation is referred to in the records of Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva when they state that that king conferred the title of Irumuḍiśōḻaṉ on his father's younger brother, the powerful in war and named Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-śōḻaṉ.[6] This recipient of royal favours from Rājādhirāja I and his younger brother Rājēndradēva must have been a younger brother of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.

The anointment of Rājādhirāja to the Chōḷa sovereignty having taken place in A. D. 1018 (between 15th March and 3rd December)[7] *i. e.* 6 years after his father's coronation which took place in A. D. 1012 (between 27th March and 7th July)[8] and the latter having ruled up to A. D. 1045, he could have become the real ruler of the Chōḷa dominions only in A. D. 1045[9] when his father died and his mother probably committed *sati* on the same day.[10] Stone inscriptions of Rājādhirāja I are all dated between his 26th and 36th years of reign.[11] Most of the events registered in the king's historical introduction must, therefore, have been accomplished already during the days of his father's rule.

1 Verse 26 (Canto. VIII) of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* has.

கம்பிலிச்சயத்தமப நட்டதும்
கடியரண்கொள் கல்லியாணர் கட்டறக்
கிம்புரிப்புணைக்கிரியுகைத்தவன்
கிரிகளெட்டினும் புலி பொறித்ததும்.

and *Vikkiramaśōḻaṉulā* has

வங்கத்தை-
முற்று முரணடக்கி மும்மடிபோய்க் கல்யாணி
செற்றதனியாண்மைச் சேவகனும்.

2 No. 14 of Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

3 No. 24 of the same collection for 1908.

4 *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III. Part I. p. 56f.

5 *Ibid*, p. 53.

6 *Ibid*, p. 59 and 60.

7 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 218.

8 *Ibid* p. 217.

9 His calculated dates range from the 5th to the 31st year of reign: but from other epigraphs it is seen that he ruled up to A. D. 1045.

10 *Annual Report on Madras Epigraphy* for 1916, p. 118.

11 No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

Of Rājēndradēva, nothing more is said in our inscription than that he was the younger brother of Rājādhirāja and that he protected the country after the other had passed away (v. 74). He is reported to have fought the battle of Koppam, to have invaded Ceylon, to have decapitated king Vīraśalāmēgaṇ of Kalinga and to have taken the heroic sons of the king of Ceylon as prisoners. His reign extended from A. D. 1052 (28th May) to 12 years *i. e.* until A. D. 1063-4.[1] He is said to have conferred titles on four younger brothers and six sons. Their names and titles are given in the genealogical table appended below. He had two grandsons also.

Differing from the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Vikkiramaśōḷaṉulā* which introduce immediately after Rājēndradēva, a king, who, according to the other work, caused to be made with gems the serpent couch of the god Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam,[2] the Kanyākumari inscription makes Vīrarājēndra, also called Vīra-Chōḷa and Karikāla-Chōḷa, assume the kingdom immediately after Rājēndradēva (vv.75—76). His victory in the battle of Kūḍalsaṅgama is referred to and he is said to have exercised real sway over the Vēṇigi and Kaliṅga countries, which had not been cared for by his brothers (v. 77), and to have settled 40,000 Brāhmaṇas, learned in the Vēdas, in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāḍi and Kulūta countries. In the short prose portion that comes at the end, Vīrarājēndra is reported to have defeated Āhavamalla several times. In this connection, the contents of his Tamil inscriptions are worth noting. The Chālukyas are there reported to have been first defeated and driven out of Gaṅgavāḍi, the army despatched by them to Vēṅgi destroyed; and lastly, at Kūḍalsaṅgama, the Chōḷa sovereign defeated them. Other kings overcome by Vīrarājēndra are those of Pottappi, Kēraḷa, Jananātha of Dhāra and Pāṇḍya.

Inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra also speak of some of his near relations. A certain Āḷavandān was his elder brother. On him he confered the title of Rājarāja. Perhaps he is identical with Mummdi-Chōḷa, referred to in the records of Rājēndradēva as an younger brother, on whom he bestowed the title of Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya. One of Vīrarājēndra's sons was Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa. He was made a Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya and given the governorship of the Pāṇḍya country. The other was Muḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, who was also known as Sundara-Chōḷa. Whether Adhirājēndra is identical with either of these two sons or was different from them, it is not possible to say.

Thus far we have indicated the line followed by the writer of the Kanyākumari *praśasti* in tracing the mythical ancestry of the solar race and the history of the Chōḷas. And here we have to observe only a few peculiarities noticed in the engraving of this inscription. *Virāma* is marked in several places; omissions of letters occur frequently; indiscriminate use is made of hard consonants in place of the soft and *vice versa*; and *anusvāra* is made to take the place of the final *m* and *vice versa*. Another striking feature is the use of *sandhi* between the last word of the first half of a verse and the initial word of the next.

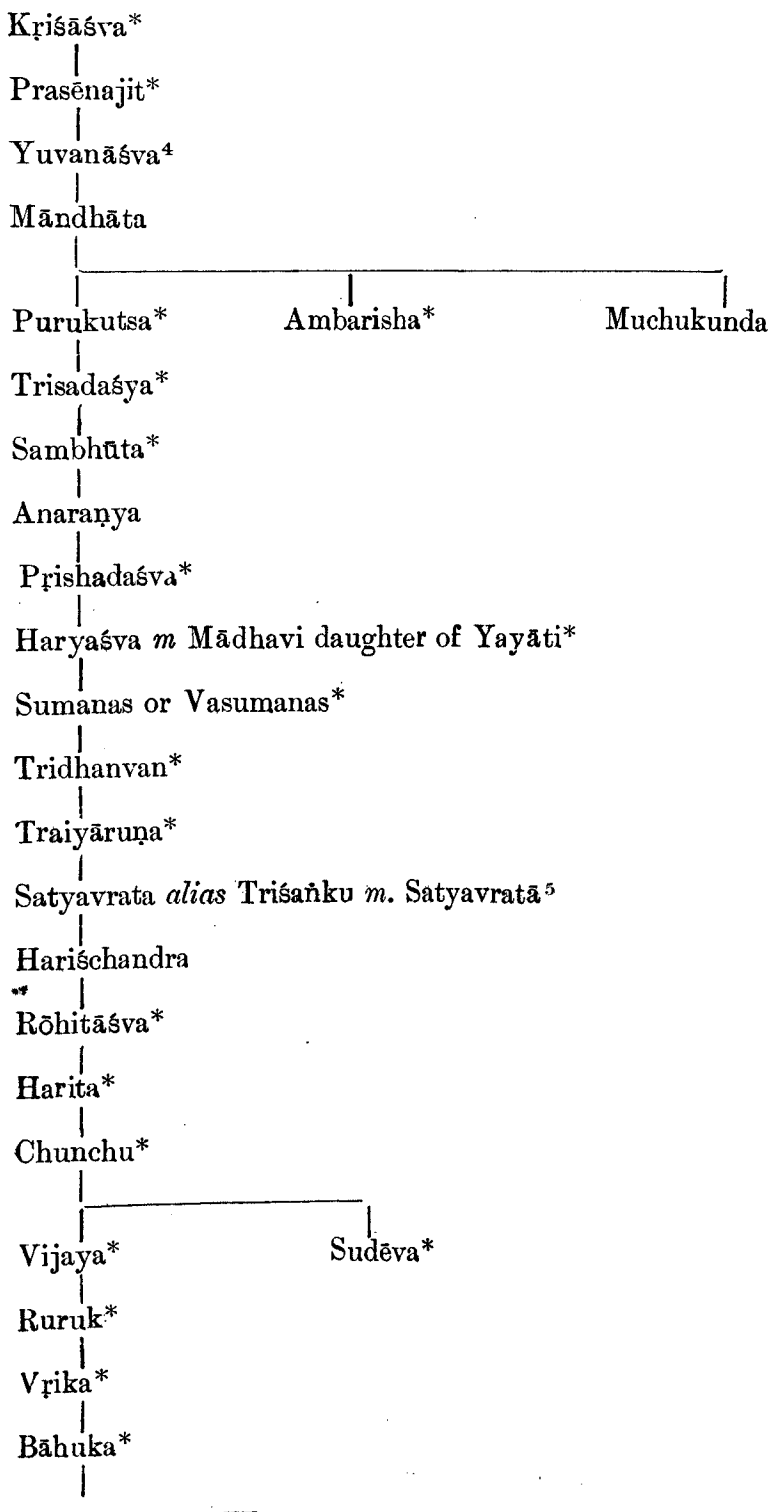
1 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 23.

2 The latter work has "பாடலஞ் ஒளவையுங் பெயற்குப் பல்வளியலாடலும் பய வைத்தகை லும்." See verse 28 of Chap. VII of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*.

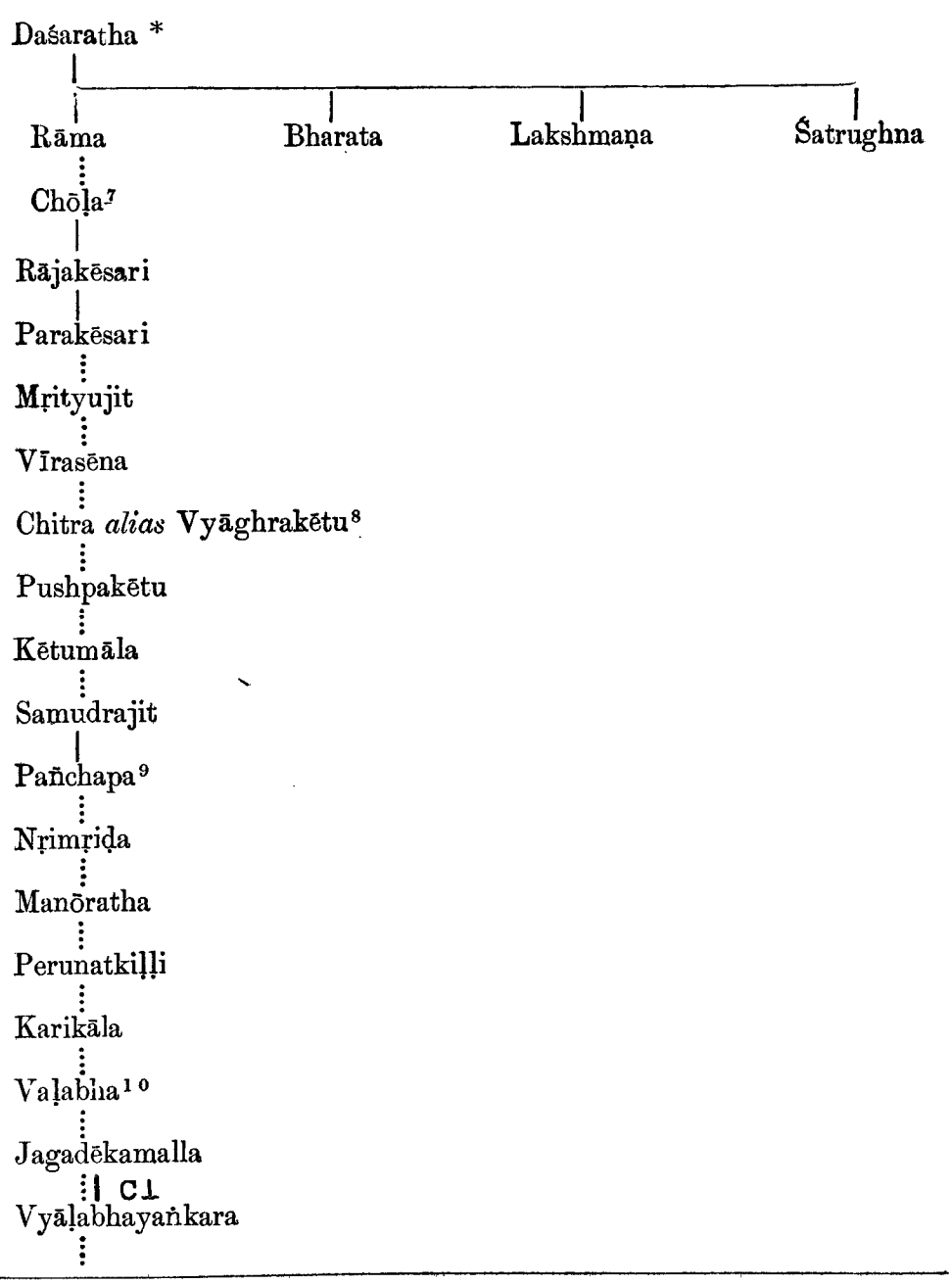
The object of the inscription is to register a gift made by the king, of lands situated in the villages of Naṟṟirākkuḍi and Peruṅguḍi-Kīḻkombu in Puṟattāya-nāḍu, a sub-division of Uttamaśōḻa-vaḷanāḍu, which was a district of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, in favour of the temple of Kanyāpīḍāriyār at Kumari in the same nāḍu.

Pedigree of the Solar race (as followed in this inscription) and of the Chōḷas.

Brahmā
|
Marīchi
|
Kaśyapa
|
Vivasvān[1]
|
Manu
|
Ikshvāku
|
Vikukshiśrava (*alias* Śaśāda)
|
Purañjaya (*alias* Kakutstha)
|
Anēnas*
|
Pṛithu[2]
|
Viśvagaśva*
|
Ārdra*
|
Yuvanāśva*
|
Śravastha*
|
Bṛigadaśva*
|
Kuvalāśva (*alias* Dundhumāra)[3]
|
Dṛiḍāśva*
|
Haryaśva*
|
Nikumbha*
|
Saṁhatāśva*
|


Kṛiśāśva*
Prasēnajit*
Yuvanāśva[4]
Māndhāta
Purukutsa*
Ambarisha*
Muchukunda
Trisadaśya*
Sambhūta*
Anaraṇya
Pṛishadaśva*
Haryaśva *m* Mādhavi daughter of Yayāti*
Sumanas or Vasumanas*
Tridhanvan*
Traiyāruṇa*
Satyavrata *alias* Triśaṅku *m.* Satyavratā[5]
Hariśchandra
Rōhitāśva*
Harita*
Chunchu*
Vijaya*
Sudēva*
Ruruk*
Vṛika*
Bāhuka*

Sagara
|
Asamañjasa and others*
|
Aṁśumān*
|
Dilīpa*
|
Bhagīratha
|
Śruta*
|
Nābhāga*
|
Ambarīsha*
|
Sindhudvīpa*
|
Ayutāśva*
|
Ṛituparṇa
|
Sarvakāma*
|
Sudāsa*
|
Saudāsa *alias* Mitrasaha*
|
Aśmaka*
|
Mūlaka*
|
Daśaratha*
|
Ilvala*
|
Viśvasaha*
|
Dilīpa
|
Dīrghabāhu[6]
|
Raghu*
|
Aja*
|



1 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant begins with this name and mentions the successors up to Purañjaya as in the Kanyākumari inscription with the difference that Vikukshiśrava is called Vikukshi.

2 According to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, Prithu was the son of Vēna who came in the family of Analapratāpa, a lineal descendant of Aryaman, the son of Kakshivat and grandson of Purañjaya *alias* Kakutstha.---

3 Like the Kanyākumari inscription, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates also omit the intervening names between Pṛithu and Kuvalāśva.

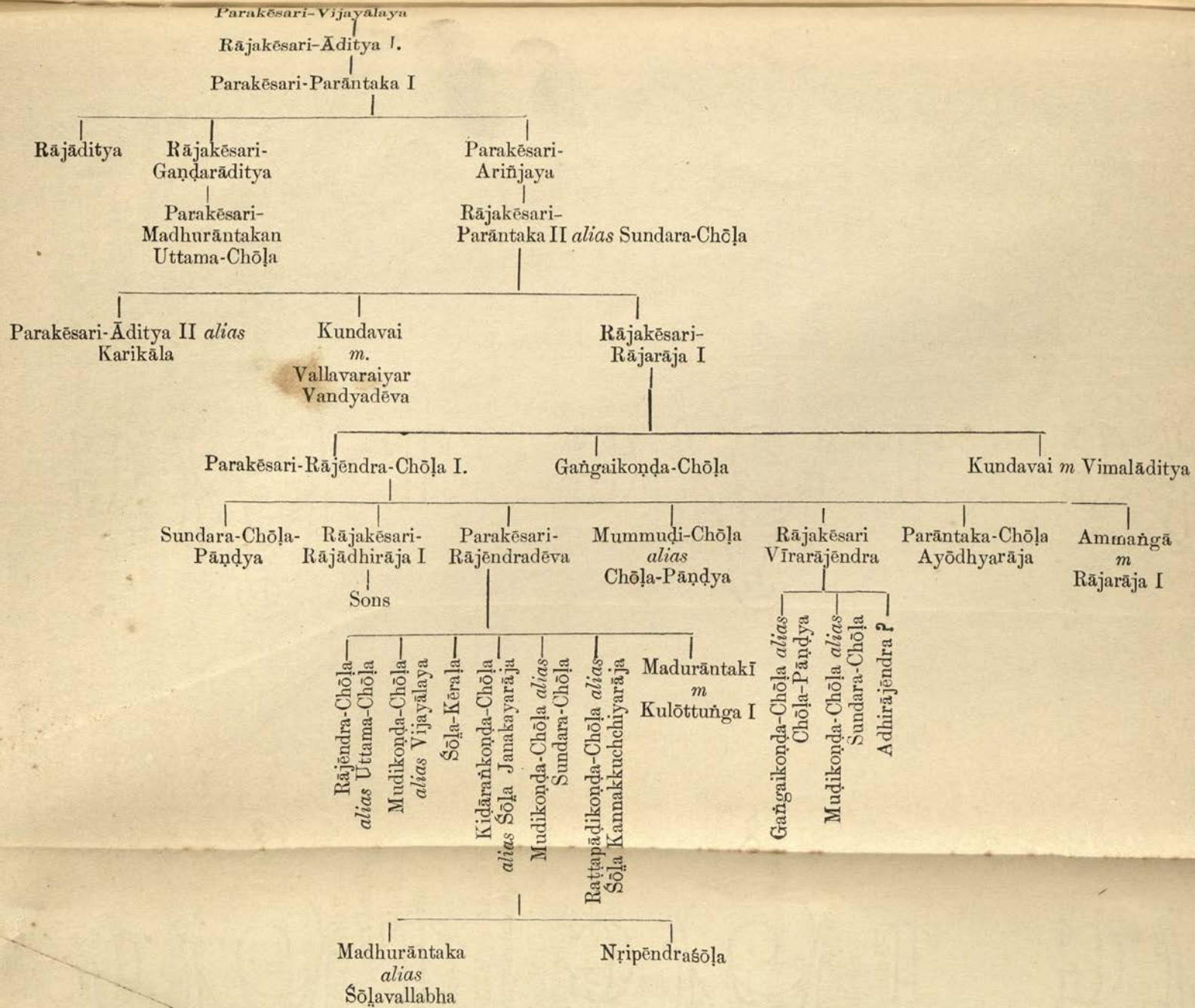
4 This name occurs in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

5 Satyavrata is mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plate which state that Usīnara came in his family, that Śibi was Uśīnara's son, that Marutta was a descendant of Śibi, that Dushyanta came in Marutta's family and that Daushyanti was his son.

6 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates mention Dīrghabāhu but state that he was a lineal descendant of Pārthivachūḍāmaṇi, who was the son of Prithulāksha and grandson of Vaḷabha.

7 Chōḷa is stated to be the son of Bharata and grandson of Daushyanti and great grandson of Dushyanta.

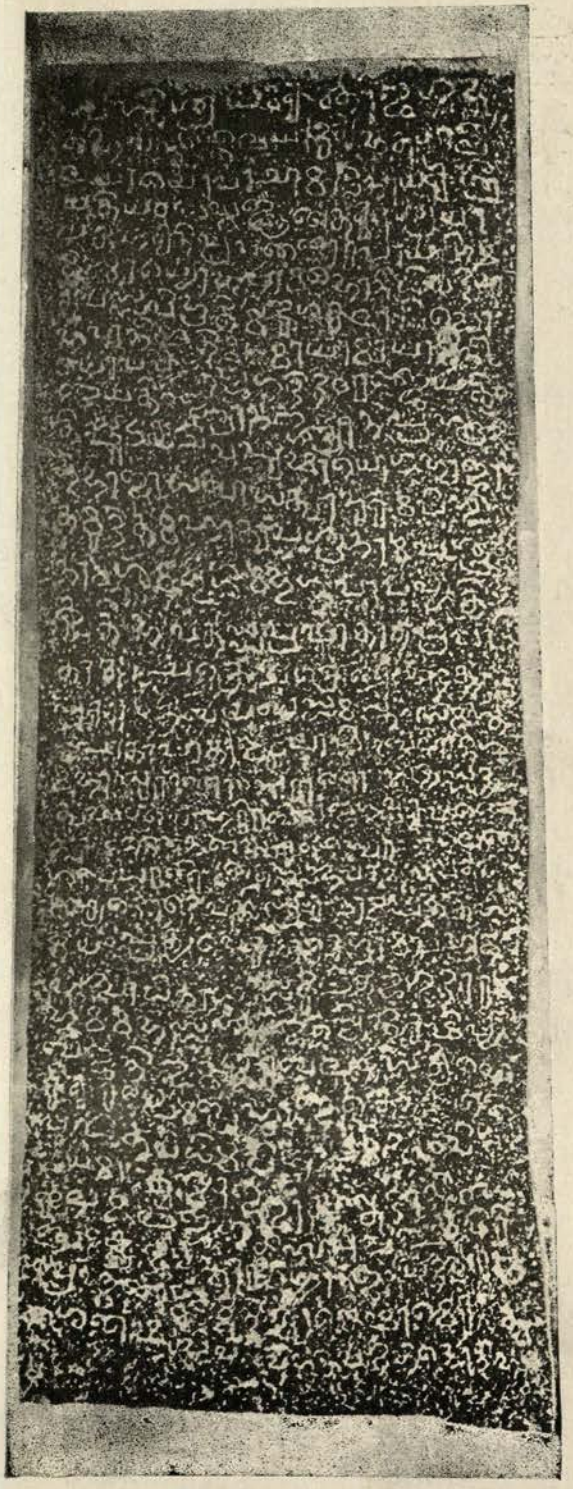
8 The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates make him the son of Parakēsari and state that Chitrāśva and Chitradhanvan were his son and grandson and that Suraguru came in the family of the last.


Parakēsari-Vijayālaya
Rājakēsari-Āditya I.
Parakēsari-Parāntaka I
Rājāditya
Rājakēsari-Gaṇḍarāditya
Parakēsari-Madhurāntakan Uttama-Chōḷa
Parakēsari-Ariñjaya
Rājakēsari-Parāntaka II alias Sundara-Chōḷa
Parakēsari-Āditya II alias Karikāla
Kundavai m. Vallavaraiyar Vandyadēva
Rājakēsari-Rājarāja I
Parakēsari-Rājēndra-Chōḷa I.
Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa
Kundavai m Vimalāditya
Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya
Rājakēsari-Rājādhirāja I
Sons
Parakēsari-Rājēndradēva
Mummuḍi-Chōḷa alias Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya
Rājakēsari Vīrarājēndra
Parāntaka-Chōḷa Ayōdhyarāja
Ammaṅgā m Rājarāja I
Rājēndra-Chōḷa alias Uttama-Chōḷa
Muḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa alias Vijayālaya
Śōḷa-Kēraḷa
Kiḍāraṅkoṇḍa-Chōḷa alias Śōḷa Janakayarāja
Mudikoṇḍa-Chōḷa alias Sundara-Chōḷa
Raṭṭapāḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa alias Śōḷa Kannakkuchchiyarāja
Madurāntakī m Kulōttuṅga I
Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa alias Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya
Muḍikoṇḍa-Chōḷa alias Sundara-Chōḷa
Adhirājēndra ?
Madhurāntaka alias Śōḷavallabha
Nṛipēndraśōḷa

(To face page 129.

First pillar.

a



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b

V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Text.

First pillar: first side.

1 स्वस्ति श्री[: ॥*] यः कर्ता जगदु-
2 [1]त्भव[स्थि]तिलया[नु]त्भूतया[2] ली-
3 लया यो वाचामधिनायकश्च-
4 यति यं सर्वज्ञतैकाश्रया [।*]
5 यत्[3]भक्तिप्रवणैरपायविष-
6 मस्ताय्यों भवाम्भोनिधिर्देया-
7 त् [4]वस्स विभूतिमिन्दुशकलापीडो
8 भवानीपतिः ॥—[१*][5] मायामाया[मि]नीं[6]
9 यो वहति जगदिदं रञ्जयन्तीं
10 जयन्तीं[7] ज्ञानाज्ञानप्रसू-
11 ति[8]स्फुटरुचिवपुषा योगभाजा-
12 गभाजा [।*] सत्वासत्वानुकम्पी हि-
13 तमुदितमहा[ता]पशूनांम्[9] पशू-
14 नाम्[9] शम्भुन[10]म्भुग्नपापव्यति-
15 कृति भवतस्सप्रपातात् प्रपा-
16 तात् ॥—[२*][11] चक्रे चक्रेण दैत्य-
17 प्रकरमतिबलं यस्समस्तं समस्त-
18 [म्] पाता पातालभूलाहि[त]बलिरनिश-
19 म् भासुराणां सुराणां[12] [।*] सद्यस्स द्य-
20 त्वघं [वो] हरिरखिलजगद्रक्षणे-

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1 Read °दुद्भव.

2 Read °नुद्भूतया.

3 Read यद्भक्ति.

4 Read र्देयाद्वः

5 Metre: Śardūlavikrīdita.

6 The *anusvāra* mark is engraved twice, once at the end of this line and again at the beginning of the next.

7 The length of **ना** is entered on the top of **न**.

8 Read **प्रसूतिं**.

9 Read **पशूनां**.

10 Read **इशम्भु**.

11 Metre: Sragdharā. This is also the metre of the verses 3 to 9.

12 Change the *anusvāra* into final.

21 न क्षणेन स्वैरं स्वैरं[श]लेशै-[1]
22 [रिव ध]रणिगतैस्समभवत्भिर्भवत्भिः[2]
23 ॥—[३*] आदौ देवस्सिसृक्षामुपनतस-
24 मयः प्रत्यवे[क्षा][3]मदभ्राम् बिभ्रत्[4]
25 विश्वाधिनाथस्समु[चि]तजगदारम्-
26 भमम्भस्स[स]र्ज्ज [।*] तस्मिन्निक्षिप्य
27 बीजं निजमजमखिलं स त्रिलो-
28 कीकरण्डम् ब्रह्माण्डन्तेन [चक्रे]
29 व्याधित विधिमपि स्रष्टुमिष्टं वि-
30 धेयम्[5] ॥—[४*] तस्माज्जातस्तदानीं स
31 कलमपि जगत्सप्रपञ्चं विरि-
32 ञ्चः [कृत्वा] दुर्वारवीर्यानजनयदपरा[न्]
33 ब्रह्मणः कर्मनिष्ठा[6]न्तेषामेक[स्तु]-
34 शेषैरपि . . . . . वर्गभिद्योनिस-

First pillar: second side.

35 [7]श्रीर्व्वि[ष्व]ग्रोचिर्म्मरीचिस्त्रिभुवन-
36 (न) [भवनात्] सञ्चकासाञ्चकार
37 (र) ॥—[५*] तस्मा[द्वि]स्मेरपत्मासन[8]नयन-
38 चयस्पष्टदृष्टोर्ज्जितश्रीश्रे-
39 यस्समृपत्तिभाजां न्धुरि[9] गणितगु-
40 णः काश्यपः पश्यकोभूत् [।*] अ-
41 न्योन्योन्मर्दनेन श्रियमिह दध-
42 तो यत्प्रसूतास्सुराद्या नि[र्व्या]ज-[10]
43 [11]न्निर्जयन्ति प्रचुरमुपचितानम्बु-

1 The *ai* symbols alone are at the end of this line; श्र is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
2 Read भवद्भिर्भवद्भिः.
3 Read प्रत्यपेक्षा.
4 Read बिभ्रद्.
5 The *ē* sign of धे is at the end of the preceding line.
6 Read कर्मनिष्ठान् । तेषां.
7 Read श्रीर्विष्वग्रोचिर्मरीचि.°
8 Read पद्मासन.
9 Read धुरि.
10 Read निर्व्याजं.
11 Read निर्जयन्ति.

राशेस्तरंगान्[1] ॥—[६*] तस्माज्जात-
स्तदानीं [स]मयकृतसम[2]स्वैः प्र-
भावैरुदारैर्विश्वत्राणप्रवी-
णैस्सततमतितरान्निर्जयन् [स्वां][3]
विवस्वान् [।*] निद्रामुद्राविभेदं प्रथ-
मम[नु]भवन्यन्मयूखाभिमर्शाद्धातु-
र्वक्त्राविन्दैस्सह सकळगुरो-
स्स[द्म]प[द्म]श्रकाशे ॥—[७*] यस्योदस्यत्-[4]
भिरारादवतमसततिव्यातैरंशु-[5]
जालैर्भास्वत्कार्त्तस्वराण्डम् (प्र)
प्रथममभिगळत्कालिमेवां[6](म्)ब-
भासे [।*] यत्बिम्बः[7] कर्णिकात्वन्निव-[8]
हति किरणैः केसरैराहि-
तश्रीरुत्गाढैर्द्दिग्दळौघै-[9]
रुप[र*]चितरुचो व्योमपंके-[10]
रुहस्य ॥—[८*] एतस्याभूत्तनूजो
मनुरमलतनुर्भूभुजाम् बीजमाद्य[11]
येनैकान्तेन योगान्मुनिभिरभि-
हिता मानवीयं प्रजेति [।*] लोका-
नामेकवन्द्यः प्रविदधदतुलं शर्म-

1 Read °स्तरङ्गान्.
2 Read समयकृदसमः.
3 We have perhaps to correct स्वां into स्वान्.
4 Read °दस्यद्भि.°
5 Read °ततिं व्याततै.°
6 Read कालिकेवा.°
7 Read यद्बिम्बः.
8 Read °त्वं निव.°
9 Read °रुद्गाढैर्दिग्द.°
10 Read पङ्के.
11 Read °माद्यं.

64 [1]धर्म्मप्रपचैर्भास्वान् भास्वत्-
65 सुतत्वात् पितरमिह[2] सुतं यं प्र-
66 काशीचकार ॥—[९*] तस्येक्ष्वाकुरभूद्यशो-
67 [3]भिरमलैर्दिक्ष्वाततैश्शोभितस्सू-
68 नु . . . . भूभृतां सुरगणैर्य्यत्की-[4]
69 [र्त्तिरुद्गी]यते[।*] यस्यामित्रनराधिराजवि-

Second pillar: first side.

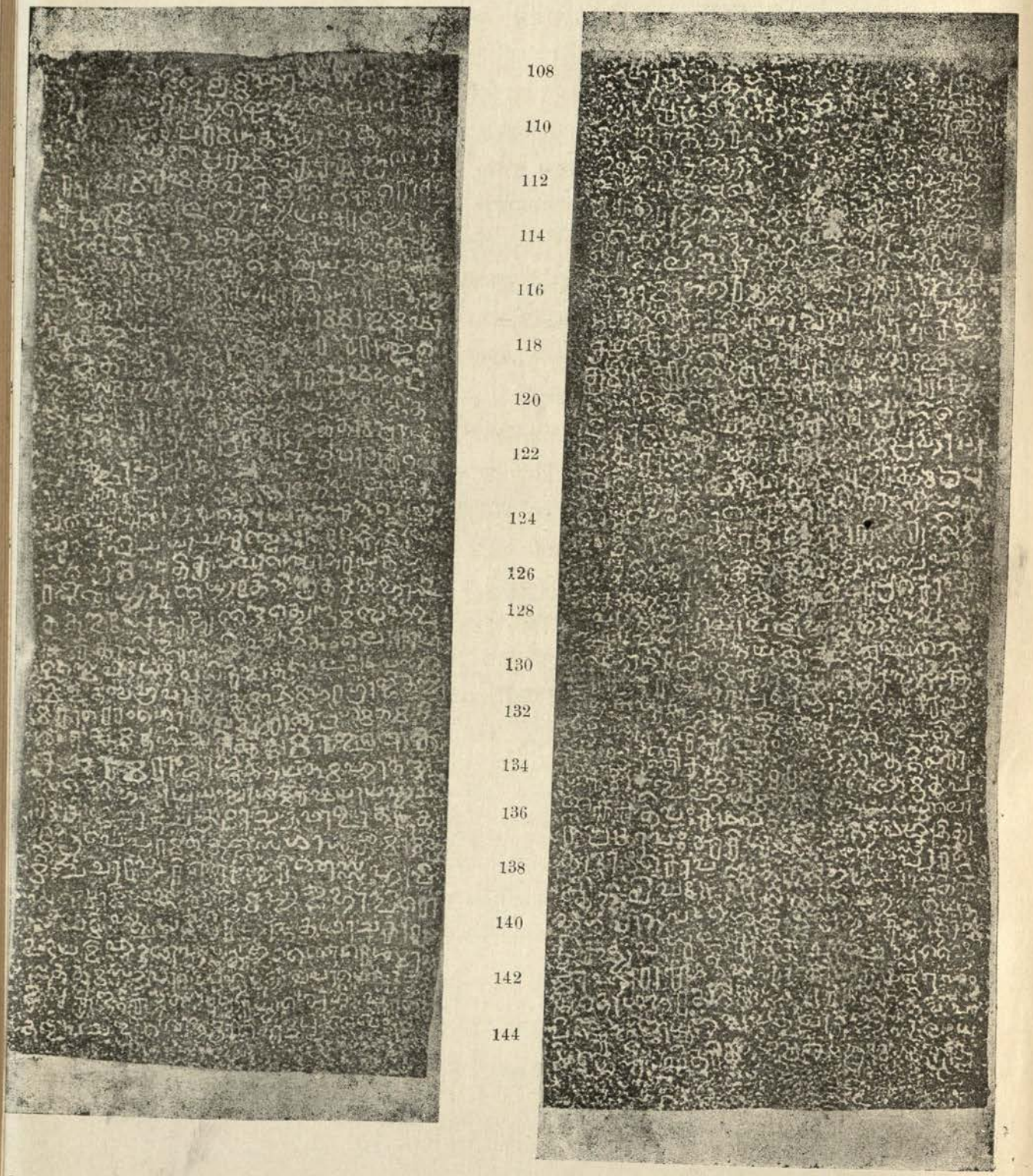
70 रहाजैत्रम्महस्सर्वतो [दृष्टा-
71 ति]प्रसरं व्यजेष्ट बलव[न्मि]त्र-
72 स्य तेजः परम् ॥—[१०*][5] तस्याभूत्तनयस्स-
73 मुन्नतनयः प्रेक्षी विकुक्षिश्रवो
74 रक्षामक्षतविक्रमस्समकरोत्
75 क्ष्मामण्डलस्यास्य यः[।*] अन्योन्य-
76 प्रविमर्द्दनेन महती या पार्थिवै-
77 र्लभ्यते तां [सू]ते श्रियमश्रमं क्षि-
78 [ति]भृतां यत्[पा]दयोरानति[ः*]॥—[११*] पुत्रस्तस्य
79 पुरञ्जयस्स[मभवत् सं]ग्राममाजन्मुषां[6]
80 जेता [भू]मिभुजांञ्जिगीषुरसुराञ्ज[7]
81 ञे[8] स मान्यस्ततः । ज[म्भ]रिं वृषभं वि-
82 धाय ककु[दि स्थूले]स्य [9]यस्संस्थित-
83 [स्तद्वैरधिक]प्रमोदगतिताम्[10] प्राप्तः
84 ककुस्थाभिधाम् ॥—[१२*] पृथुर्बभूवात्र कुले

1 Read धर्मप्रपञ्चै°.
2 Correct मिह into मिव.
3 Read °मलैर्दि.°
4 Read गणैर्यत्की. The syllable र्य्य looks like त्य in the original.
5 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. This is also the metre of verses 11 and 12.
7 Delet the *anusvāra*.
6 Read जग्मुषां. The anusvāra is in the next line.
8 The *e* sign of ञे is at the end of the preceding line. Read जन्ये.
9 Read यत्सं°
10 Read गदितां

(To face page 132.

Second pillar.

a *b*



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brahmanya Aiyer.

85 [कुलाद्रि]णा समस्तमस्तावनिपालवन्दितः [।*]
86 विवे[क]धुस्तन्नृपतौ सनन्दधुन्न[1] वेष-
87 [1]धुन्नापि च याचधुञ्जनः[2] ॥—[3][१३*][अ]मु[ष्मि]न्वं-
88 [शे]भून्म[ह]ति कुवलाश्वो नरपतिर्ह-
89 [रिद्वी] यैंद्धुर्धुयैंरतिनिभृतमुत्भासित[4]
90 तनुः[।*] स धुन्धुन्दैत्येन्द्रम् बहळ-
91 सिकतासिन्धुपिहितं हितं लोकाया-
92 स्मै विदधदवधीदुद्धतबलः ॥—[5][१४*]वंशे-
93 स्मिन्नुत्बभूवात्भुत[6]महिमभरभ्राजितस्या[7]-
94 मरारेरंशो विश्वंभरार्त्तिप्रशमनमनि-
95 शं कर्त्तुमुत्सिद्धकीर्त्तिः[।*] मान्धाता[8]
96 नाम राजा जननयनमहान्नन्द[9]
97 सं[दो]हजायी[10] यस्याधर्म्मक्षयाय व्यच-
98 रदतिजवात् चक्रमाचक्रवाळात् ॥—[11][१५*] त-
99 [स्मि]न्नृपे परमतेजसि शासतीमाम् भू-
100 मिश्चचार हरिणा हरिणस्सहापि [।]
101 सर्वो मिथस्सहजमप्यजभाद्विरो-[12]
102 धन्धर्म्मस्त्वधर्म्मविरहान्न तथा चकार ॥—[13][१६*]
103 उदयमिह दधानस्सत्गुणैरेधमान-[14]
104 सततमसदपाये वृद्धिमत्यन्ववाये[।*][उद]जनि

1 Read °धुर्न.
2 Read धुर्जनः.
3 Metre: Vamśastha.
4 Read धुर्यैं and °मुद्भासित.
5 Metre: Sikharini.
6 Read °न्नुद्भभूवाद्भुत.
7 The length of या in भ्राजितस्य is in the next line.
8 The length of ता is in the next line.
9 Read महानन्द
10 Read दायी
11 Metre: Sragdharā.
12 Read °जहा°
13 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
14 Read °स्सद्गुणै°.

105 मुचुकुन्दः कुन्दगौरैर्यशोभिः परिण-
106 त इव चन्द्रः शोभमानो मयूखैः ॥—[1][१७*]

Second pillar: second side.

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109 . . . . . .
110 . . . . . .
111 . . . . . .
112 . . . . न्नृप[स्तेषां स्व]र्गमतीव दुर्ग-
113 मकरोद्युद्धे ह[ता]नामपि ॥—[2][१८*] अस्मिन्वं-[3]
114 शे भवदभिभवन्नोजसा राज-
115 बृन्दं लब्धानन्दस्समेतिषु हरिश्च-
116 न्द्रनामा नरेन्द्रः[।*] दित्सामेकान्दधदपि
117 नयन् कोशिकीयान्धनायां स्वं व्य-
118 क्रीणात्तृणमिव तथा यस्सुपुत्रं कळ-
119 त्रम् ॥—[4][१९*] आसीदत्रान्ववाये सगर इति[नृ]-
120 पस्तार्जितशेषभूपो येनार[ब्धे]-
121 पि कामं हयमखनिकरे त्रासितो
122 देवराजः[।*] यत्पुत्राणाम्प्रभावा-
123 ल्लवणजलनिधौ सागरत्वं प्रप-
124 न्ने शेषाणां वारिधीनामपि [सक]-
125 . . . स्सागरत्वञ्चकार ॥—[5][२०*] आसीद-
126 त्र [भ]गी[र*]थः क्षितिपतिर्वंशे स्ववं-
127 [6][शो]द्भवानुद्धर्तुं कपिलप्रकोप-

1 Metre: Mālini.
2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
3 The *anusvāra* is in the next line.
4 Metre: Mandākrānta.
5 Metre: Sragdharā.
6 The ē sign of शो is at the end of the preceding line.

128 [दह]नज्वालावलीभस्मितान् [।*] स्व[स्सि]-
129 न्धुं वसुधान्नयन्त्रिपथगां[1] चक्रे
130 स भागीरथीं मर्त्यानप्यमृतान्व्यधात्
131 सुरसरित्वारि[2]प्रवाहास्पृशः ।।—[3][२१*] अन्व-
132 येत्र सुमहत्यवतीर्ण(:)[स्स]र्वभूपतिगु-
133 णैः परिपूर्ण्णः[।*] [सञ्ज]नस्तुति[विरा]-
134 जि[तव]र्ण्ण[:*] क्ष्मामर[क्षद]खिलामृ[तु]प-
135 र्ण्णः ।।—[4][२२*] इह समजनि भूपः सर्वलो-
136 कैकतीपः[5] क्षपि[तभुवनता]पश्शातिता-
137 रिप्रतापः[।*] अरि[युवतिविला]पस्पारि-[6]
138 तोद्दामकोप[स्सततवि]जयि[चा][प*]स्फीतकी-
139 र्त्तिर्द्दिलीपः[7] ।।—[२३*][8]अस्मि[न्नंशच]तु[ष्ट]येन
140 भगवान् वंशेज[निष्ट] प्रभुः [क्लि]ष्टां
141 [वी]क्ष्य वसुन्धरामतिबलैर्द्धृष्टै-
142 [9][र्म्माहाराक्षसैः] [।*] [रामो लक्ष्म]णसं-
143 युतोथ भरतश्श[त्रुघ्न] युक्त[स्सुतद्वन्द्वं]
144 विष्णुभुजायुगद्वयतुला[मू]र्ज्जस्वलं य-
145 द्ययौ ।।—[10] [२४*] पितरि त[नय] वृत्तं भ्रातृषु भ्रातृ-

Third pillar: first side.

146 वृत्तम्[11] युवतिषु पतिवृ[त्तम्][11] शत्रवे[12]
147 शत्रुवृताम्[11] [।*]मुनिषु तृपतिवृ[त्त[13]

1 Read **नयंस्त्रिपथगां.**
2 Read **द्वारि.**
3 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
4 Metre: Svāgatā.
5 Read **दीपः.**
6 Read **स्फारितो.** the ē symbol of **तो**, which occurs in the next line, is entered in this line.
7 Read **कीर्तिर्दिलीपः.**
8 Metre: Mālini.
9 Read: °**र्धृष्टैर्महा**°
10 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
11 Read **वृत्तं.**
12 **व** is entered at the beginning of the next line.
13 Read **नृपति.**

148 म्][1] बान्धवे बन्धुवृत्तं सकल[म-]
149 खिलनाधः[2] शिक्षवामासा[3] लोक[म्] ॥—[4][२५*]
150 न क्रोधेन जघान राक्ष[सप]तिं का-
151 [5]मेन न प्रेयसीं स प्रत्याहृतवान्म-
152 हीशचरितं कात्स्न्र्येन चक्रे परम् [।*]
153 नो चेत्किन्तपसि स्थितं स म-
154 लये शूद्रं जघानासिना किं
155 वानत्ययकान्तिधृ . प[चि]तान्त[त्या*]
156 ज सीतां [द्रु]त[म्] ॥—[6][२६*] सेतुं नेतुं क-
157 पिबलमसौ ब(ल)न्धयन्नेकम-
158 ब्धौ चक्रे वक्रेतरगुणनिधिर्द्ध-[7]
159 र्मसे[तून]शेषान् [।*] केतुं हेतुं वि-[8]
160 बुधविपदां व्यापदान्दानवीनां रामं
161 कामं कथयति जनस्सत्गुण[।*]नान्निधानं[9] ॥—[10] [२७*]
162 अस्मिन्वं[शे*][11] जनि विदलयन्नोजसा[रा]जबृ-
163 न्द[ञ्चो]ळो नाम क्षितिपतिरतिस्फीतराज-
164 न्यकालः [।*] यस्याशे[षा]मव[नि]मवतो[12]
165 राजधानीमिव स्वां लीलोद्या-
166 [13]नैस्तुलनम[दधन्सर्वतः का]ननानि ॥—[२८*]
167 विहरन् स हरप्रभः कदाचिन्मुनिबृन्दा-[14]

1 Read वृत्तं.
2 Read नाथः. The ध looks almost like श in the original.
3 Read शिक्षयामास.
4 Metre: Mālini.
5 The ē symbol of *mē* is in the pervious line.
6 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
7 Read निधिर्धर्मं.
8 वि looks like पि.
9 Read सद्गुणानां निधानम्.
10 Metre: Mandākrānta. This is also the metre of verse 28.
11 The ē sign alone of this letter is seen in the original.
12 The length of the letter तो is in the next line.
13 The *ai* symbol of *nai* is at the end of the preceding line.
14 The secondary *ā* symbol is engraved in the next line.

(To face page 136.

Third pillar.

a

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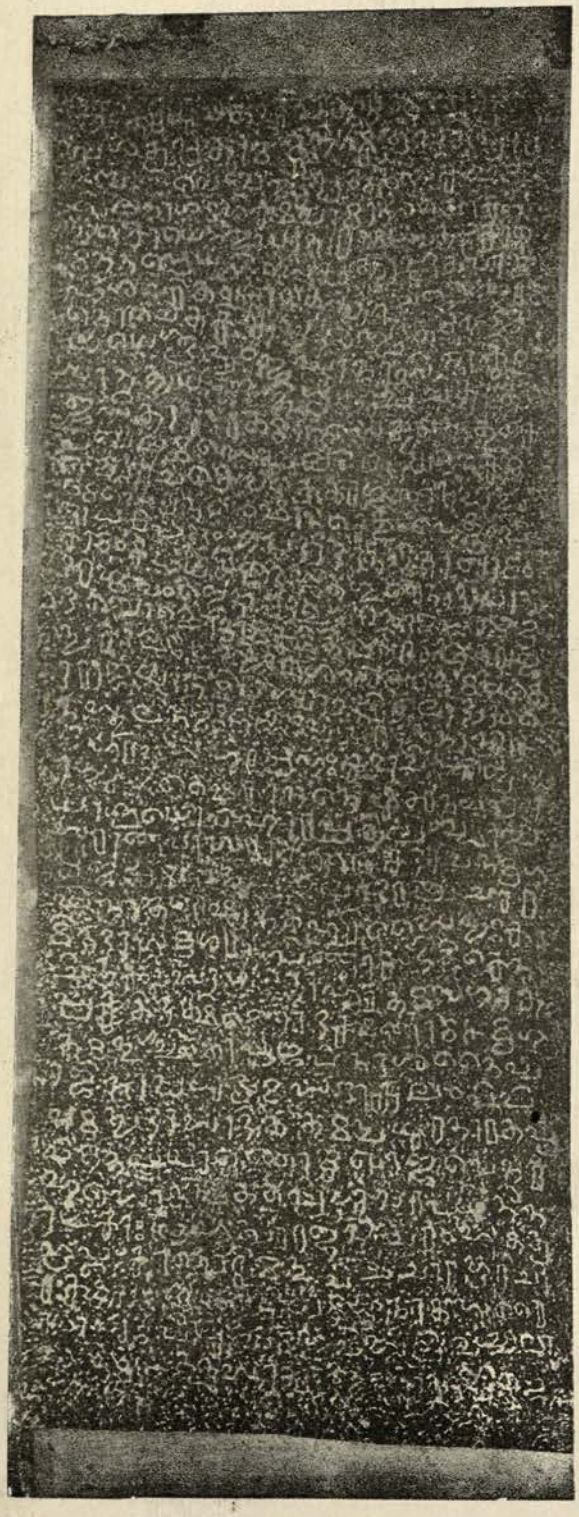

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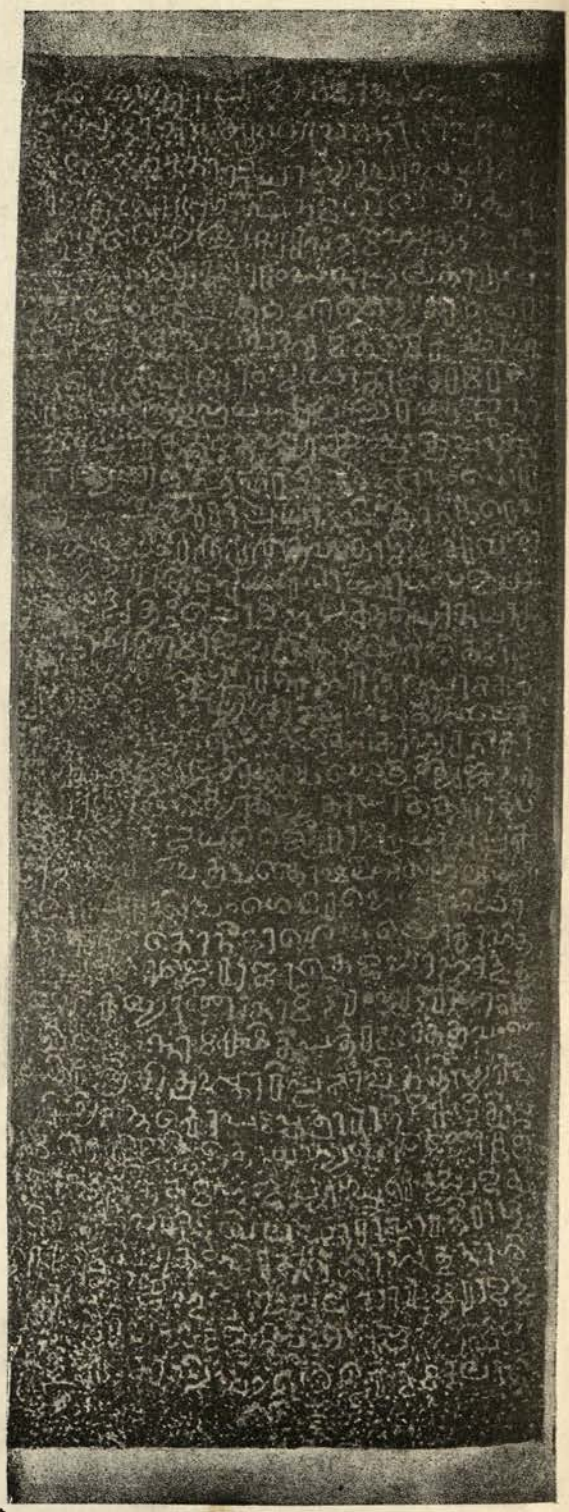

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168 ध्यु[षि]तेषु काननेषु [।*] अनयद्विबु-
169 धाश्रयो विहारप्रतिलब्धाव-
170 सराणि वासरा[णि] ॥—[1] [२९*] कदाचन मृग-
171 व्रजप्रमथनप्रभुल्लादरञ्चचार[2]
172 विपिनान्तरेष्वनतिभूरिसैन्यः [क्ष]-
173 मी [।*] तदा स मृगरूपिणा झटिति केन-
174 चिद्रक्षसा [हृतो] हरितमन्वगात्
175 प्रकृतिदक्षिणो दक्षिणाम् ॥—[3][३०*] मृग-
176 न्तमनु[ग]च्छता प्रजविना शनैर्वा[4]
177 जिना पृथुद्रुमसमाकुलं विपि-
178 नमन्यदासादित[5] [।*] [6]न्तमन्वयुरनारतं प्र-
179 विततप्रयाणोन्मुखा जवेन र-
180 भसोत्पतत्पृथुवरूथिनीना-[7]
181 यकाः ॥—[३१*] तं हत्वा रजनिचरं स तत्र-
182 भूपः कावेरीमनुविचचार भूरिचा-
183 [रः*] क्षीराम्भोनिधिमथनात् सुरै-
184 रवाप्तम् पीयूषं(म्)भुवि सलिलच्छला-
185 [द्वहन्तीम्] ॥—[8][३२*] तत्र[स्था]त्वा . . . . र्थद्वजे-[9]

Third pillar: second side.

186 [भ्यो] नापश्यत्तान्वश्यचित्त-
187 स्तदानीम् [।*] आर्यावर्त्ताद्विप्रवर्या-
188 [नेनका]नानीयाध्यावासयामा-

1 Metre: Aupachchhandasika.
2 Read **प्रफुल्लादरश्चचार**. The length of **चा** looks like **र**.
3 Metre: Prithvi. This is also the metre of verse 31.
4 The length of **वा** is in the next line.
5 Read **सादितम्**.
6 Read **त** instead of **न्त**.
7 The length of **ना** is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
8 Metre: Praharshani.
9 Read **द्विजै°**.

189 [स] तीरे ॥—[1][३३] विपिनमखिलं श्वित्वा[2]
190 पूगैश्चकार वनम्महत्तदनु वि-
191 [दधे] धीरस्सारं सनागलताकुल-
192 [मू] [।*] उपवनचयैरन्यैः [3]कवेर-
193 [सुता] तटद्वयवसुमतीमेकच्छाया-
194 [मनेक]फलां व्यधात् ॥—[4][३४*] अमरस-
195 रि[ति ख्या]नम् भूयस्तपश्चरणज्ञना
196 [विद]धति तटे तस्याः कृच्छ्रात् त्रिविष्टप-
197 काम्यया [।*] इह विरचितं स्नानं [घोरं]
198 तपश्च सुरालयादपि शुभतरे व[ा-
199 से व*]ासं स्थिरीकुरुते सताम् ॥—[३५*] अन्वशा-
200 [त्त]मनु राजकेसरी वासराधिप इवा-
201 [सम]द्युतिः [।*] चोळभूपतनयो नया[त्][5]
202 [क्षो]णिमाजलधि तापिताहितः ॥—[6][३६]
203 त[स्सुत]स्तु परकेसरी नृपो मत्स-
204 [री तम]निवार्यशासनः [।*] सत्सखः
205 . . . पालयन्मही . . तासुरनिका-
206 [मवि]क्रमः ॥—[३७*] अस्मिवंशे मृत्युजिन्ना-
207 म राजा [मृ]त्योर्जेता पातितारातिव-
208 [र्गः ।*] जज्ञे यज्ञैराज्ञया च प्रका-[7]
209 म[न्देवांच्छत्रू]न्तोषयन्[8] श्रेषयं-
210 [श्र] ॥—[9][३८*] अस्मिन्वंशे वीरसेनाभिधा-
211 [नो जा]तो नीताशे[ष] लोकाहित-
212 [श्र] [।*] रेजे राजा तेजसा भानुतु-

1 Metre: Śālinī.
2 Read **छित्वा**.
3 Before this, a word with two long syllables is omitted.
4 Metre: Hariṇī. This is also the metre of the next verse.
5 Two syllables are missing after **नयात्** in the original.
6 Metre: Rathōddhata. This is also the metre of the next verse.
7 The length of **का** is at the commencement of the next line.
8 Read °**च्छत्रूंस्तोषयन्**.
9 Metre: Śālini. This is also the metre of the next verse.

213 [ल्यः] कल्याणानाम्मन्दिरं सुन्दरांगः[1] ॥—[३९*]
214 चि[त्रो]न्नाम[2] क्षितिपतिरभूत्तत्र वंशे-
215 धिकश्रीर्वित्रस्तारिप्रक[र]विनतिव्यक्त-
216 विच्छिन्नकोपः [।*] वृत्रारातिर्ज्झटिति[3] स-
217 मरे तर्जितो यस्य बाणैर्म्मित्री-[4]
218 [भू]त[स्स]ततमभजद् व्याघ्रकेतुध्वजत्व-
219 [म्] ॥—[5][४०*] अवनिमखिलपारावारतीराभि-
220 रा[मे] विरतिमविरतश्रीश्शासितुन्नाशि-
221 [तारिः] [।*] निजभुजबललीलाकृष्टराजन्य-
222 [लक्ष्मी]रिह समजनि वंशे भूपति[ः पु*]ष्प-
223 केतुः[6] ॥—[7][४१*] अस्मिन्वंशे केतुमालाभि-

Fourth pillar: first side.

224 धानो जातो राजा जातश्रम्[पाग्र]-
225 काशः [।*] हृत्वा सर्वक्ष्माभृतां [केतु]-
226 मालां येनावाप्तं केतुमालाभि-
227 धानम् ॥—[8] [४२*] समुद्रजिन्नाम नरा[धिनराजो]-[9]
228 [भुवं] . . . . . वीर्यः [।*] पूर्वापरा-
229 म्भोनिधिमिश्रणेन [पण्ये]न . . .
230 शसुतां [स]लो[भः] ॥—[10] [४३*] श्रीमत्यत्र कुले
231 बभूव महितश्रीः पञ्चपाख्यो नृ[पो]
232 निर्व्याजातिथिपूजनोर्ज्जितमना यक्षा[11]
233 न् स पञ्चातिथीन् [।*] विद्वा पञ्च[सि]रा-
234 स्स्वशोणितमसौ तैर्याचित[स्साद]-

1 Read सुन्दराङ्गः.
2 Read चित्रो नाम.
3 Read झेटिति.
4 Cancel one of the म's.
5 Metre: Mandākrāntā.
6 The ō of के is at the end of the preceding line.
7 Metre; Mālinī.
8 Metre: Śālinī.
9 The letters in brackets are written over an erasure. The length of जो is engraved in the next line.
10 Metre: Upajāti.
11 The length of क्षा is in the next line.

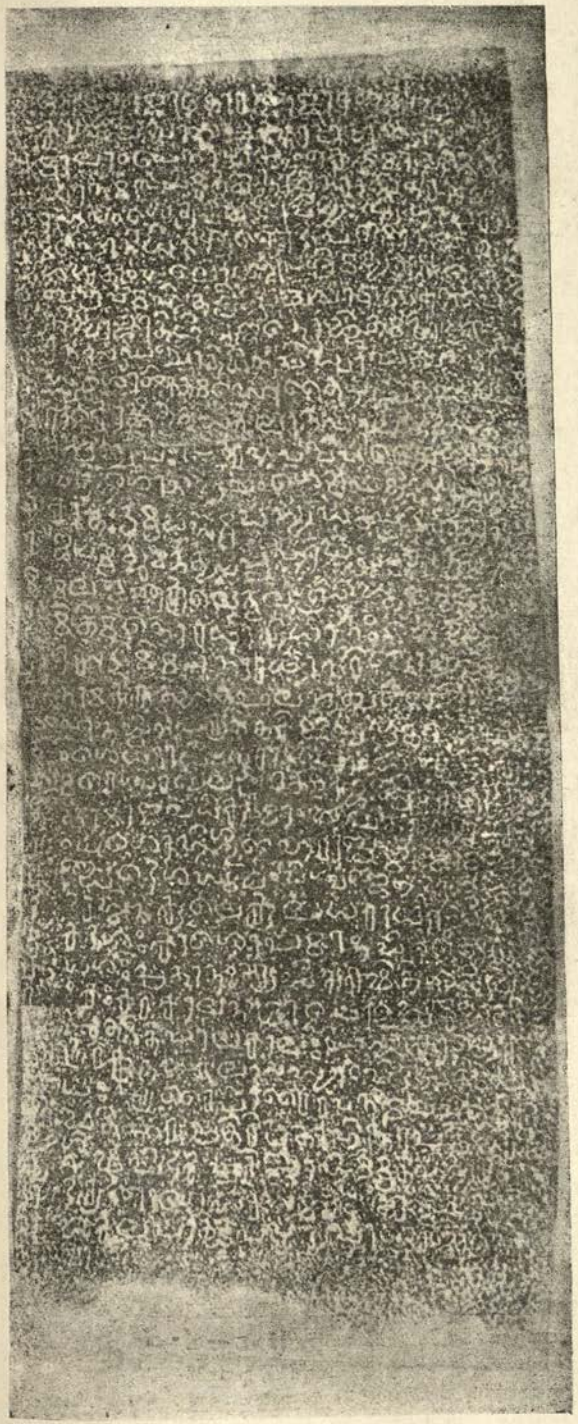
235 [1]रं कोष्णन्तत् सकलानपाय[य*]त यत्[ख्या*]तस्तु
236 [त*]त् पञ्चपः ॥—[2] [४४*] अभवन्विभ[वै]र्ज्ज-[3]
237 यन्दिगीशानिह वंशे नृपतिस्सु[धां]शु-
238 कान्तः [।*] नृमृडस्स मृडस्य सम्प्रसा[दाद]-
239 जयन्मृत्युमनत्ययप्रभावः ॥—[4] [४५*] अत्रा[भूद]-
240 मलगुण[ः*] कुलेतुलश्रीस्तेज[स्वी स]-
241 मिति मनोरथाभिधानः [।*] [यो हत्वा]
242 झटिमि[5] मनोरथानरीणाम् . .
243 नामकुरुत सत्फलात् बलेन ॥—[6] [४६*]
244 एतस्मिन्परुनत्किळिप्रभृत[यो वं]-[7]
245 शे धराधीश्वरा भूयांसस्तु [जिता]-
246 मरेश्वरबलश्रीविक्रमा जज्ञिरे [।*] ये-
247 षामाजलधिक्षमां[8] सपतनव्याप्तं[9]
248 यशोभिश्शुभैराब्रह्माण्डमख-
249 ण्डदेशसमयं [10]विश्वन्जग[द्रा]जते ॥—[11] [४७*]
250 अस्मिन्कुले कुलधराधरस[न्नि]-
251 काशः काशोपमान[[12]विततोरु]-
252 यशःप्रतानः [।*] आसीत् क्षितीशतिल-
253 [13]कः करिकालनामा चोळस्समुत्थितरि-
254 पुक्षितिपालकालः ॥— [14][४८*] स कावेरी-

1 The *anusvāra* is a correction from a secondary *ā*.
2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
3 Read **अभवद्विभवैर्ज.**
4 Metre: Aupachhandasika.
5 **मि** has to be corrected into **ति.**
6 Metre: Praharshaṇi.
7 The *anusvāra* is engraved at the commencement of the next line.
8 Cancel the length of **मां.**
9 Read **सतपनं व्याप्तं.** The *anusvāra* is engraved in the next line.
10 Read **विश्वञ्ज.°**
11 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
12 **वि** looks like **सि** in the original.
13 A *visarga* seems to have been engraved and cancelled at the commencement of this line.
14 Metre: Vasantatilaka.

KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Fourth Pillar.

a



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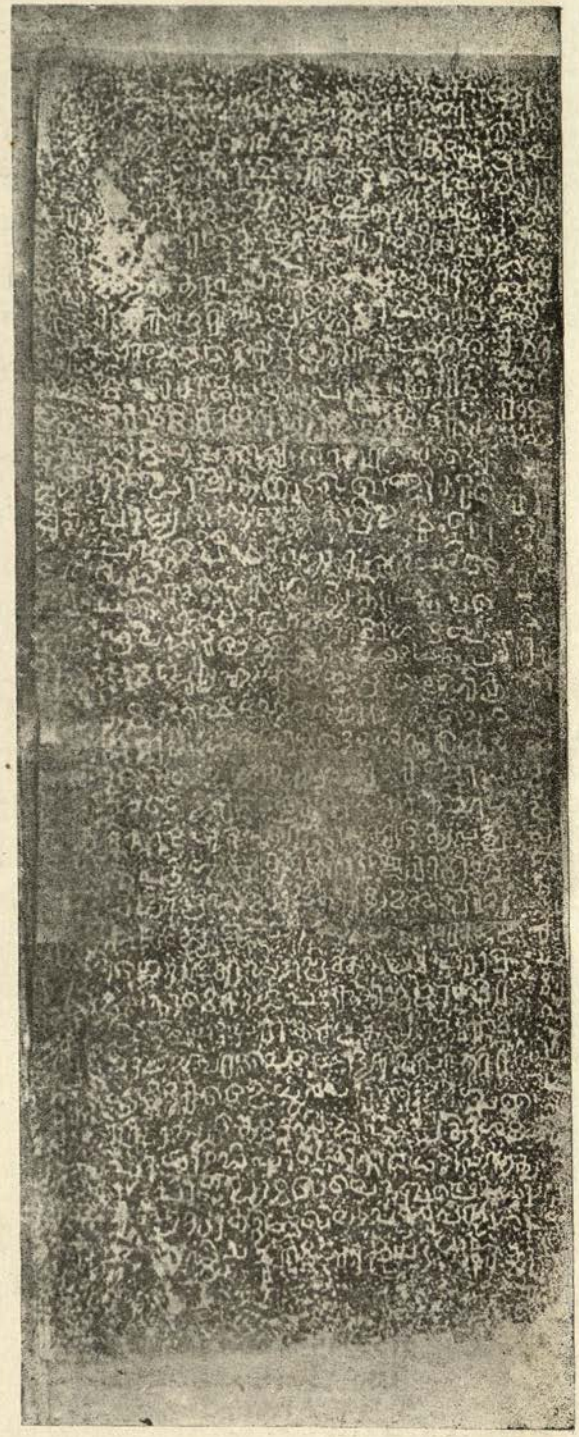

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255 न्दूरीकृतसकलसस्यां विदधतीम् प-
256 यः [1]पूरैस्पारैरवनिम[विनीतो]-
257 द्धति[ह]रः [।*] प्रतीरीभूताभिर्न्नरपति[2][करा]-
258 श्लिष्टपिटकप्रकीर्ण्णाभिर्म्मृत्[भि][3][र्न्यरुण]-
259 दरुणाग्रेसरसमं[4] ॥—[5][४९*] [अस्मिन्कुले]
260 सकलपार्त्थिववन्द्यपादो जा[तो]-

Fourth pillar: second side.

261 भिजात[गुण]संहतिं . . . श्रीः [।*]
262 [ऊ]र्ज[स्वलोत्भुत]निजाप्रतिमप्र-
263 [ताप]स्सन्तापितारिशिलभो[6] व-
264 [ळभो] महीशः ॥—[7][५०*] इहान्व[ये]-
265 [भूदम]रेशतुल्यः [प]रा[स्तवि]द्व-
266 ज्जनतापशल्यः [।*] [सम]स्तराजा-[8]
267 न्तकभूरिभल्लः क्षमाधिना-
268 [9]थो जगदेकमल्लः ॥—[10][५१*] वंशे-
269 स्मिन्नरिराजवन्दि[त]पदद्वन्द्वारवि-
270 [11]न्दक्षमि राजा [व्याळ]भयंङ्कर-[12]
271 स्समभवत् [13]सूनो रवेः [।*] दो-
272 [14]र्द्दण्डाञ्चितखड्गखण्डितरि-
273 [15]पोर्यस्योर्ज्जितश्रीजुषुः को-
274 पाग्निः[16] द्विषदङ्गनास्रसलि-

1 Read **यः पूरैः स्फारै°**
2 Cancel one of the **न्** in **न्न**.
3 Read **मृद्भि** instead of **म्मृत्भि**.
4 Read **समः**.
5 Metre: Śikhariṇī.
6 Read **शलभो**.
7 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
8 The length of **जा** is in the next line.
9 The secondary *e* symbol alone is at the end of the preceding line.
10 Metre: Upēndravajrā.
11 Read **विन्दः क्षमी**.
12 Delete the *anusvāra*.
13 Three syllables appear to be omitted before **सूनो**.
14 Read **दोर्दण्डाञ्चितखड्ग**.
15 The secondary *e* of **पो** is at the end of the preceding line. Read **जुषः**.
16 Read **°पाग्निर्द्विषद**.

275 [1]लैस्सिक्तः परं शाम्यति ॥—[2] [५२*] अन्व
276 [3]येत्र विजयालयनामा सम्ब-
277 भूव सकलक्षिति[न]ाथः [।*] यत्प-
278 दाम्बुरुह[युग]ममजस्रं शेखरीकृ-
279 तमशेषमहीपै[ः] ॥— [4][५३*] निवेश-
280 [या]मास स चोळदेशे नवीनता-[5]
281 शेषगुणप्रवृद्धां[6] [।*] कञ्जास-
282 नाद्यरमैरैः प्र[गी]तां तञ्चापु-
283 रीन्नाम पुरीन्नरे[न्द्र]ः ॥—[7][५४*] आदित्यवर्मा-[8]
284 भवदस्य पुत्रः कोदण्डरामाभि-
285 धया प्रसिद्धः [।*] उत्पुत्य[9] मत्तद्विरदे-
286 [10][षु] संस्थञ्जघान [यः] पल्लवराजमा-[11]
287 जौ ॥— [५५*] अस्याभूत्तनयः पराक्र-
288 मवतामेकाधिपः क्ष्माभुजां वीर-
289 श्रीनि[ल]यः परान्तक इति ख्यातः क्ष-
290 मा[धी]श्वरः [।*] वेलोद्यानविहारि-
291 [भि]र्मदकळैर्य्यद्वारणाधीश्व-
292 [12]रैर्वास्यन्ते मदसिन्धुभिः प्रतिदिशम्
293 पाथांसि पाथोनिधेः ॥—[13][५६*] हत्वा[14]
294 तु पाण्ड्यमखिलेन बलेन सा-

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1 The *ai* symbols of लै are engraved at the end of the preceding line.
2 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
The ī symbol of ये is in the preceding line.
4 Metre: Svāgata.
5 The length of ता is the next line.
6 Change the *anusvāra* into म्.
7 Metre: Upajāti. This is also the metre of the next verse.
8 The letter र्मा looks like त्वा.
9 Read उत्प्लुत्य.
10 षु must be corrected into न्द्र.
11 Tho length of मा is in the next line.
12 The *ai* symbols are at the end of the preceding line.
13 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
14 The length of त्वा is engraved in the next line.

295 कं हृत्वा तदीयमखिलं वसु वीर्य्यशा-
296 [ली ।*] भस्मीचकार मधुरां यदधःकृता-

Fifth pillar: first side.

297 [1]रिर्लेभे तत[स्स] मधुरान्त-
298 कनामधेयम् ॥— [2][५७*] यज्जिगाय
299 विजयोपमद्युतिः कृष्णराजमजि-
300 तन्नराधिपैः [।*] भूरिविक्रमविव-
301 र्द्धितद्युतिर्व्वीरचोळ[3] इति ते-
302 न कीर्त्यते ॥—[4][५८*] यत्तीर्णैर्ज्ज-[5]
303 लनिधिमुद्धतैर्बलौ-
304 [6]घैस्संयत्तान् समिति जघान
305 सिंहळेशान् [।*] तत् सर्व्वत्रिति-[7]
306 पतिवन्द्यमानपादस्सोन्वर्था-[8]
307 मभजत सिंहळान्तकाख्या[।*]म् [॥—][9] [५९*]
308 दृष्टान्तः कोस्य राज्ञस्सकल[गु]-
309 णनिधे[श्शग्नुयात्[10]] कोस्य [वक्तु]-
310 म् भूयिश्लाग्घ्यान्[11] गुणौघा . . . [12]
311 [13]शमितिरिपोर्व्विक्रमैकास्पदस्य [।*]
312 यो विद्वद्विप्रभोग्याननुपम-
313 विभवान्वीरनारायणाद्या[नत्य]-
314 ध्यानग्रहारान्व्यधित [विधि]रिव स्व-
315 र्ग्गमस्तारिवर्ग्गः ॥—[14][६०*] अमुष्य तन-

1 Read °रिर्लेभे.
2 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
3 Read तिर्वी.
4 Metre: Rathōddhata.
5 Read यत्तीर्णैर्ज°
6 The secondary *ai* symbols are engraved at the end of the previous line.
7 Read सर्वक्षिति.
8 The length of र्था is in the next line.
9 Metre: Praharshani.
10 Read क्नुयात्.
11 Read भूयःश्लाघ्यान्.
12 This gap may be filled up with the syllables न्युधि.
13 Read शमितरिपोर्वि.
14 Metre: Sragdhara.

316 [1]यो भवद्बिभुररिन्दमाख्यो नृपः[2]
317 क्षपाकरसमद्युतिः त्वपित[3]-
318 [4]वैरिपक्षोत्करः [।*] यदीयभुज-
319 विक्रमश्रवणसंभवत्साध्व-
320 सैर्नृपैरव[नि]भृत् गुहा-[5]
321 गृहनिवासिभि[ः*] स्थीयते ॥—[6] [६१*] अ[य]
322 कृ[7] राज्ञ[ः*]स्वैरमाज्ञाविधे[या]-
323 न्व्यधित विधिसमानस्सम्पदं स-
324 ज्जनानाम् [।*] अततनुत नुतवीर्यो [व्या]-
325 पदं शात्रवाणामतुलयदतुल-
326 श्रीश्चन्द्रकान्तिं स्वकान्त्याः ॥— [8][६२*] अस्य
327 सूनुरभ[व*]त् परान्तकस्सन्ततक्षपि-
328 तवैरिसन्ततिः [।*] चिन्तयन्यदुदयं स-
329 साध्वसः पाण्ड्यभूपतिरलंघय-[9]
330 त् गिरिं[10] ॥—[11] [६३*] चकार कारासु रिपूनशे-
331 [12]षाम्स्ततार भूरीन्समराम्बुराशीन् [।*]
332 जहार तापं बुधसंहतीना[न्त]ता-
333 न सन्तापमसज्जना[ना]म् ॥—[13][६४*] अखिल
334 गुणनिधानात् [14]भूमिपालादमुष्मा-

Fifth pillar: second side.

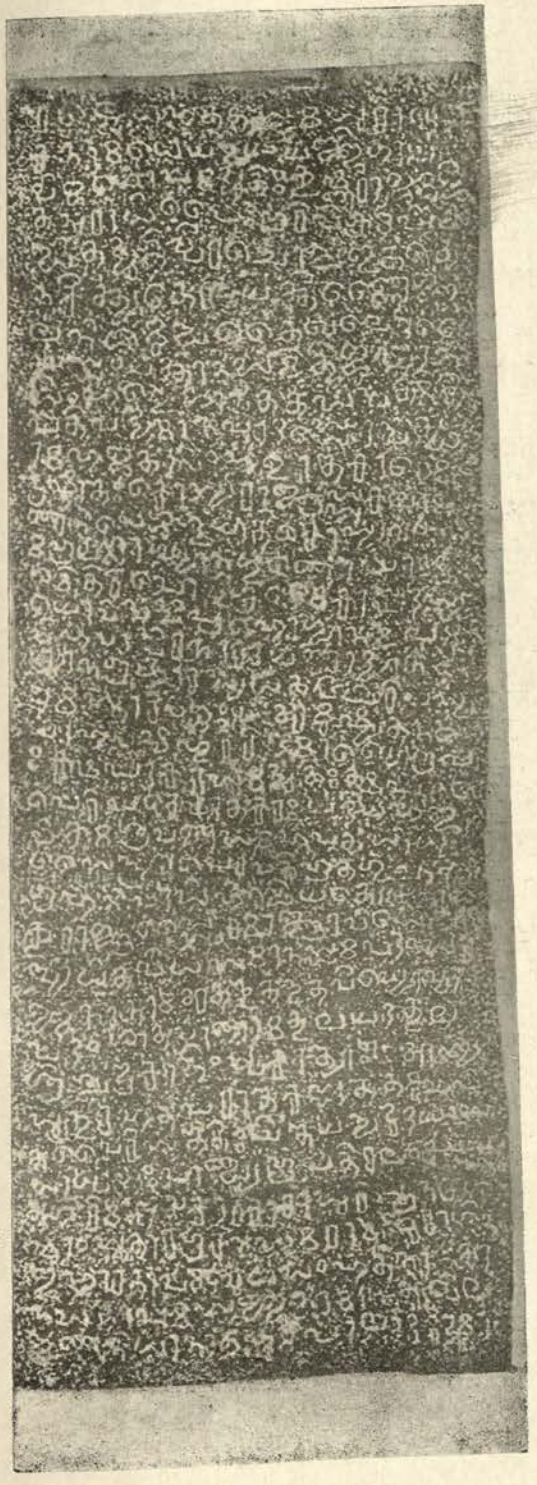
335 दुदजनि नरनाथो राजराजाभि-

1 The ē sign of यो is in the preceding line.
2 The *visarga* is in the next line.
3 Read क्षपित.
4 The *ai* symbols are in the previous line.
5 Read भृद्गुहा.
6 Metre: Prithvi.
7 Instead of कृ, मकृत च is required.
8 Metre: Mālini.
9 Read अलङ्घ°
10 Read द्विरिम्.
11 Metre: Rathōddhata.
12 Change म् into an *anusvāra*.
13 Metre: Upēndravajrā.
14 Read °धानाद्भू°

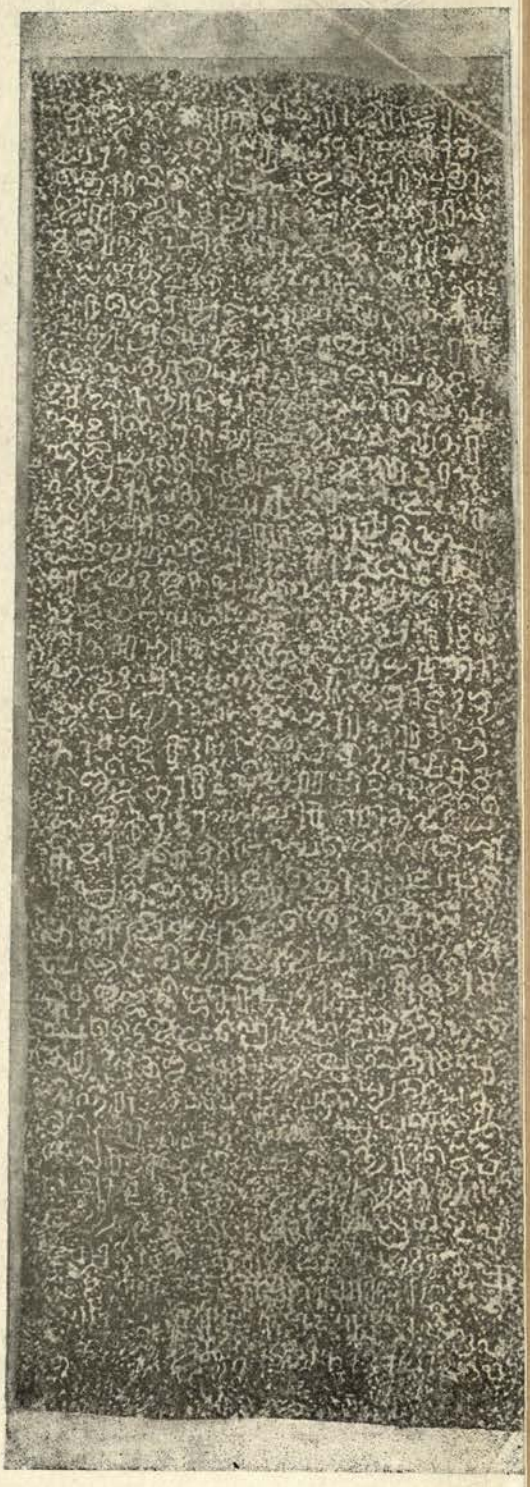
(To face page 14

Fifth pillar.

a



b



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336 धानः [।*] . . . रुचिरदेहः कान्त-
337 [1][ने]त्रारवि[न्दो] [धनद इति] परं [यत्रा]-[2]
338 जराजेन तुल्यः ॥—[3][६५*] सञ्जहार स-
339 मरे स पार्त्थिवानुज्जहार विप-
340 दस्स भूतळात्[4] [।*] आजहार च मखान-
341 [5]नेकशो व्याजहार [च] [स*] सूनृत....त ॥—[6][६६*]
342 सत्याश्रये स्थिर[त]रे बत राजरा-
343 जे सत्याश्रयः [किल] पलायत मन्द-
344 [7]बुद्धिर्नित्या जय[न्ति] स[भ]या रिपव-
345 स्तमाजौ न त्याजयत्ययमसूनरि-
346 भिश्रियस्तैः ॥—[8][६७*] तस्य सूनुर[नत[9]]-
347 स्य शासिता पाकशासन इवारि-
348 शासनः [।*] [10]शंबरारि[रु*]चिराकृतिर्नृप-
449 स्सम्ब[भू]व मधुरा[न्त]काभिधः ॥—[11][६८*]
350 अजयदजितवीर्य[12][रूप]सौन्दर्यशाली
351 विजय इव स[मस्तान् कुन्त]ळानामधी-
352 शान् [।*] अहरत स [किरीटं] क्षत्रिया[णान्नि]-
353 हन्तुः प्रभलभि[हलरा]ज[13] जामदग्न्य-
354 स्य वीर्य्या[त्] ॥—[14][६९*] जहार हारन्तुहि-
355 नांशुका[न्ति] [7]शतक्रतोर्विक्रम

1 The *e* sign alone of *nē* is seen.
2 The syllables यत्रा must be corrected into योरा.
3 Metre: Mālinī.
4 Read भूतलात्.
5 The *ē* sign of ने is in the preceding line.
6 Metre: Rathōddhata.
7 Read बुद्धिः । न.
8 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
9 The last letter is engraved below the line.
10 Read शम्बरारि.
11 Metre: Rathōddhata.
12 Read वीर्यो.
13 Read राजाज्जाम.
14 Metre: Mālinī.

356 निर्ज्जितारि[ः] [।*] [1]विहारभूमिं निज-
357 [2]सैनिकानां स चाकरोत् संय-
358 ति मान्यकेटम् ॥—[3][७०*] स्वसेनाधीशा-
359 नप्रतिहतकुलूतोत्कलप(ति)-
360 तिः कलिंगान्विशेन्द्रैस्स[ह]
361 बहळवीर्यान्विदळयन् [।*] स [गंगा]
362 [4]मुतर्ज्जन्निजकरिघटापाति[त]तटां
363 घटैज्जंहे[5] भूभृन्मकुटनिहि-
364 [6]तैरुद्धृतज[ला]म् ॥—[7] [७१*] उल्लंघिताम्बु-
365 धिभिरु[द्ध]तब[हु]वीर्यैर्नि[र्द्धू]त-
366 [वैरि]नरनाथ[बल]प्रप[ञ्चै]-
367 [8]स्सै[न्यैः*] कटाहमद[हयमन्यै][9] राजेन्द्र-
368 चोळनृप[तेः किमसा]ध्यमस्य ॥—[10] [७२*]
369 [तस्या] संस्तनया[स्त्र]यस्त्रय[11] इव
370 ख्याताः [क्रतोरभय]स्तेषान्तु प्र-
371 थमः क्षि[तीशति]लको रा[जा]धि[रा]-
372 जो नृपः [।*] [यः]कल्याण[पु]र[न्द]दाह नृप-
373 ती[न्निर्जित्य] [तन्नाय]कानादायाहव

Sixth pillar: first side.

374 मल्ल . . . . . .
375 . . . . ॥—[12][७३*] त[स्मि]-
376 न् गते त्रिदिव[मु*][द्भृ]तशोकशो-

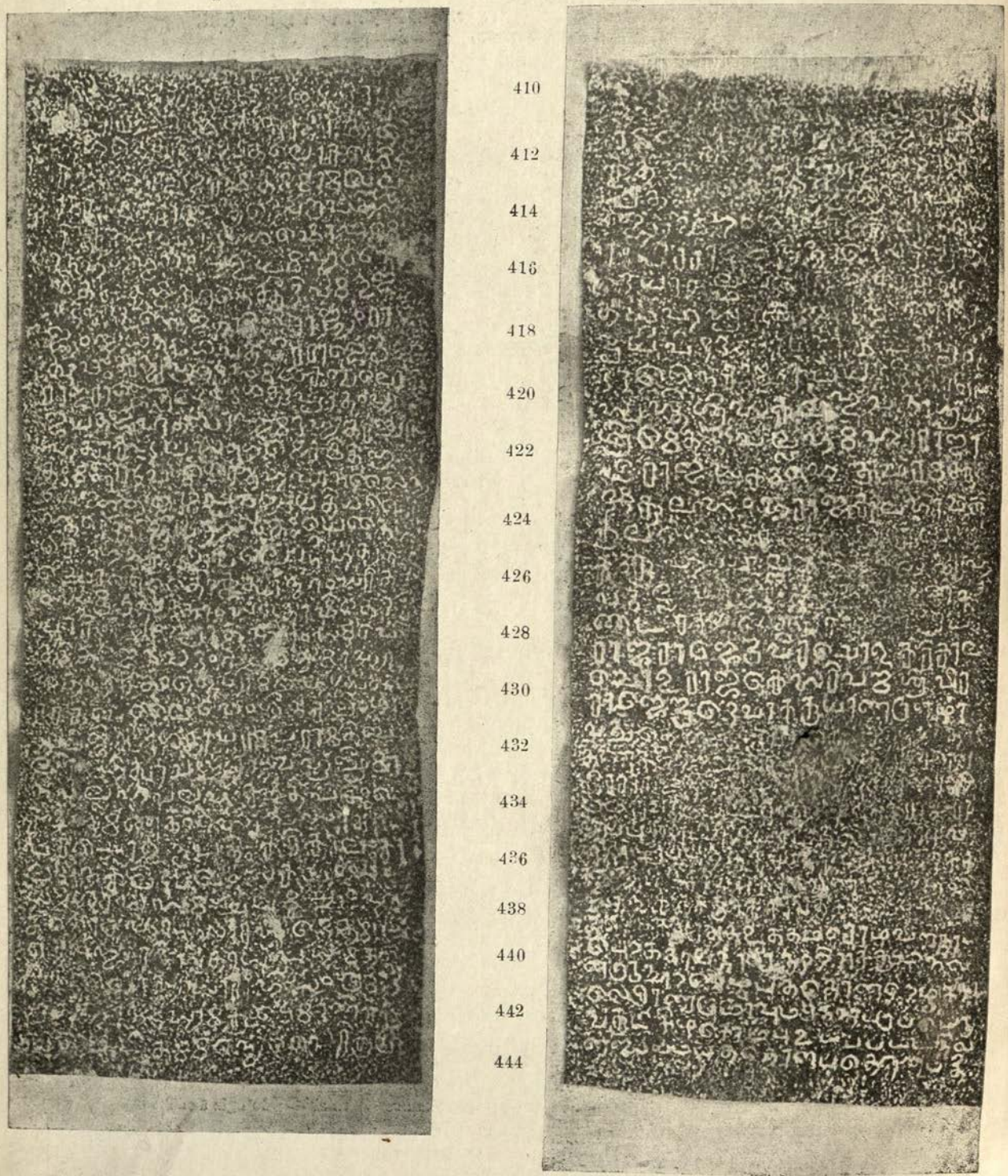
1 The length of हा looks like र.
2 The *ai* symbols are engraved at the end of the previous line.
3 Metre: Upēndravajrā.
4 Read मुद्भर्ज.
5 Read घटैर्जहे.
6 The *ai* signs are in the preceding line.
7 Metre: Śikhariṇī.
8 One of the ē sign of स्सै is in the previous line. Read प्रपञ्चैः [।*] सैन्यैः.
9 A few syllables appear to have been omitted to be engraved before यमन्यै. Supplying them the passage may be read मदहद्यददाह्य.
10 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
11 Read स्त्रय.
12 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.

KANYAKUMARI INSCRIPTION OF VIRARAJENDRA.

Sixth Pillar.

a

b



74 76 78 80 82 84 86 88 90 92 94 96 98 00 02 04 06 08

410 412 414 416 418 420 422 424 426 428 430 432 434 436 438 440 442 444

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377 कस्तस्यानुज[1]क्षितिमिमामखिला-[2]
378 मरक्षत् [।*] [3]राजेन्त्रदेवनृपतिस्स
379 रिपूनशेषान् शेषोपमो[4]
380 [5]नभगभुजः प्रळयं व्यनै-
381 षीत् ।—[6][७४*] तस्मिन्याते [7]त्रिदिवमनुज-
382 [स्तस्य] [8]नस्तेजितारिः प्राज्यं रा-
383 ज्यं व्यथित[9] विधिवत्[10]वीरराजेन्द्र-
384 देवः[।*] अत्युद्भूतं समधिकबलो
385 राजराजेन्द्रदेवः शत्रुव्रातं व्य-
386 जयत जवात्[11] बाह्यमाभ्यन्तरं च ।।—[12] [७५*]
387 हत्वा कूटलसंगमे क्षितिभृ-
388 तः मण्णाटवंशोत्भवान्[13] सैन्यं[14]
389 यज्ञभुजां प्रवर्धयति य-
390 [15]स्तैद्देवभूयं गतैः [।*] येनै-
391 केन . . . . . बले निर्हत्य त-
392 च्छोणितैः [कृ]त्वान्यां सरितं[16]
393 समुद्रवनितां संतोषितो
394 वारि[धिः] ।।—[17][७६*] भ्रातृभ्यां समुपे- . . . .

1 Read नुजः क्षिति.
2 The length of ला is in the next line.
3 Read राजेन्द्र .
4 The secondary ā symbol is in the next line.
5 Read भयभुजः
6 Metre: Vasantatilaka.
7 Read त्रिदिव.°
8 Read निस्तेजिता.°
9 Read व्यधित.
10 Read वद्वीर.
11 Read जवाद् .
12 Metre: Mandākrāntā.
13 Read °द्भवान् .
14 The *anusvāra* of न्यं is in the next line.
15 The *ai* symbols of स्तै are at the end of the previous line: Read स्तैर्देव.°
16 The *anusvāra* of तं is at the beginning of the next line.
17 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita. This is also the metre of the next verse.

395 क्षितं जनपदं वंशक्रमाभ्या-
396 गतं [क्रा]न्तं वैरिमहेश्वरै[1]-
397 रतिबलैर्वेङ्गीन्कलिंगा-
398 नपि [।*] जित्वा शत्रुपरम्परामतिब-
399 लां हित्वा च भीतान् बहून्छ्रीमा-
400 न्वल्लभवल्लभक्षितिपतिः
401 [2]क्षेमेण तं सोन्वसात्[3] ॥—[७७*]
402 वीरचोळनृपतिः करिकालः का-
403 ल[य]न् कलिबलं सकलं सः [।*]
404 धर्म्मशास[न*[[4]समुश्चयमुच्चं व्या-
405 तनोत् [स]र[स]सारसमेतम् ॥—[5] [७८*]
406 देवस्याद्रिसुताधिपस्य म[त] .
407 [त्रै]लोक्यसाराभिधं श्रीमद् द-
408 भ्र[सभा]नटस्य मकुटे माणि[क्य]-
409 [6][का]रोपितम् [।*]मन्ये वैरिकुला-

Sixth pillar: second side.

410 . . . . . .
411 . . . .म . . . .[न्त्र] निजवश-
412 कृतस . . . . .स्तानुस्समारो-
413 पितः ॥—[7][७९*] चोळतुण्डीरपा-
414 [8]ण्ड्येषु गंगावाटिकुलूतयोः[9] [।*]
415 वीरराजेन्द्रना[मा*]सौ ब्रह्म-

1 Read **महीश्वरै**°. The *ai* symbols alone of **रै** are at the end of this line.
2 The secondary *ē* sign of **क्षे** is in the previous line.
3 Read **सोन्वशात्**.
4 Read **समुच्चय**.
5 Metre: Svāgatā.
6 Read **मारोपितम्**.
7 Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
8 The *ā* sign of **ण्ड्ये** is at the end of the previous line.
9 The secondary *a* and the *visarga* of **योः** are in the next line.

416 देयान[क*]ल्पयत् ॥—[1] [८०*] [च]त्वारिंश-
417 त् सहस्राणि ब्राह्मणाना-
418 न्द्रयीविददं[2] [।*]. अनोषयत्[3] भूमि-
419 दानैरस्थापयदतिस्थिरम् ॥—[८१*]
420 ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ[॥*] ஸகலுஹுவநாஶ்ரய
421 ஸ்ரீமெதநிவஸ்லுஹ[4] மஹாராஜா-
422 யிராஜ ஸக[லு*]மஹெந்த்ர வரம சு-
423 ஷ்டகுலுஸிம்ஹ ராஜகுலுஹாவக
424 குலுஶெ . . . . . ராலு .
425 க சூஹ[வம]ஸ்ல . . . லு சூஹ-
426 வ[ம]ஸ்ல[னை மும்மடி மெ]ன் க-
427 ண்ட ராஜஶெவர ராஜாஶ்ரய-
428 ராஜராஜெந்த்ர விரஶொஉ கரிகாலு-
429 ஶொஉ ராஜகெஸரிவந்ம ஸ்ரீ விர-
430 ராஜெந்த்ர தெவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஏழா-
431 வது தெ . . . . . பத்-
432 தின் [கிளிந]ல்லூர் . . . . . .
433 விரராஜெந்த்ர . . . . . .
434 ம்ம ராவ . . . . . ராஜரா-
435 ஜப்பாண்டி[நாட்டு] உத்தமசொழவ-
436 ளநாட்டுப் புறத்தாயநாட்டு [குமரி?]க்க-
437 ன்னியாபிடாரியார்க்கு வெண்டும் நித்யநி-
438 [வந்த]ங்களுக்கு சக்கரவத்தி [ஸ்ரீவிரராஜெ]-
439 ந்த்ரதெவ[ர் குடு]த்த உத்தமசொழவளநாட்-
440 டு புறத்தாயநாட்டு நற்றிராக்குடி நில-
441 ன் இருநூற்றெழுபத்தொன்றெ முக்கா-
442 லெ இரண்டுமாவும் இந்நாட்டுப் பெரு-
443 ங்குடி கிழ்கொம்பு உட்பட்ட நில-
444 ன் ஐய்ம்பத்தொன்பதெ ஒன்பதி-

1 Metre: Anushṭubh: This is also the metre of the next verse.

2 Read °त्रयीविदाम्.

3 Read अतोषयद्.

4 Read மெதிநீவஸ்லுஹ.

5 Read மஹீந்த்ர.

Translation.

(Verse 1.) Be it well! Prosperity! May the Lord of Bhavānī (i. e. Pārvatī),—who wears the crescent as an ornament (*on his head*); who, out of sport arising (in his mind), became the author of creation, protection and destruction of the world; who is the lord of speech; who is the sole abode of all knowledge (*sarvajñatā*); who renders the ocean of *samsāra*, with (*its*) fearful dangers, passable by men (*whose minds are*) bent with devotion towards Him,—grant you (i. e. the kings of the Chōḷa family) wealth.

(V. 2) May the god Śaṁbhu,—who is merciful unto all objects, animate and inanimate; who, in his resplendant body, poised in *yōga* attitude on the (*Kailāsa*) mountain, successfully carries this supreme Māyā, which makes this world pleasant and is the cause of knowledge and ignorance; who, being pleased with the happiness enjoyed by all creatures (*paśus*),—protect you from falling, in order that your connection with sin may easily break asunder.

(V. 3) May that Hari,—who with his Discus caused to perish the whole host of the valiant Daityas; who made Bali remain always at the very bottom of the nether regions; who is the protector of the resplendant gods (*suras*); and who, through you, that are born in this world like a partial incarnation of himself, protects unchallenged in an instant the entire Earth,—destory immediately (*all*) your sins.

(V. 4) At first, God, the supreme lord of the universe, filled, in an opportune moment, with the extreme desire to create, produced water, the suitable object for evolving the world. Having sown in it his own eternal seed and raised there from it the *Brahmāṇḍa* which enveloped, as it were, the three worlds, and Vidhi (i. e. Brahmā) in order to generate other desirable objects.

(V. 5) This Viriñcha (i. e. Brahmā), who was thus begotten from him, having created the worlds with all varieties of objects, produced other Brahmas *i. e.* the Munīndras of irresistable power engaged in observing the (prescribed) duties (*karmas*). One among them, Marīchi, full of lustre pervading on all sides, illumined the houses *i. e.* the three worlds, (*and*) more than others . . . . .

(V. 6) From him (*i. e.* Marīchi) came Paśyaka,[1] the Kaśyapa,—whose excessive beauty was well witnessed by the blooming multitudes of eyes (of the god) seated on the lotus flower (*i. e.* Brahmā), who is reckoned as the foremost of men filled with pre-eminence; and whose sons the gods and others (*i. e.* demons), who, by constantly fighting with each other, had obtained possession of fortune (Śrī), excelled the ever-increasing billows of the ocean (which bore Lakshmī and were always dashing one against the other).

(Vv. 7 and 8) From him (*i. e.* Kaśyapa) was then born the incomparable Vivasvān (*i. e.* Sūrya), the originator of time, who ever excelled his kindred (i. e. other planets) by (virtue of) his growing lustre which is capable of protecting the worlds; and by the contact of whose rays, the lotus abode of Dhātṛi (i. e. Brahmā), the lord of all (the universe), shone forth along with his lotus faces awaking (as it were), from sleep for the first time; by the clustre of whose (i. e. Sūrya's) rays, which dispelled dense darkness and shed light all around, the lustrous golden

1 Literally 'the seer'.

Brahmāṇḍa appeared as if it emitted dross; and whose disc, with rays, looked like the pericarp with filaments, of the lotus, which was the sky, beautified by petals, which are the directions of the compass.

(V. 9) To him (i. e. Sūrya) was born Manu, of spotless body, the first seed of kings, by whose only connection the subjects were called Mānavas by sages, (who was) the one adorable being to all men, who caused incomparable bliss by expounding the Dharmas, and which son (i. e. Manu), Sūrya (Bhāsvān) caused to shine as he did his father (i. e. Kaśyapa) by being Bhāsvatsuta.[2]

(V. 10) To him (i. e. Manu) was born the son Ikshvāku, who shone with (such) spotless fame as spread on all directions; whose glory was sung by hosts of Dēvas; whose mighty and far-reaching power of conquest overcame only the splendour of Mitra[3] (Sūrya), there being no enemy kings (*amitra*) (to be directed against).

(V. 11) To him (i. e. Ikshvāku) was born the highly righteous and intelligent son Vikukshiśrava of unimpaired strength, who gave protection to this world; the bowing at whose feet easily secured to the kings of this earth that great prosperity which could be obtained only by fighting with each other.

(V. 12) Purañjaya, the subduer of kings appearing in battle-fields, was his (Vikukshisrava's) son. That venerable (king), by reason of his having made Indra a bull and stood on its stout hump in the field of battle, acquired the name Kakutstha, being (so) joyfully greeted by the Dēvas.

(V. 13) In this family there was Pṛithu, (who) equalled the Kulaparvata and was much respected by all kings. When he was king, people were wise and happy; and not pretending and needy.

(V. 14) In this mighty family there was king Kuvalāśva, whose body (when seated on the back of) steeds as powerful as those of the sun, shone all the greater. That highly powerful (monarch), causing good to this world, killed Dhundhu, the chief of the Daityas, who was concealed in the excessively sandy (river) Sindhu.

(V. 15) To allay the afflictions of this earth, there was born in this family the king named Māndhāta, of established fame, an incarnation of the enemy of the gods[4] glowing with astounding greatness and affording immense pleasure to the eyes of (all) men. For the destruction of unrighteousness, his discus busily whirled as far as the Chakravāḷa mountain.

(V. 16) When that king of supreme prowess was ruling this world, the deer wandered in company with lion, all objects gave up their natural enmity, but righteousness alone did not do so as there was no unrighteousness.

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1 Evidently, the Praśasti-writer regards Vaivasvata-Manu as the author of the Smṛiti.

2 The writer makes a pun on the word *Bhāsvat suta* 'he who had Bhāsvān (Sūrya) as his son' and 'he who was the son of Bhāsvān'. Evidently the writer wants to convey that both Manu and Kaśyapa derived their fame by being the son and father of the Sun.

3 The poet makes here a pun on the word 'mitra' which means both 'a friend' and 'the Sun'.

4 The reading *amarāri* is clear: it is not possible to explain how a righteous king like Māndhātṛi came to be called an incarnation of the enemy of the gods.

(V. 17) In this family, which was always void of peril and was highly flourishing, there was born the prosperous Muchukunda, growing with (many) good qualities and with fame white as the Kunda flowers like unto a rising luminary (i. e.) the moon with its brilliant rays.

(V. 18) . . . . . the king made *svarga* hard of access even to those who were killed in battle.

(V. 19) In this family there was a king named Hariśchandra, subduing crowds of (enemy) kings by (his) prowess, and deriving pleasure in waging wars; and who, enduring the single desire of repaying the blind (owl-like) Kausika,[1] sold, even as (the worthless) grass, himself, his good son and wife.

(V. 20) In this family there was a king called Sagara, by whom other kings were put to fright; by whose preparation to perform several horse sacrifices, Dēvarāja (i. e. Indra) was struck with horror; by the prowess of whose sons, the salt sea having been termed Sāgara, ... gave the status of (being called) Sāgara to other oceans as well.

(V. 21) In this family there was king Bhagīratha. In order to uplift the departed members of his family, who had been burnt to ashes by the increasing flames of the fire of Kapila's rage, he brought down to earth the heavenly river and made that Bhāgīrathī flow in three regions (i. e. the Heaven, the Earth and the Pātāḷa); and turned into immortal beings even the mortals that bathed in the flood of water of (that) devine river.

(V. 22) Ṛituparṇa, descended from this great family, filled with all kingly virtues and endued with a glorious fame praised by (all) goodmen, protected the entire earth.

(V. 23) In this family was born king Dilīpa, the one light of (all) the worlds, the dispeller of the afflictions of the earth, the destroyer of the prowess of hostile kings, of dreadful rage manifested by the lamentations of his enemies' wives, and of (such) fame (as was) increased by his ever successful bow.

(V. 24) Seeing the earth troubled by powerful and wicked demons, there was born in this family, an incarnation of the four parts of the Divine lord which (consisting of) the two glorious pairs of sons *viz.* Rāma with Lakshmaṇa and Bharata with Śatrughna, resembled the two pairs of arms of Vishṇu.

(V. 25) The universal lord taught to the world the mode of conduct of a son to father, the method of behaviour of a brother to (his) brothers, that of a husband to (his) wife, that of an enemy to (his) enemy, that of a king to sages and that of a relation to (his other) relations.

(V. 26) He (i. e. Rāma) did not kill the lord of the demons (actuated) by anger; neither did he take back his wife (influenced) by passion; but he only did his duty as a king. If (it was) not so, why did he destroy with his sword the Śūdra who was performing penance on the Malaya mountain and why did (he) (again) abandon Sīta of lasting beauty and growing constancy.

1 The text reading कोशिकायान्धनायाम् on page 134 has been left uncorrected as it is not quite certain that कौशिकायान्धकाय is what is intended. With the latter emendation, the above translation is given. The poet seems to make a pun on the word *Kauśika* which means both "an owl" and "the sage Viśvāmitra". *Andhaka* would be an apt qualifying word for either.

(V. 27) This (Rāma), the repository of righteous character, built a dam across the ocean in order to lead the army of monkeys and (as a result) established the (correct) extent of all (prescribed) duties. People praise Rāma, the abode of all good qualities, as the Dhūmakētu (i. e. the harbinger of ruin) to the miseries of the gods and the cause of the calamities of the demons.

(V. 28) In this family there was born a king named Chōḷa, who broke (the power of) the hosts of (hostile) kings; who was Death to the proud monarchs; and to whom, that ruled the earth as (easily as) his capital, all the forests became the pleasure garden for sporting.

(V. 29) On one occasion, (this king), who was as resplendent as Hara and was the resort of the learned, was cheerfully spending his days which afforded (enough) opportunities for sports, in the forests habited by assemblages of sages.

(V. 30) Endued with patience and attended by no large army, he once roamed through forests, desirous of killing (i. e. hunting) herds of deer; he who was by nature skilful, being allured by a demon, that appeared in the form of an antilope, wended his way southwards.

(V. 31) Another forest, thick with trees, was reached by the fleet steed which followed (this) deer. (And) prepared for a long journey, the commanders of his rapidly marching large forces accompanied the sovereign.

(V. 32) Having killed there the demon (*rajanichara*), the king, with a number of spies, moved along the (bank of the river) Kāvērī which carries on earth, in the form of water, the (very) nectar obtained by the gods by churning the milk ocean.

(V. 33) Having bathed in it (i. e. the Kāvērī), ... to Brāhmaṇas, he, of subdued mind, did not find them there. (Therefore), having brought several eminent Brāhmaṇas from (the country of) the Āryāvarta, he made them live on (its) bank.

(V. 34) (That) strong (king), clearing all jungles, made an extensively fine grove of areca-palms abounding in betel-creepers; and by the small groves (planted by him, he made) the lands on both banks of the Kāvērī to have one (continuous) shade but many kinds of fruits.

(V. 35) People desirous of obtaining *svarga*, constantly bathe in the Ganges (*amara sarit*) and with great effort perform penance on its banks. (But) the ablutions and severe penance made here (i. e. the Kāvērī) fix on (*i. e.* secure for the virtuous, a dwelling in a handsome place, superior even to the abode of the gods.

(V. 36) After him Rājakēsari, who was the son of king Chōḷa, who like the Sun was incomparably bright and who had (his) hostile (kings) greatly afflicted, ruled the earth to the (very) edge of the ocean.

(V. 37) His son was king Parakēsari, whose orders had never to be disobeyed, who was the friend of the good, ... ruled the earth . . . . . .

(V. 38) In this family there appeared a king named Mṛityujit, the conqueror of Death, who, pleasing the Dēvas by sacrifices, and making his foes tremble at his command, cast down hosts of enemies.

(V. 39) Born in this family there shone a king named Vīrasēna who removed the sufferings of all people, who equalled the Sun in splendour, who was the home of all happiness and who possessed beautiful limbs.

(V. 40) There was born in this dynasty an extremely glorious king named Chitra, whose anger was expunged (only) by the prostrations of the hosts of (his) terror-stricken enemies; and by whose arrows, (discharged) in battle, the foe of Vṛitra (i. e. Indra,) being terrified, became his friend and assumed the form of Vyāghrakētu's banner.

(V. 41) King Pushpakētu,—with whom the goddess of beauty perpetually resided; who, by the strength of his arms sportively drew (to himself) the prosperity of other kings,—was born in this race (in order) to rule the earth, which was (made) lovely by all the borders of the seas.

(V. 42) In this family was born a king called Kētumāla, who possessed the brightness of lightning (and) who had acquired his name Kētumāla by seizing clusters of banners (belonging to) enemy kings.

(V. 43) The king named Samudrajit . . . . . earth. He obtained the daughter of . . . . . as a price for the feat of joining the eastern ocean with the western one.

(V. 44) In this illustrious race was born a king named Pañchapa, esteemed for wealth. Being prayed to by five Yakshas, who came to him (in the guise of) guests, he, with a mind bent on evincing guileless hospitality to guests, made them drink his warm blood, by cutting (open) five (of his) arteries: he was (hence) known as Pañchapa.

(V. 45) Glowing like the moon and excelling in might the guardians of the (eight) quarters, there was in this race king Nṛimṛiḍa. He of imperishable valour conquered the god of Death by the grace of Mṛiḍa (Śiva).

(V. 46) In this family was born (a king) of spotless character called Manōratha, the valorous in battle. Having quickly destroyed the desires of his enemies, he made the desires of . . . . . fruitful,[1] with his strength.

(V. 47) In this family were born several kings such as Perunatkiḷḷi who surpassed the lord of gods (Amarēśvara) in point of strength, wealth and prowess. The world was permeated with their excellent fame which spread as far as the oceans, the earth and the Sun and shone upto the Brahmāṇḍa (i. e.) in all countries and at all times.

(V. 48) There was a Chōḷa king in this race, named Karikāla, who was equal (in firmness) to the *Kulaparvatas*; whose excessive fame, which greatly spread (in all directions), resembled the (flowers) of the reed (*kāśa*); who was (as it were) the forehead mark of kings; and who was Death to rival monarchs preparing for expeditions (against him).

(V. 49.) He (i. e. Karikāla), who was as bright as the Sun and who curbed the pride of the insubordinates, prevented, the Kāvērī,—which by its excessive floods, caused the earth to be deprived of its produce,—by means of a

1 सत्फलात् has been taken to stand for सत्फलान्.

bund formed of earth thrown in baskets, carried in hand by (enemy) kings.

(V. 50.) In that family was born the excellent king Vaḷabha, of good qualities pertaining to noble birth, whose feet were fit to be saluted by all kings; whose prowess was wonderful and matchless; and who, like fire, scorched up the mothlike enemies.

(V. 51.) There was in this family king Jagadēkamalla, who was equal to Amarēśa (*i. e.* Indra); who removed the nail of distress from men of learning; who possessed several missiles, which caused the destruction of (his) enemies.

(V. 52.) In this family of . . . . . son of Sūrya, there appeared the patient Vyāḷabhayaṅkara, whose pair of lotus-(like) feet were worshipped by hostile kings; who had his enemies cut to pieces by the sword, which he held in his prop-like hands; who was resorted to by the (ever) increasing goddess of wealth (Śrī); and whose fire of anger was only quenched when bathed by the tears, shed by the consorts of his foes.

(V. 53). In this family was born (one) named Vijayālaya who was the lord of all the earth and whose pair of lotus-like feet were ever worn as crest-jewel by all monarchs.

(V. 54). That king (*i. e.* Vijayālaya) constructed in the Chōḷa country a town named Tañchāpurī, provided with all the advantages of a new (city), praised by gods such as (Brahmā), seated on the lotus flower.

(V. 55.) His son was Ādityavarma, well known by (his other) name Kōdaṇḍarāma, who, pounced upon and killed the Pallava king seated on a rutting head-elephant.

(V. 56). To him (*i. e.* Āditya) was born a son, the renowned king Parāntaka who was the sole lord of valorous kings, who was the abode of the goddess of heroism, and by whose principal elephant, roaring and emitting a flood of rut, sporting in the pleasure gardens on the shore of the sea, the water of the ocean was made fragrant in all quarters.

(V. 57). By reason of his having killed the Pāṇḍya sovereign together with his forces and taken possession of all his wealth and reduced to ashes Madhurā (*i. e.* Madura), that valorous (*king*), the subduer of enemies, acquired the title Madhurāntaka.

(V. 58.) By (virtue of) his having conquered (in battle) the then un-conquered king Krishṇarāja, (Parāntaka),— who was comparable with Vijaya (*i. e.* Arjuna) and whose glory was augmented by his excessive prowess,— was famed as Vīra-Chōḷa.

(V. 59.) (And) by (reason of) his having killed the lords of Siṁhaḷa, (who were) ready to give (him) battle, that (king *i. e.* Parāntaka),— who, with the help of his highly excited armies, which crossed the ocean; had his feet worshipped by all kings and acquired the meaningful name Siṁhaḷāntaka.

(V. 60). Who is there that can be compared with this king, the (very) store-house of all good qualities ? Who is there that can describe the collection

of good qualities in him, the only abode of prowess and the possessor of enemies, vanquished in battle; that had the entire host of enemies destroyed; and who established, just as Brahmā created the *svarga*, Brāmhaṇa villages (*agrahāras*) commencing with the name Vīranārāyaṇa, fit to be enjoyed by learned Brāhmaṇas.

(V. 61.) The son of this (sovereign) was the king named Arindama, (who was as) bright as the Moon, who had a number of enemies destroyed, and by hearing the strength of whose arms, (his) trembling foes dwelt in the cavern homes of mountains.

(V. 62.) This (king) made the hostile monarchs obey his commands just as it pleased him. Like unto Brahmā, (he) bestowed wealth on the good. With his highly praised valour, he caused calamities to his enemies and made the brightness of the moon equal his (own) splendour.

(V. 63). The son of this (king *i. e.* Arindama) was Parāntaka, who ever had his hosts of enemies detroyed; and contemplating on whose advancement, the quivering Pāṇḍya sovereign crossed the mountain (and fled away).

(V. 64). (He) threw into prison all his enemeis; crossed (successfully) many an ocean-like battle; removed the anguish of the assemblage of scholars; and caused grief to the wicked.

(V. 65). From this monarch (*i. e.* Parāntaka), who is the abode of all good qualities, was born the king (naranātha) named Rājarāja, who, having a body as beautiful as (that of) . . . . . and such sparkling eyes as resembled the lotus (flower), equalled the god of wealth (Rājarāja) only in point of bestowing riches (Dhanada).[1]

(V. 66). He (*i. e.* Rājarāja) slew in battle (enemy) kings, uprooted evils from the earth, conducted several sacrificial rites and spoke truthful . . . . .

(V. 67). While Rājarāja was the firm support of the submissive, it is a pity that the dull-headed Satyāśraya should fly away (from the battle-field). Enemies terrified in battle win him over by their submission; and this (king) did not make his foes lose (either) their lives or (their) wealth.

(V. 68). To him was born the son (*i. e.*) the king named Madhurāntaka, who was the punisher of the insubordinate and who, like Pākaśāsana (*i. e.* Indra) was the chastiser of (his) foes; and who had a body as beautiful as that of Śambarāri (*i. e.* Manmatha).

(V. 69). Like Vijaya (*i. e.* Arjuna), that (king) of invincible valour and brilliance of form and beauty, conquered all the lords of the Kuntala (country). With his prowess, he took away from the valiant king Bihaḷa[2] the crown of Jāmadagnya (*i. e.* Paraśurāma), the destroyer of the Kshatriyas.

(V. 70) He, who had his enemies vanquished (in battle) by the strength of (his) arms, took away the garland of Śatakratu (*i. e.* Indra), which was as resplendent as the moon: and in a battle-field (he) made Mānykēṭa a play-ground for his armies. . . . . .

1 The writer evidently wants to say that the king, unlike Kubēra, whose other name Rājarāja he bore, had a beautiful body.

2 The reading of the name Bhihaḷa is highly doubtful.

(V. 71). He had the lords of the Kulūta and Utkala (countries) slain by the generals of his forces; destroyed the Kaliṅga king together with the chief of Viṁśa;[1] brought the Ganges,— whose banks were destroyed by a roaring herd of elephants,— in pots filled with (its) water, which were carried on the heads of crowned kings.

(V. 72). With (the help) of his forces, which crossed the seas, which were excessively powerful in arms and which had scattered away the armies of all his enemies, he (*i. e.* Madhurāntaka) burnt Kaṭāha, that could not be set on fire by others. What is (there that is) impossible for this Rājēndra-Chōḷa !

(V. 73). Like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were (born) to him (*i. e.* Rājēndra-Chōḷa) three sons, of whom the first was king Rājādhirāja, the forehead mark of the rulers of the earth, who set fire to Kalyāṇapura after conquering its overlords, ... Āhavamalla . . . . .

(V. 74). When this (king) (*i. e.* Rājādhirāja) went to Heaven, king Rājēndradēva, his younger brother, who had a pair of arms like unto the lord of serpents (Ādiśēsha), removed the sorrows of the people, protected all this earth and caused, (as it were), all his enemies to be submerged in a deluge.

(V. 75—76). When this (king) (*i. e.* Rājēndradēva) went to Heaven, Vīrarājēndradēva, his younger brother, who had deprived his foes of (their) splendour, ruled the extensive dominion according to prescribed laws. This highly powerful king Rājēndradēva, who having slain at Kūḍalsaṅgama the kings of the Maṇṇāṭa[2] family, increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerrings by (means of) these (*i. e.* Karṇāṭa kings) who had become gods; and by whom the Ocean-god was delighted . . . . . having killed . . . . . and created with their blood another river, an additional damsel to it,— quickly conquered countless inner and outer multitudes of forces.

(V. 77). The Vēṅgi and the Kaliṅga countries, which were inherited by his two brothers but were left uncared for by them, having been taken away by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered (these) highly powerful foes, leaving many that were frightened and ruled over the countries safely.

(V. 78). That king Vīra-Chōḷa *alias* Karikāla, the destroyer of the manifold strength of the *Kali*-age, established many a charming, substantial and lofty charitable edict (*dharmaśāsana*).

(V. 79). I think . . . . . the ruby called Trailōkyasāra placed on the crown of the dancer in the Dabhrasabhā (*i. e.* the god Naṭarāja), who is the lord of Adrisuta (*i. e.* Pārvatī).

1 *Viṁśēndraiḥ* has perhaps to be corrected into *viṁśīndraiḥ* in which case its meaning would be 'lords of twenty villages'. In this connection, the following couplet of Manu may be noted:—

ग्रामस्याधिपतिं कुर्याद्दशग्रामपतिं तथा ।
विंशतीशं शतेशं च सहस्रपतिमेव च ॥

2 Perhaps "Karṇāṭa" is meant here.

(V. 80—81). This king, Vīrarājēndra by name, established *brahmadēyas* in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭī and Kulūta countries: pleased forty-thousand Brāhmaṇas, learned in the three Vēdas, by grants of lands and permanently settled them there.

(Lines 420—444). Hail ! Prosperity! In the seventh year of (*the reign of*) the illustrious (king) Vīrarājēndradēva, the resort of all the world, the glorious lord of the earth, the overlord of kings, *sakalamahēndra*, the lion, (as it were,) of the eight excellent families, the promotor of the welfare of kings, ... who saw the back of Āhavamalla three times, Rājaśēkhara, Rājāśraya, Rājarājēndra, Vīra-Chōḷa, Karikāla-Chōḷa, Rājakēsarivarman, Vīrarājēndradēva, the glorious emperor, gave (*to the goddess*) Kanyāpīḍāriyār at [Kumari] in Puṟattāya-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu (a district) of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, for daily requirements, two hundred and seventy one and three quarters (of a *vēli*) and two *mā* of land in Naṟṟirākkuḍi, (a village) in Puṟattāya-nāḍu (a sub-division of) Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, together with fifty-nine (*vēli*) and nine . . . . . of land included in Peruṅguḍi-Kīḻkombu, a village in the same nāḍu . . . . . .

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BY

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XV. INSCRIPTIONS OF TIRUKKĀKKARAI.

No. 35.—An inscription of Indukodaivarman dated in the 5+11th year of reign.

Tirukkākkarai is a village in the Alangad Taluk of the Kōṭṭayam Division in North Travancore. It is about two miles from the Eḍappaḷḷi railway station of the Cochin State Railway and is famous for its Vishṇu temple celebrated in the hymns of Nammāḷvār.[1] The god there is now called Appaṉ and the goddess Peruñjelva-Nāyakī. While the village is termed Tirukkāṭkkarai in the Nālāyira-prabandham, it is spelt Tirukkālkkarai or Tirukkākkarai in inscriptions.

The Vishṇu temple of the place contains a number of early inscriptions engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters. Five of these belonging to the reign of the Chēra king Bhāskara-Ravivarman have already been edited in Part I of Volume II of the *Travancore Archæological Series*.[2] The rest of the records, along with another which has been partially published before, are edited below. Of these, three belong to the time of a king named Indukōdaivarman or Indīśvaran-Kōdai, one of Bhāskara Ravivarman, and two others mention Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ, the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu. One is dated in the year 3705 of an un-named era and the rest mention some early chiefs.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on the south base of the proper right of entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai.

It is dated in the 11th year opposite to the 5th, of the reign of king Indukōdaivarma-Tiruvaḍi. It was also the year in which Jupiter was in Siṁha-rāśi. The palæography of the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters employed in it shows that the king should be assigned to about the same period of time as Bhāskara Ravivarman. From the general formation of the letters, it can even be inferred that Indu Kōdai might be slightly anterior to Bhāskara-Ravivarman, but not later. Guided by this general indication, afforded by a close study of the characters, a searching examination was made in the records of the two kings to find out points which might go to confirm or controvert the conclusion. It has resulted in furnishing favourable evidence. In the records of Indu Kōdaivarman figure two individuals Pōḻaṉ Śāttaṉ of Veḷḷiyāṉpaḷḷi and Kaṇṇaṉ Pōḻaṉ of Paṉṟitturutti, while in those of Bhāskara-Ravivarman appear two other viz., Śāttaṉ Kumaraṉ of Veḷḷiyāṉpaḷḷi and Pōḻaṉ Kumaraṉ of Paṉṟitturutti. As the names indicate, the former two individuals must stand in the relation of father or uncle to the latter two. Consequently, it might be said that king Indu Kōdaivarman in whose records the fathers or uncles figure must be anterior to, and not far removed from, Bhāskara Ravivarman in whose inscriptions the sons or nephews make their appearance.[3]

1 See the sixth ten of the ninth section of the *Tiruvāymoḻi* commencing with the words உருமாய் மலர். For a list of the Vishṇu temples celebrated in the Nālāyiraprabandham, see note on page 131 of Vol. II. of the *Travancore Archæological Series*.

2 For their texts see pages 39, 41, 43, 47, and 49.

3 In Malabar an individual prefixes to his name the name of his uncle and this custom seems to have been adopted even in early times.

We might therefore tentatively, assume that king Indu Kōdaivarman was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravivarman. By calculation, it has been found that A. D. 1031 was a year in which Jupiter was in Simha-rāśi and it fell in the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman. Since we know that that king ascended the throne in A. D. 978, it can be said that the year in which Jupiter occupied the same position before that date, was A. D. 971, which must be the 16th year of king Indu Kōdaivarman. If this prove correct by further researches, the initial date of the king must be A. D. 955. And if no other king, with a short reign of 7 years, intervened between Indu Kōdaivarman and Bhāskara-Ravivarman, it is probable that the former continued his rule for 7 years after the date of the record under discussion.

At the present state of our knowledge about the chronology of the Kēraḷa kings, Indu Kōdaivarman's date furnishes an important link, and to some extent bridges over the interval of nearly a century between Sthāṇu Ravi—who, to be a contemporary of the Chōḷa Āditya I, which he was, should have ruled up to at least the last quarter of the 9th century A. D. as will be shown below—and Bhāskara Ravivarman, who commenced his reign in A. D. 978. It may be noted that the long reign of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I extending over the whole of the first half of the 10th century, *i. e.* from A. D. 907 to 953, would under normal conditions minimise the period of rule of his father Āditya I, the utmost limit of whose reign could have been only 30 years from A. D. 877 to 907. Since Sthāṇu Ravi had been Āditya's contemporary, his rule should have extended into the 4th quarter of the 9th century A. D. We learn from an inscription of Parāntaka I, found at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and dated in the 29th year of his reign (=A. D. 936), that the Chēra princess Nīlī, who made gifts to the temple, was the daughter of the Kēraḷa king (*Kēraḷarāja*) Vijayarāgadēva,[1] whom we may perhaps identify with the Viyarāgattēvar, who figures as the *Kōyiladhikāri* in the two Kōṭṭayam Plates of Sthāṇu Ravi.[2] Perhaps princes of the Chēra line styled themselves *Kōyiladhikāris* and had some sort of power and official position in the palaces of kings. There is nothing in the Chōḷa record under reference to show if the Kēraḷa king Vijayarāgadēva was living at the time and under what circumstances his daughter went to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and made the grant. At any rate, it is certain that Vijayarāgadēva was a Kēraḷa king and the successor of Sthāṇu Ravi. It is even probable that there was another Kēraḷa ruler who reigned between this Vijayarāgadēva and Indu Kōdaivarman of our inscription. At any rate, it is a valuable addition to know that Indu Kōdaivarman belonged to the regular Chēra line and was the immediate predecessor of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

The inscription registers the grant of a land called Veṭṭikkōḍu, by a chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu named Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ, to the temple of Tirukkālkkarai-Bhaṭāra. From the *mēṟpādi*, which term may be taken to mean 'the owner's share of produce', Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ ordered the feeding of twelve Brāhmaṇas, the conduct of worship in the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* on the day of the constellation Makhā in the

1 No. 169 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1912

2 *Trav. Arch. Series* Vol. II. pp. 81 and 82.

month of Māśi, and the supply of gruel during the month of Karkaṭaka. The officers bound themselves to give the paddy required for the purpose. From the cultivator's share, the tenants,—who are mentioned by name with their native villages,—instituted nine *agram*, ordered the maintenance of two perpetual lamps and gave silver salvers and *vaṭṭayai*. In cases of default, the tenants bound themselves to pay double the quantity at default. It is declared that the land should not be resumed by any future rulers in charge of the government of the country (*nāḍuvāḻumavargaḷ*) and that any person who attempted to do so should be removed from the ministry and be made to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri*. Neither could officers or other persons acting on their behalf, become at any time the *pāṭṭamāḻar* (*i. e.* assume cultivating rights). Any transgression of this last condition involved the same fine as the previous one *i. e.* 100 *kaḻañju* of gold. The land was left under the protection of the *ūrāḻar*.

The document is signed by a number of persons who are called *sādhus* and their native villages are also given. It appears that these are officials of the king. The deed was drawn up by a native of Kummaṇkōḍu named Iravi Kuṉṉappōḷaṉ.

Altered forms of words used in this inscription are *kaḻañṉu* (*l*, 2) for *kaḻañju*, *kāññiram* (*l*. 4) for *kāñjiram*, *kariḍu* (*l*. 4) for *karaḍu*, *uḷḷoḍuṅga* (*l*. 4) for *uḷḷaḍaṅga*, *payara* (*l*. 4) for *peyara*, *iraḷchchikka* for *rakshikka* and *kaḍaviśar* for *kaḍaviyar* or *kaḍavar*. It has been elsewhere pointed out by me that *tāḻkki*[1] which had offered the greatest difficulty to discerning and which Prof. Sundaram Pillai has taken to refer to the name of a village[2] is only a corruption of *sākshi*. In doing so, I showed that *sa* changes into *ta* as in '*tandadi*' which stands for *santati*, *tannadi* for *sannadi* &c. But the difficulty was to account for the introduction of *ḻ* which is really what evades the inquirer. From the form *iraḷchchikka* used in this epigraph, it will be seen that *ḻ* is also sometimes introduced to preserve the phonetic value of *ksha*.

Of the official terms that occur in the inscription, *ūrāḻaṉ* is properly the revenue collector. *Adhikāri* denotes state officials. This official calling is retained in the modern designation of a village munsiff on the west coast. *Nāḍuvāḻumavar* is not used in the literal sense of 'persons living in a country or division', but stands for 'rulers of divisions of a country'. This is clear from such usages as '*Vēṇāḍu Vāḻndaruḷiya Maṇikaṇṭha Rāmavarman*'[3] '*Naṉṟuḷaināḍu-vāḻnda*'[4] and 'Yakkaṉ Kuṉṟappōḷaṉ *nāḍuvāḻkkaiyil*'[5] which occur in inscriptions. The statement that if any *nāḍuvāḻumavaṉ* resumed the granted land, he would be subject to pay a fine to the *kōyiladhikāri* indicates that the latter was an official of a higher order or status. We have already shown that he must be a royal relation, most probably a *Yuvarāja* or prince elect to the throne.

1 See, above, No. 33, introduction.

2 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV. p. 284f.

3 Above, p. 81.

4 *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II. p. 33.

5 See below, No. 38.

Of etymological interest are the words *ulpādaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ*. These two terms occur in a large number of inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman discovered at Tirukkālkkarai and other places, situated in the northern part of the Travancore State. For treating them as proper names, there is not much warrant.[1] The plural form *perumudiyaṇmār* used in an epigraph[2] found at Tirukkālkkarai is quite decisive on the point, as it shows clearly that the word *perumudiyaṇ* has to be taken as a common noun and not as the name of a person. In all probability, the terms *ulpāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ* should have originally indicated some offices connected with the temple. This is apparent from the very passages which mention them. What their precise and primitive functions were it is not possible to fix; but this much may be safely advanced *viz.* that they were entrusted with the care of temple funds or properties which were left in their charge. From the subjoined record we learn that these persons issued gold from the temple and received lands on behalf of the god. It is interesting to note that this last function is given in other epigraphs to the *poduvāḷ* (*i. e.* a body of men who looked after charitable endowments), as opposed to the *ūrāḷar* (*i. e.* official in charge of the collection of State Revenues). The latter had nothing to do with the incomes accruing on lands set apart for temple purposes. In fact, when grants of lands or villages were made to temples, it was customary to insert an express clause in documents preventing the *ūrāḷar* from entering such lands and villages, demanding or receiving any dues from the tenants and from replacing existing tenants by others,—powers which, till the time of the grant, they evidently possessed.[3]

Very often the duties and callings of men have, in course of time, given rise to castes; and in the West coast many of the castes falling under the broad term of *ambalavāsis* (literally persons depending on the temple for their maintenance) have grown from hereditary official positions connected with temples. Among such, there is one called *Mūttadu* or *Valiyamūttadu*. It is not improbable that this class sprung from the official denomination of *perumaḍiyaṇ* which we may at once point out is the exact equivalent of *Valiyamūttadu*. It is generally regarded that the *Mūttadu* are *Śaivites* in point of religion: but from the Tirukkākkarai inscription, it appears certain that in ancient times the *perumudiyaṇmār* were also Vaiṣṇavas or made no difference in that respect. The *Mūttadus* are also known as *agappoduvāḷ* and this again, as pointed out already shows that they should have sprung from the official denomination of *perumudiyaṇ* whose functions were sometimes shared by a section of the *poduvāḷ* and the *ulpāḍaṇ* who were in charge of the transactions connected with the inner apartments of temples. *Ulpāḍaṇ* seems to correspond to *uṇṇāḻigaiyār*.

1 See No. 46 below, text-line 7.

2 *Trav. Arch. Series* Vol. II. p. 39.

3 Ibid p. 146, foot-note 2.

A list of villages and persons that occur in this inscription is given below.

Serial No.	Name of village.	Name of person.	Remarks.
1	Aṭṭāṇi-kōṭṭam	Dēvaṇ Śāttaṇ	
2	Chirayiṇkōḍu	Iravi Vāsudēvaṇ	
3	Iḷandurutti	Kēraḷaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	See lines 186 & 568 of the Tiruvalla plates.
4	Kīḻagam	Koṟṟaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ	
5	Kummaṇkōḍu	Iravi Kuṉṟappōḷaṇ	
6	Kuṉṟiyūr	Kaṇḍaṇ Puṟaiyaṇ	
7	Kuppe-Vāḷkkai	Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	
8	Mēṟṟaḷi	Śiṅgapirāṇ Kumaraṇ Pōḷaṇ Kumaraṇ	
9	Paṉṟitturutti	Kaṇṇaṇ Pōḷaṇ	See p. 43 of *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II.
10	Paṟaṁbu	Kēraḷaṇ Śrī-Kumaraṇ Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	
11	Perundōṭṭam	Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ	
12	Pullippaḷḷi	Saṅkaraṇ Kumaraṇ	
13	Ūr	Nakkaṇ Kēraḷaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ Śēndaṇ Kottaṇ Kōdai Kumaraṇ Śāmi Kaṇṇaṇ	
14	Vaṉṟalaichēri	Kōdai Ravi	See lines 555-6 of the Tiruvalla plates.
15	Veḷḷiyāṇpaḷḷi	Pōḷaṇ Śāttaṇ	See *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. p. 30.
16	Veṇbamalai	Yakkaṇ Pōḷaṇ	
17	Veṇḍalamaṇ	Kaṇṇaṇ Kumaraṇ	

Of the proper names noted in the above list, Iḷandurutti, Perundōṭṭam and Vaṉṟalaichēri occur in the Tiruvalla plates (*ll.* 61, 186, 555-558 and 568); and Paṉṟitturutti and Veḷḷiyāṉpaḷḷi are mentioned in the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, found at Tirukkākkarai.[1] It is stated in the Tiruvalla plates that Kōdai Ravi of Vaṉṟalaichēri, the same individual that figures in the subjoined record, ordered to provide for lamps and offerings to the temple of Tiruvallavāḻ-Appaṉ and that Kuṉṟaṉ Rāmaṉ, the ruler of Muṅṅināṭṭ-Iḷaṅkūṟu gave certain lands for the purpose (*ll.* 556-7). Three other persons of note also make their appearance in connection with the same temple. These are Rāmaṉ Kōdaivarman of Muṇṇi-nāḍu (*l.* 533), Rāmaṉ-mādēvī (*ll.* 537-8) and Muṇṇimārāyar (*l.* 542). The first made grants in the year in which Jupiter was in Mēsha-rāśi; while the assignment made by the second, who in all probability was the queen of the first, is dated in the year when Jupiter was in Kanni; and the last *i. e.* Muṇṇimārāyar is said to have paid penalty for certain misconduct, by a grant to the temple. All these appear to be more or less of the same time. And the fact, that Kōdai Ravi of Vaṉṟalaichēri is known from the subjoined inscription to belong to the time of Indukōdaivarman, enables us to fix the time when these grants were made. Rāmaṉ Kōdaivarman's grant might have been made in A. D. 966-7 and that of queen Rāmaṉmādēvī in A. D. 971-2, when Jupiter occupied the signs stated in the plates.

Text.[2]

1 [ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ கொவி]ந்து கொதைவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு [3]பதிணொராமாண்டைக்கெதிர் அய்யா மாண்டு சிங்கத்துள் வியாழந் நிற்கச் செய்த கநமமாவது [॥*] [கா][4] திருக்கால்க்கரை உள்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனுங் கையாற் பொன் கொண்டு கால்க்கரைகாடுடைய கண்ணம் புறையன் வாய்க்கால்ச் சிறைக்கு மெல் இடைச்சிறைக்கு கிழும் வெட்டிக்கரிக்காட்டுக் கொள்ள பூமியும் [பூனை]வ[செ]யும் கூட திருக்கால்க்கரை பட்டாரகர் திருவடிக்கு அட்டிக்குடுத்தான் கால்க்கரை காடுடைய கண்ணம் பு-

2 [றையன் [॥*] இப்]பூமி [மெ]ற்பாதியும் . . . . பணியுங்கொண்டு கண்ணம் புறையன் தானமைச்ச செலவாவொ [॥*] பந்திரண்டு கலம் திருவக்கிரமும்[॥*] மாயி[5] மகத்தி ஞ[6]ள் சுற்றுமா[டங்]கூட ஆராதினைக்கு பதின் கழஞ்[னு] பொன்னு[ம்*] கற்க்கடக ஞாயிறுதொ[றுங்]நியதி இடங்கழியால் பதினழி அரிகொண்டு கஞ்சியுஞ் செலுத்தக்கடவிய ரதிகாரிகள் [॥*] ம[ற்]றைப்பாதிக்கும் மெற்றளிப்பொழுங் குமரனமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்*] மூன்றுகலம் நந்தாவிளக்கொன்று [।] ஊரங்கக்கங்கொள னமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்*] ஒன்று [।] ஊரங் கண்ட[ன்*] செந்[த*] னமச்-

3 [ச அக்கிர][ம்*] ஒ[ன்]று [।] வன்றலசெரி கொ[தை] இரவி யமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக் கொன்றும் திருவக்கிரம் வெள்ளித்தாலமும் வட்டகையும்

1 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. II. pp. 39 and 43.

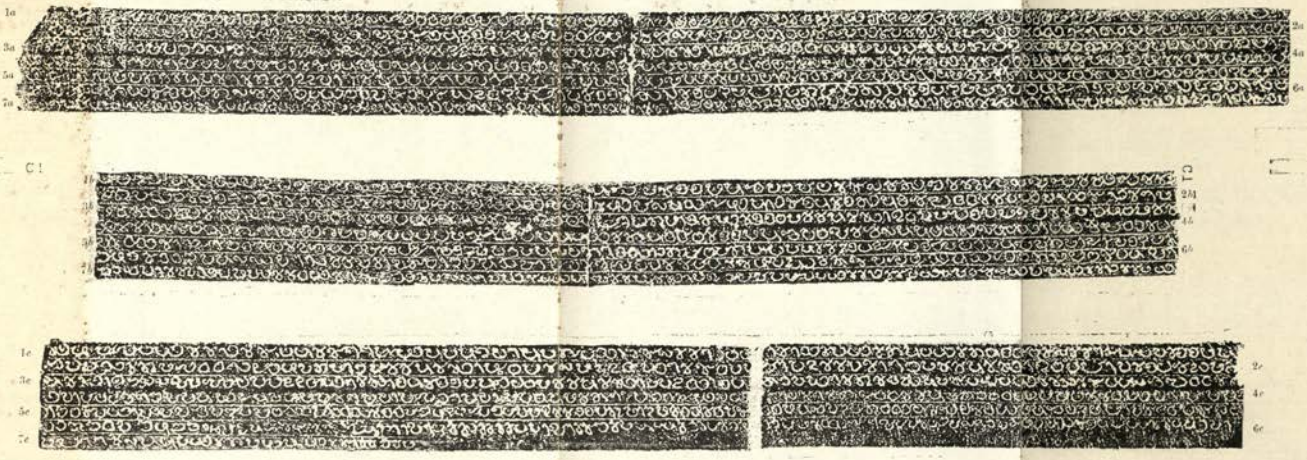
2 Lines had been drawn and the surface prepared for writing.

3 ஞ is a rare letter in Vaṭṭeḻuttu inscriptions; and its shape resembling கு is worthy of note.

4 A symbol resembling *kā* is engraved here. It might either stand for a punctuation mark or it might be that the engraver commenced to write *Kālkkarai* instead of Tirukkālkkarai and subsequently left it without erasing.

5 Read மாசி.

6 ஞ looks like ன.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

Scale: One-seventh.

கூட ஒன்[று] [।] மெற்றளிச் சிங்[க*]ப்பிரான் குமர[னமை]ச்ச தி
ருவக்கிரம் வெள்ளித்தாலமும் வட்டகையும் [கூட] ஒன்றும் [।] ஊர
ங் குமரஞ்சாமி கண்ணனமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்*] ஒன்றும் [।] வெண்பமலை
யக்கம் பொழ னமச்ச அக்கிர[ம்*] ஒன்றும் [।] இவ்வொன்பதும் ந
ந்தாவிளக்கிரண்டு[ம்*] [॥*] கண்ணம் புறைய னமச்ச அக்கிரம் பந்தி
ரண்டு[ம்*] சுற்றுவிளக்கு[ம்*] கஞ்சியும் காட்டெட்டிக்கரிக் கொட்
டால் செலுத்தக் க-

4 [டவிய ரதிகாரி]கள் [॥*] இப்பூமி மாவறக்கொண்டு முதலற அட்டி குடு
த்தான் கால்க்கரை நாடுடைய கண்ணம் புறையன் [॥*] கல்லுங் கரிடும்
காஞ்ஞிரக்குற்றியு முள்ளு மு[யிறு]மாக(க) வமையும் வெட்டிக்கரிக்
காட்டி னொள்ள பூமி எவ்வகைபட்டது முள்[ளொ]டுங்ங அட்டிக் குடு
த்தான் கண்ணம் புறையன் [॥*] இச்செலவு முட்டுகில் முட்டிரட்டி
செலுத்த[க்*]கடவியர் பாட்டமாளன் [॥*] இப்பூமி நாடுவாழுமவ
[ர்*]கள் பயரப்பெறார் [।*] பயருமவனை அமச்சுள்ளு மற்ற கொயில
திகாரிகள்க்கு [நூ]ற்[ற][1] கழஞ்சு பொன் றண்டம்படக் கடவியர் [।*]
இப்பி[2]-

5 மி [நாடு]வாழுமவ[ர்*]களாக அவ[ர்*]கள்க்கு சார்ந்நவர்[க*]ளாக பா
ட்டமாளப்பெறார் [।*] இவ[ர்*]களும் அத்தண்டமெ படக்கடவியர்
[॥*] இதற்கு இப்பரி[சு*] அறியும் சாதுக்கள் அட்டானி கொட்ட
த்து தெவஞ் சாத்தனும் இளந்துருத்தி கொள நாராயணனு[ம்*] பெ
ருந்தொட்டத்து கண்ட நாராயணனும் பறம்புடை[ய] கொளஞ் சிரி
குமா[ர*]னும் குப்பெவாழ்க்கை கண்ட நாராயண[னு]ம் பறம்புடைய
குமர நாராயணனும் சிரயன்கொட்டிரவி வாதுதெவனும்[3] பன்றித்துரி
த்தி கண்ணம் பொழனும் வெண்ட[ல]மணக் கண்ணங் குமரனும் கி
ழகத்து கொற்றம் புறையனுங் குன்றியூருடைய கண்டிம் புறையனும்
ஊரங் கொத்தங் கொதையு-

6 ம் . . . . இரவி கொதையும் குலசெகரபட்டினத்து மாறங் கொவிந்த
னும் ஊரங் கண்ண[ஞ்] சிரிகண்டனும் ஊரம் குமரன் சிரிகண்டனும்
ஊரங் பொழ[4] நாரணனும் வெள்ளியான்பள்ளி பொழஞ் சாத்தனும்
புல்லிபள்ளிச் சங்கரங் குமரனும் அறிவார் [॥*] இவ[ர்*]கள் வெண்டக்
கெட்டுக் கெழ்ப்பிச்சு கைய்யெழுதி அறிவென் கும்மன்கொட்டு இர
[வி] குன்றப் பொழ[னெ]ன்[5] இப்பூ[மி*]கா[ழ்]க்கரை நாட்டு[6]ர[ா]
ளர் இரழ்ச்சிக்கக் கடவர் [।*] இரக்காபொகம் ஆட்டு கற்கடக ஞாயி
ற்று மகத்தி[னா]ள் இடங்கழியால் நூற்று நாழி அரி கொண்டு ஊ
ட்டக்கடவியர் [॥*]

7 உள்பாட[னு]ம்பெருமுதியனு[ம்*] ஊட்டா தொழிவாராயின் பூமி தடு
த்துவச்சு உண்ணக்கடவியர் [।] தெவர்க்கு அஞ்ஞா . . க்கிரா . ணந்திர்
த்து கொடுக்க கடவியந் [த]ச்சநாட்டுராளர் அன்று செல்லப்பொதி
பந்திரண்டு காணம் பொன் தெவர்க்கு தண்டம்படக் கட[வி][சா][7]

1 Read நூற்று.

2 Read இப்பூ°.

3 Read வாஸுதெவனும்.

4 This and other பொ's of this epigraph are hardly distinguishable from ன.

5 There is a punctuation mark after பொழனேன்.

6 டு and பூ are distinguished from their short.

7 Read கடவியர்.

[॥*] திருமால் அறைப்பிராட்டி அமைச்ச அக்கிரம் ஒன்று[।*] இ
துவ் வெட்டிக்கரிக் காட்டின்மெற் செல்வித [॥*] வெட்டிக்கரிக்கா
ட்டின்மெலுள்ள செலவு முட்டிக்குமவன் முழிக்களக்கச்சம் [॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year, in which Jupiter stood in Simha, and which corresponded to the fifth, year opposite to the eleventh, current in the reign of king Indu Kōdaivarma-Tiruvaḍi, the following transaction was made:—

Having received gold from the hands of the *uḷpāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉ* of Tirukkālkkarai,[1] the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu (*i. e.*) Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ gave, with libation (*of water*), the lands comprised in Veṭṭikkarikkāḍu, situated to the west of Vāykkālchchiṟai and to the east of Iḍaichchirai, along with Puṇaivarai, to the Bhaṭṭārakar-Tiruvaḍi of Tirukkākarai.

From the *mēṟpādi* (*i. e.* the owner's share of the produce) on this land and from . . . . , Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ instituted the following expenses[1]:—

The officers (*adhikārar*) shall supply (1) twelve dishes of sacred meal (*i. e.* meals required for feeding twelve persons); (2) the gold required for performing the worship (of the deities) in the enclosure verandah (*śuṟṟumāḍam*) on the day of Makhā in the month of Māśi; and (3) the gruel to be supplied during the month of Karkaṭaka, with ten *nāḻi* of rice daily, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*.

From the other half (i. e. the cultivator's share) were instituted (the expenses of) three dishes[2] of meals and one perpetual lamp, (the same being) ordered by Pōḷaṉ Kumaraṉ of Mēṟṟaḷi.

one *agram* ordered by Ūraṉ Nakkaṉ Kēraḷaṉ;
one *agram* ordered by Ūraṉ Kaṇḍaṉ Śēndaṉ;
one perpetual lamp together with a sacred *agram*, a silver salver and one (*vaṭṭagai*), ordered by Kōdai Iravi of Vaṉṟalaichēri;
one sacred *agram*, together with a silver salver and *vaṭṭagai*,[3] ordered by Śiṅgapirāṉ Kumaraṉ of Mēṟṟaḷi;
one *agram* ordered by Ūraṉ Kumaraṉ Śāmi Kaṇṇaṉ;
one *agram* ordered by Yakkaṉ Pōḷaṉ of Veṇbamalai,—making in all, nine *agram* and two perpetual lamps.

The officers (*adhikāri*) shall, from (*the income of*) Kāṭṭeṭṭi-Karikkōḍu, supply (what is required for) these and for the twelve *agram*, the lamps for the enclosure *verandah* and the gruel instituted by Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ.

Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ, the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu, having received completely the (consideration) money, gave with libation of water this land. Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ gave with libation (of water) Veṭṭikkōḍu inclusive of all kinds of lands such as those having stones, boulders, stumps of *sticknos nuxvomica* (*kāñjiram*), thorny shrubs, the red ants (*muyiṟu*), *etc.*, contained (in it).

1 The words "Kālkkarai-nāḍuḍaiya Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ" are repeated twice.
2 The form *śelavāvō* used in this inscription is absolete.
3 *kalam* means 'a dish or a vess l' and stands for the person that eats. The passage, therefore, means that he instituted the feeding of 3 persons.
3 This word occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions and has been rendered 'basket' (S. I. I. Vol. II. p. 421.

If any default arises in the defraying of these expenses, the *Pāṭṭamāḷaṉ* shall pay double the quantity at default. This land shall not be resumed by any (of the officers) govering the country. He who resumes it, shall be removed from the ministry[1] and be made to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri*. Either those who govern the country or those that act on their behalf shall not (at any time) become the *pāṭṭamāḷaṉ*. (*If transgressed*), these also shall be subject to the same fine. The *sādhus* who knew this, in this wise, are Dēvaṉ Śāttaṉ of Aṭṭāṇi-kōṭṭam, Kēraḷa Nārāyaṇaṉ of Iḷandurutti, Kaṇḍaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Perundōṭṭam, Kēraḷaṉ Śiri-Kumaraṉ of Paṟambu, Kaṇḍaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kuppe-Vāḷkkai, Kumaraṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Paṟambu, Iravi Vāsudēvaṉ of Chiṟayiṉkōḍu, Kaṇṇaṉ Pōḷaṉ of Paṉṟiṭṭurutti, Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Veṇḍalamaṉ, Koṟṟaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ of Kīḻagam, Kaṇḍaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ of Kuṉṟiyūr, Kottaṉ Kōdai of Ūr, Iravi Kōdai of . . . . . , Māṟaṉ Gōvindaṉ of Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam, Kaṇṇaṉ Śiri-Kaṇḍaṉ (Śrīkaṇṭaṉ) of Ūr, Kumaraṉ Śirikaṇḍaṉ (Śrī-kaṇṭha) of Ūr, Pōḷaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Ūr, Pōḷaṉ Śāttaṉ of Veḷḷiyāṇpaḷḷi and Śaṅkaraṉ Kumaraṉ of Pullipaḷḷi—all these know (the transaction).

At the request of these, I Iravi Kuṇṇappōḷaṉ of Kummaṇkōḍu, hearing the document, wrote it, read it out for them to hear, and knew (the transaction).

The *ūrāḷars* of Kālkkarai-nāḍu shall protect this land. On the day of Makhā in the month of Karkaṭaka of each year, the *rakshābhōga* of (*one*) hundred *nāḻi* of rice, as measured by the *iḍaṅgaḻi*, shall be received and the feeding conducted. If they fail to feed, the *uḷpāḍaṉ* and the *perumadiyaṉ* shall eject them; and taking the lands in their own hands, conduct the feeding.

No. 36.—Inscription of Indesvarankodai: regnal year 5—5.

The subjoined inscription, in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters of the period to which the record belongs, is engraved on a slab of stone lying in the courtyard of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is dated in the month of Mēsha of the 5th year opposite to the 5th (*i. e.* the 10th) year of the reign of king Indēśvaran Kōdai. In this year, the planet Jupiter occupied the *rāśi* Mīna. The date furnishes an additional proof that king Indu Kōdaivarman or Indēśvaran Kodai ascended the throne in A. D. 955, as surmised by me already, for the year 965 which corresponds to the 10th regnal year of the king is a year in which Jupiter was in Mīna-rāśi as stated in the record.

The inscription registers an assignment of the revenues of the lands called Peruvayal, Kaṇṇaikālāyuḍaiyār-poṭṭai, Tachchaṉār-poṭṭai and Vaṭṭappoṭṭai,—together yielding an annual income of twelve *kalam* of paddy, both by way of proprietor's share of produce and as tax,—for burning two perpetual lamps and for feeding two Brāhmaṇas in the temple of Tirukkālkkarai-Bhaṭārar. One of the lamps was made of silver and it was ordered to be burnt with campher inserted in

1 This passage may also be rendered "He who resumes it, shall be subject to a fine of one hundred *kaḷañju* of gold to the *kōyiladhikāri* and the ministers."

the wick. The donor was Śadiraśikhāmaṇi *alias* Kiḻāṇaḍigaḷ. The employment of the terms *Aḍigaḷ* and *tamperumāṭṭiyār* for the donor and his wife shows that Śadiraśikhāmaṇi was a chief of some consequence. The correct name of the person was perhaps Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi. In this connection, it is worthy of note that the *adhikāris i. e.* the officers had been made responsible for supplying the temple with the stipulated quantity of paddy, which, would not have been the case if the donor were a private individual. It is further added that if the income from the lands assigned became less, these officers had to make good the dificient quantity: and if default was made in the worship, the *ulpāḍaṇ* was required to pay a fine of two and a half *kāṇam* of gold. The last clause enables us to say that the term *ulpāḍaṇ* corresponds to the *uṇṇāḻigaiyāṇ i. e.* the person in charge of (worship in) the central shrine, while *perumudiyaṇ* was the temple official in charge of the outer precincts.

Text.

1 ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொவிந்தெஷ்ஷங் கொ[த]க்குச் செல்[லா] நின்ற யா-

2 ண்டு அ[ய்*]யாமாண்டைக்கெதி ரையாமாண்டு மினத்தில் வியா-

3 ழங் நின்ற [1]மெடஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த கருமமாவது [॥*] திரு-

4 க்காள்க்கரை[2] பட்டாரர்க்குச் சதிரசிகாமணியாயின

5 கிழாயடிகள்[3] அமைச்ச வெள்ளி நந்தாவிளக் கொன்று [॥*] இதினுக்கு நிச-

6 ல்[4] அரைக்காணங் கருப்புரந்[5] திரியிலிட் டெரிக்கக் கடவர் [॥*] இவர் அமைச்ச

7 [திரு]வக்கிர மிரண்டு [॥*] தம்பெருமாட்டியார் அமைச்ச நந்தாவிளக் கொன்று [॥*] வி-

8 ருதுல[ர*]ந் நெ[ய்]யுங் கய்யு புளியும் ஒரு தெங்காயும் கறியும் உப்பும் கூட உச்-

9 சைத் திருப்பலியின்முன்னே யமிர்து செய்வியக்க[6] கடவர் [॥*] இச்செல-

10 வின் னமைஞ்ஞ பூமியாவது [॥*] பெருவயல் பூமியும் புலைய்-

11 ருங் கண்ணிணகாலாயுடையார் பொட்டையுந் தச்சனூர் பொட்டை-

12 யும் வட்டப்பொட்டையிற் கடனு மெலொடியுக் கூட ஆ-

13 ட்டு நால்ப்பத்திருகலந் நெல் பொரக் குடுத்தார் படார[ர்*] அதிகா-

14 ரிகள் [॥*] இந்நெல் பொர[ர]க்கால் குறைஞ்ஞ திட்டு செலித்தக் க-

15 டவர் படார[ர்*] அதிகாரிகள் [॥*] இப்பூமி பாட்டமாண்டு மூட்டிர ட்டி-

1 ட Looks almost like ற.

2 Read க்கால்க்கை.

3 Read கிழானடிகள்.

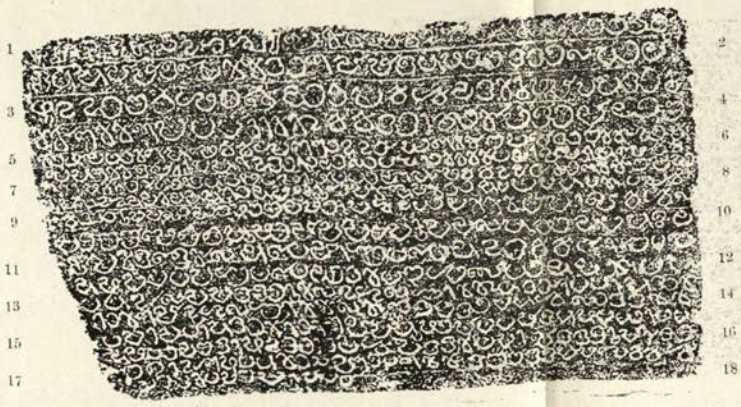
4 Read நிச்சல்.

5 Read கருப்பூரம்.

6 செய்விக்க.

No. 36. – TIRUKKAKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF INDESVARANKODAI.

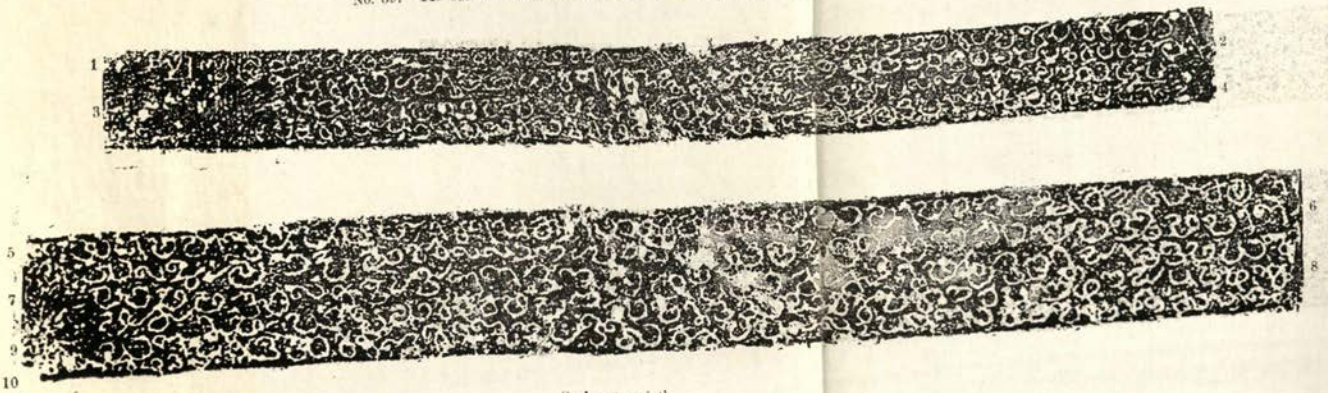
To face page 170.



Scale: One-sixth

No. 39. – TIRUKKAKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF YAKKAN KUNDAPPOLAN

To face page 175.



Scale: One-sixth

16 யு மடியன்தரமுந் திர்த்து செலுத்த கடவர் [॥*] இத்திருவாராதி-

17 னை ஒருநாள் முட்டுகில் இரண்டரைக் காண[ம்*] பொன் தண்டம் வைச்ச[1] செ-

18 [லுத்த] கடவன் உள்பாடன்[॥*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Mēsha of the fifth year opposite to the fifth year of (*the reign of*) king Indēśvaran Kōdai corresponding to the year in which Jupiter stood in Mīna, the following transaction was made:—

To the (*temple of*) Tirukkālkkarai-Bhaṭārar, Sadiraśikhāmaṇi *alias* Kiḻān-aḍgaḷ gave one silver perpetual lamp. This (lamp) had to be burnt daily with half a *kāṇam*[4] of campher inserted into the wick. He also instituted two sacred *agrams* (*i. e.* feeding of Brāhmaṇas). His queen gave one perpetual lamp. Before the sacred *bali* offerings of the noon (are made), the feeding shall be conducted, with two *tulām* of ghee, one *kaiśu*[2] of tamarind, one cocoanut, vegetable and salt.

The following are the lands set apart for these expenses:—

The officers of the Bhaṭāra assigned the yearly income of twelve *kalam* of paddy from the land called Peruvayal along with the Pulaiyaṉ[3] (attached to it), Kaṇṇaikkālāyy-uḍaiyār-poṭṭai, Tachchaṇār-poṭṭai and the taxes and proprietor's share of (the land called) Vaṭṭappoṭṭai. If the income became less, the deficient quantity must be made good by the officers of the king.

These lands shall be cultivated and in cases of default, after defraying double the defaulted amount and after removing the *aḍiyandaram*, the expenses shall be met.

If this worship is allowed to fail for one day, the *ulpāḍaṉ* shall, (after) paying a fine of two and a half *kāṇam*[4] of gold, perform the worship.

No. 37. An inscription of Indu Kodai: Date lost.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters and the Tamiḻ language is engraved on the outside of the south and east bases of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It belongs to the time of king Indukōdai-varma-Tiruvaḍi. The date portion is lost.

Among the peculiarities of the language the following deserve to be noted;—The use of *ū* as a sign of the dative in '*purayiḍattiṉu*', '*amidiṉu*', and '*viḻakkiṉu*' in line 3; '*tuḍavu*' as a variant of '*tuḍam*', '*koḻkuḍai*' for 'customary payments', '*tegiya*' in the sense of 'fully' and '*oḻichchu*' for '*oḻittu*' (exempting).

1 Read வைச்ச.

2 *Kaiśu* is a weight equal to one-fourth of a *kalam*. It occurs in the Tanjore Inscriptions of Rājarāja I. (See *South-Ind Inscrs.* Vol. II. pp. 75, 77).

3 The duty of the Pulaiyan was probably to watch the crops.

4 *Kāṇam* denoted both a gold weight and gold coin.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land, made by a chief named Śōḷaśikhāmaṇi of Neḍiyataḷi, for offerings to the temple of Tirukkākkarai. Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ, the ruler of Tirukkākkarai-nāḍu exempted the land from the customary payments, and the *ulpāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉ* bound themselves to pay certain quantities of ghee both in respect of this grant and for the maintenance of the lamp ordered to be put up by Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kārilam. Evidently, the latter refers to the gift registered in No. 40, below.

The following officers figure as witnesses to the transaction:—

Dēvaṉ Dēvaṉ of Malaippuram,
Kēśavaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam,
Pōḷaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam,
Poḷan Śrīkaṇṭhan of Ūr,
Pōḷan Śāttaṉ of Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi,
Kumaraṉ of Malaiyilpaḷḷi and
Iravi Koṉṟappōḷaṉ of Kummaṇkōḍu.

Of these, Pōḷan Śāttaṉ figures in the 16th year record of Indukōdai, published above, (No. 35); Kēśavan Śaṅkaran of Perumanaikkōṭṭam appears among the signatories in an epigraph of Bhāskara Ravivarman, dated in the 6th year of reign (below, No. 42). The writer of the present inscription was the same person as the one that wrote the 16th year record of the king.

The fact that one of the signatories of this record also figures in an early epigraph of Bhāskara Ravivarman suggests that the date of the inscription, which is lost, must be later than the 16th year of the reign of Indukōdaivarman and not far distant from the date of accession of Bhāskara Ravivarman.

Section I.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொவிந்து கொதைவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் [செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு] . . . . . [வி]யாழங் நின்ற தனு ஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த கருமமாவது [॥*] கண்ணம் புறைய-
2. [ன் நாடுவாழ்க்கையில்] நெடியதளி [பூமி] [சொ]ழசிகாமணி அமச்ச தி . . . . [॥*] . . . . . தெவர் கொண்ட புரையிடமு[ம்*]வடக்கு கெயவன் சங்கரன் புரையி-
3. பத்தினு தெக்கு நாராயணமங்ஙலத்திற்படாத பூமியெல்லாம் [கய்யெழு] . . . . . அமிதினு படுபூமி எல்லாம் வாழந்து கும்ப ஞாயிற்று

Section. II.

4. நாட்டினும் வாழ்க்கைக்கு பணிக்குங் கொடுக்குங் கொள்குடையுமொழிச்சு கொடுத்தான் கால்க்கரை நாடுடைய கண்ணம் புறையன் தெவர்க்கு [॥*] இங்நெய் நாளாலுந் திங்ஙளாலும் முட்[டி]க்கில் முட்டிரட்டி செலுத்தக்கடவர் [॥*] ஓராண்டு தெகிய முடடிக்கில் காராம்மை விடக்கடவியர் [॥*] இருபத்த[ஞ்சு]

5 [துட]வு உள்ப்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனும் கூடி முந்நூற்று மங்ஙலத்[தா]
ரை இதுங்கூட இருபத்தஞ்சு [துடவு] நெய் செலுத்தக்கடவர் காரிலி
த்து கண்ணங் குமர னமச்ச விளக்கினு [॥*] இப்பரி அறியுஞ் சாது
க்கள் மாலைப்புறத்து தெவந்தெவனும் பெருமனைக் கொட்டத்து கெச
வஞ் சங்கரனும் குலைசெகரபட்[டி]-

6 னத்து பொழநாரணனு[ம்*] ஊரங்பொழஞ் சிரிகண்டனு[ம்*] வெள்
ளியான்பள்ளி பொழஞ் சாத்தனு மலையிபள்ளிஇல் குமரனு மறியு [॥*]
மிவகளறிகக் கய்யெழுதி அறிவென் கும்மன்கொட் டிரவி குன்றப்
பொழனென்

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Dhanus of the year which was current in the reign of king Indu-Kōdaivarman-Tiruvaḍi and (*which corresponded to*) the year in which Jupiter stood in . . . . , (*the following*) transaction was made, while Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ was governing the country. Śōḻaśikhāmaṇi of Neḍiyataḷi set up . . . . . All the lands not included in Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam and lying to the north of the garden obtained by . . . . Dēvaṉ and to the south of the garden of Kēśavaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ . . . . . wrote . . . . , Enjoying (*i. e. cultivating*) all the lands set apart for . . . . . offerings shall . . . in the month of Kumbha. Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ gave to the god .. .. exempting (*them*) from all the payment to be made such as those for the protection of the country, and for the (several) services. If any default is made in respect of this ghee, for any day or month, double the defaulted quantity shall be paid. If default is made for a complete year, the *kārāṇmai* (*right*) should be given up. In (addition) to the twenty-five *tuḍavu* (of ghee) which the *ulpāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉ* had to supply for this, they shall give twenty-five *tuḍavu* of ghee for the lamp ordered (to be set up) by Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kārilam.

Thus known to the *sādhus* Dēvaṉ Dēvaṉ of Mālaippuram, Kēśavaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ of Perumanaikōṭṭam, Pōḻaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Kulaiśēkarapaṭṭinam, Pōḻan Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ of Ūr, Pōḻaṉ Śāttaṉ of Veḷḷiyānpaḷḷi, and Kumaraṉ of Malaiyilpaḷḷi. To the knowledge of these, I, Iravi Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ of Kummaṉkōḍu wrote this (deed) and knew (*the transaction*).

No. 38.—Tirukkakkarai inscription of Yakkan Kunrappolan.

This inscription is engraved on the south and east bases of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. Though fragmentary, it is important, being written in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters, not far removed from the time of Indu-Kōdaivarma-Tiruvaḍi, whose epigraphs are the earliest in the temple; it reveals to us the name of Yakkaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ of Paṉṟitturutti who was one of the feudatory chiefs ruling a part of the Kēraḷa dominions. The object of the inscription was to register gifts of lamps made both by the chief and by a private individual, to the temple of Tirukkākkarai-Bhaṭāra. The chief Yakkaṉ Kuṉṟappōḻaṉ also figures in another inscription of Tirukkākkarai which is not dated and does not mention the name of the king (No. 39).

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] சிங்கத்தில் வியாழம் நின்ற கும்பஞாயற்று செய்த கரும மாவது [॥*] பன்றித்துருத்தி யக்கங் குன்றப் பொழன் நாடுவாழ் க்கையில் வெண்ம்பூயம் ஆகின்ற விரு-
2. . . . . வாய் நாராயணன் அமைச்ச விருச்சிக விளக் கொன்று [॥*] முட்டிக்கில் முட்டிரட்டி[1] செலுத்தக்கடவர் [॥*] மூவாண்டு முட்டு . . . . . [॥*] . . . . .[2]
3. ற்றிஞராண்டளவு திருக்கால்க்கரைப் படாரர்க்குக்[3] திருவிளக்கிது அ ட்டிக்*குடு[த்*]தாறு[4] யக்கக்குற்றப்[5] பொழன் [॥*] இபடிகின்றி[6] இரண்டு முதல் . . . . . டிச் செய்து நிச்சல் முன்நாநாழியால் உரியுரி நெய் செலுத்தக் கடவியன் ।—

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! (The following) transaction was made in the month of Kumbha of the year in which Jupiter was in the sign Simha:—

While Yakkaṇ Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ of Paṇṇitturutti was ruling the country, (*the land called?*) Veṇpūyam . . . . . Nārāyaṇaṇ set up one Vṛiśchika lamp. If default is caused, double the amount at default shall be paid. If default is made for three years . . . . Yakkaṇ Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ gave with libation of water . . . . . for sacred lamps to (*the temple of*) Tirukkākkarai-Bhaṭāra, to last for . . . years. Otherwise than this . . . . . one *uri* of ghee as measured by the *muṇṇānāḻi* shall be given daily.

No. 39.—Another inscription of Yakkan Kunrappolan from Tirukkakkarai.

This inscription is engraved in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters on the east base of the central shrine of, and at the proper right of entrance into, the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. Its object is to regulate the conduct of temple servants and to fix the penalties in cases of transgression. Being much damaged, it is not possible to understand the full import of it. One of the rules laid down is that temple servants should not borrow money. If they did, both the debtor and the creditor should be made to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the temple. Another was that none but Brāhmans should carry the god into the temple.

Proper names that occur in the record are Yakkaṇ Kuṇṇappōḷaṇ of Paṇṇitturutti, who was the then ruler of the country, Kōdai Kēraḷaṇ of Iḷandurutti, who made the regulations, and Śaṅkaraṇ Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ of Pullippaḷḷi, who wrote the inscription. Judging from the palæography of the record, its date may be said to

1 ரட்டி is entered below the line.

2 Portions are lost before and after the second line.

3 Read படாரகர்க்குத்.

4 Read குடித்தான்.

5 Read க்குன்றப் போழன்.

6 Read இப்படிக்கின்றி.

7 This may be the name of a place either land or village.

fall prior to the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman or in the early part of the reign of that king.

The peculiarity of the alphabet can be judged from the plate facing this page.

Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருவாராதினை யெம்பெருமக்கள் உள்ளிட்டா . . . . .
. . . . . [பொன்]னும் கடங்கொடுக்க பெறார் [॥*]
2. கொடுக்கில்[1] பெருமானடிகள்க்கு நூற்றுக் கழைஞ்சு பொன் தண்டப்ப
டக் கடவியர் [॥*]
3. கொடுத்தானும்[2] அ[வ்*]வண்ணமாவ்வித [॥*] . . ஞ்சு அரியு மடைத்
து . ல்ல . . . யனதிம . . .
4. . . க்கப்பெறார் [॥*] அதிகாரிகளும் திருத்தி . . . . . செய்தவா
ள . . க்கடவ . . .
5. ழியுமவரளும் பட்டாரகரை பூசுரர் மதிலகம் புக கடவியர் [॥*] மற்றெ
து ஆசந்தி செய்த-
6. தில்லை யென்று யிக்கல்லின் மெலெழுதிய வண்ணமன்றியெ பண்ணுமவ
ரள்
7. யிம்மதிலகத்தொள்ள தன்ம முட்டிச்சொ ந மாய் திருநாராயணம் பிழை-
8. ய்சொருமாவிது [॥*] யி[க்*]கச்சம் பன்றித்துருத்தி யிக்கங்[3] குன்றப்
பொழன் நாவ்வாழ்கை
9. யிள[ந்*]துருத்திக் கொதை கெரளன் பண்ணிச்சது புல்லிபள்ளிச் சங்க
ரஞ்சிரி[க]ண்ட-
10. ன் எழுத்து

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The greatmen who perform worship (*in temples*) and others . . . . . shall not receive[4] money on loan. If they receive[5] they shall be liable to pay a fine of one hundred *kaḻañju* of gold to the god (*perumāṉaḍigaḷ*). Those who lend shall also be subject to the same fine.[6] The officers and . . . . . the Bhūsuras *i. e.* Brahmins shall cause the god (Bhaṭṭāra) to be taken within the walls (of the temple). If otherwise than what is recorded on this stone, or if any one, saying that he did commit . . . .[7] act in such manner (*as to cause impediment*), he (*shall be considered*) to have obstructed the charities connected with the temple[8] and to have committed offenses against the god Tirunārāyaṇa. Kōdai Kēraḷaṉ of Iḷandurutti made these arrangements, while Yakkan Kuṉṟappōḷaṉ of Paṉṟitturutti was governing the country. The writing of Śaṅkaraṉ Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ of Pullippaḷḷi.

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1 ல் is entered as an interliniation.
2 னு is entered below the line.
3 Read யக்கங்.
4 *Kaḻaṉ kolukka-pperār* means "shall not accept being given on loan."
5 *Kodukkil* has to be taken in the sense of kodukkappeju.
6 After this, there is a damaged portion which is too fragmentary to translate.
7 The meaning of the word ஆசந்தி cannot be made out.
8 Literally "that which is within the walls."

No. 40.—Tirukkakkarai inscription of Kannan Kumaran.

This inscription is engraved on the outside base of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It remains incomplete, having lost a good portion at the end of each of the first three lines. It registers a gift of money made by a certain Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kārilam in favour of the temple at Tirukkākkarai, so as to enable the temple officers *i. e.* the *ulpāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉ* to purchase certain lands situated at Kaṇṇamaṅgalam and belonging to a certain Iyakkaṉ Kōdai of Ravimaṅgalam. Two other persons *i. e.* Puṟaiyaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ and Pōḷaṉ Gōvindaṉ appear to have been made the cultivators of the lands on condition that they supplied annually six hundred *nāḻi* of paddy to the temple, besides giving (one) *nāḻi* for wastage. Failure to carry out the conditions of the grant, involved the loss of the cultivating right.

From this inscription, it is clear that when grants of money were made to temples, they were sometimes utilised in purchasing lands, which were entrusted to some cultivators on condition that they undertook to supply stipulated quantities of produce so that the object of the grant might be fulfilled; that it was customary to give in addition to the agreed quantity of paddy, an extra quantity to meet wastage; and that failure to comply with the conditions of assignment, deprived the cultivator of his cultivating right.

The inscription is not dated. Only a few astronomical details are given and these are insufficient for calculation. Palæographically, the record may be assigned to the middle of the 10th century A. D. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu script employed in this inscription is quite similar to that found in the epigraphs of king Indu Kōdaivarman and I would accordingly regard it as belonging to the time of that king. Besides, there is also internal evidence favouring the view. The donor Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kārilam figures in another epigraph from the same temple, which is dated in the reign of king Indu Kōdaivarman. Perhaps A. D. 972-3, which was a year in which Jupiter remained in the sign Kanni and which fell in the reign of Indu Kōdai, is the date of the inscription.

Regarding the official designations of the *ulpāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉ* see page 164, above; and on *kārāṇmai* and *kaḍamai* see page 61, above. *Tuḍavu* is a grain and liquid measure; this form *tuḍavu* must have been the original of the modern *tuḍam* which is a measure holding quarter of a *nāḻi*. Pulaiyaṉ is a man of an inferior caste left in charge of lands and fields; his duty was perhaps to cultivate and watch. As remuneration for the work he did, he appears to have been given some lands free of all taxes.

The proper names of persons and places that occur in this inscription are Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kārilam, Iyakkaṉ Kōdai of Iravimaṅgalam and Kaṇṇamaṅgalam.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥] கன்னியில் வியாழந் நிற்கச் சிங்க ஞாயிற்று செய்த கருமமாவது [॥*] காரிலத்[து] கணணங் குமாரனிடைப் பழங் காசினெடு ஒப்பிது முப்பத்து அறு கழைஞ்சு பொன் கொண்டு . . . . ஆட்டை— . . . . . .

2. டு . . தெவர் துடவினால் முப்பத்து அஞ்சு துடவு நெய் செலுத்தக் கடவர் [॥*] இப்[பொ]ன்னினு கண்ணம[ங்*] ஙலத்து வயலுங் கரையம்[1] புலையரும் மற்று மிரவிமங்கிலத் தியக்கங் கொதை வாழ்ந்நருளின்ற பூமி எவ்வகைப்பட்டதும் . . . . . .

3. கொள்ளக்கடவ னுள்ப்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனும் [॥*] காரைக்காடுடையார் குளத்தினு வழிக்கு தெ[க்குஉள்ள] பூமியும் வாழ்ந்று கொள்ளக்கடவியன் புறையங்கண்டனும் பொழங் கொவிந்நனு [*॥] மிய் பூமி . . . . . .

4. தெவர் பறையால் நாழி பொக்கு[2] [॥*] அறுநூற்றுநாழி நெல் கொட்டகாரத்தி[ல்*] அள[வு கொடா]

5. [க்*]கில் காராண்மை விடக்க[ட*]வியன் [।*] கடமை கூட காராண்மை காண்பிது [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! (*The following is*) the transaction made in the month of Simha of the year in which Jupiter stood in Kanni:—

Receiving thirty-six *kaḻañju* of gold, equal in fineness to the old *kāśu*, from Kaṇṇaṉ Kumaraṉ of Kārilam . . . . . year . . . . . shall supply daily thirty-five *tuḍavu* of ghee, as measured by the temple *tuḍavu*. For this quantity of gold, all the *different* kinds of lands under the enjoyment of Iyakkaṉ Kōdai of Ravimaṅgalam, situated in Kaṇṇamaṅgalam, inclusive of the *vayal* (*i. e.* wet lands), *karai* and the *pulaiyaṉ* attached to them . . . . . shall be taken by (*the temple officials*) the *uḷppāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉs*. Puṟaiyaṉ Kaṇḍaṉ and Pōḻaṉ Gōvindaṉ shall enjoy the lands laying to the south of the pathway (*leading*) to the tank of Kāraikkāḍuḍaiyār. This land .... (one) *nāḻi* as measured by the *paṟai* of the temple shall be given for wastage. If six hundred *nāḻi* of paddy are not measured out and given in the temple (*koṭṭakāram*),[3] the *kārāṇmai* (*i. e. the right of cultivation of the land*) shall be given up: the tax (*kaḍamai*) also shall be included[4] in the *kārāṇmai*.[5]

No. 41.— Tirukkakkarai inscription of the time of Kannan Puraiyan.

This inscription is engraved on the east base (outside) of the *śuṟṟumaṇḍapa* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. It is in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and Tamiḻ language. Its object is to register certain regulations preventing rulers of countries *i. e.* district officials, from lending money to temples and temple servants.

1 Read கரையும்.

2 Can also be read as நாழிக்கு.

3 *Koṭṭagāram* means 'a palace'; but in the present case 'the temple building' is probably meant. It is now shortened into *Koṭṭāram*.

4 *Kāṇbidu* literally means 'shall be seen'.

5 What is meant by this is not plain.

If in spite of this order they did so, they were prohibited from proceeding against the debtor (from the recovery of the loans). If a worshipping priest had received loans he should not be permitted to do duty in the temple. If after taking loans, the priests retain worship in the temple— they should be considered as having committed offences against the regulations of Mūḷikkaḷam.

The date of the inscription is only indicated in general terms *viz.* the year in which Jupiter was in the Mithunam. Though this does not by itself enable us to fix the year with any amount of certainty, yet the fact that Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ was among those who framed the regulations might be taken to show that the record is one falling either in the reign of Indu Kōdaivarman who reigned from A. D. 955 to 978, or immediatly after, for we know that Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ was a contemporary of Indu Kōdaivarman. The exact year of the record may be one of the three dates A. D. 957 969 or 981, in all of which years Jupiter was in Mithuna. If it were A. D. 969 it would be reasonable to expect it to be dated in the reign of Indu Kōdaivarman for then he was actually ruling the country. Since this is not so, the date must be either A. D. 957 or 981. In either case, the omission of the king's name is significant. Assuming the latter date, which seems to be more probable if we take into consideration the palaeography of the record the omission may be accounted for in this way. Actually the regulations might have been framed in the reign of Indu Kōdai but at the time it was engraved on stone that king should have passed away or abdicated the throne in favour of his successor and the successor was not anointed king till some time later. The record could not therefore be dated in the reign of either king. And this is perhaps also the reason why, according to some of the inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman, his initial date works out to be A. D. 980, 981 or even 982. This enables us to say that the year A. D. 978 is the date of *abhishēka* and not the actual coronation of Bhāskara Ravivarman, and that though virtually Indu Kōdaivarman was king, in reality it was Bhāskara Ravivarman that should have managed the affairs of the Kēraḷa dominions from A. D. 978 when the necessity for his *abhishēka* arose till A. D. 982 when perhaps Indu Kōdai passed away.

Text.

1. ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ] [॥*] மிதுனத்தில் வியாழங் நிற்க கன்னி ஞாயிற்று கால்கரை நாடுடைய கண்ணம் பு[றயனு]. . . . . .
. . .

2. கூடிச் செய்த கருமமாவது [॥*] ஆராதிக்கும் எம்பெருமக்கள் . . .
. . .

3. களு மிவகள்க்கு கொடுத்தன்றி அவர்கள் வைக்க கடமையில்லை [॥*]
. . . மாராதினை . . . . ழிவாராயில் படாரர்தி
ரு . . .

4. நாடுவாழுமவகள்க்கு கடங்கொடுத்துகொண்டு சாந்தி இருக்கப் பெறுர் [॥*] கொடுத்து இப்பாருளராயிரு படாரரையும் ப[டார ரதிகா ரரையுங் குடப் பெறுர் [॥*] இவ்வண்ணம் பண்ணுது] . .
. . . . .

5. பத்துள்ள திருவாராதினை முட்டிச் சொராமெ முழிகள கச்சம் பிழைச் சார் [॥*] . . . க்கூறு கொடுத்து சாந்தி இருக்சமவனு மி[க்*]கச்சம் பிழைச்சான் [॥*] தெவர்க்கு கடங் கொடக்கப் பெ ரூர் [॥*]

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Kanni of the year in which Jupiter stood in Mithuna, Kaṇṇaṉ Puṟaiyaṉ, the chief of Kālkkarai-nāḍu, and . . . . . together made the following transactions:—

The greatmen who perform worship (*in temples*) shall not place . . . . . unless these given them . . . . If they fail to perform . . . . to god . . . obtaining loans from the rulers of the country . . . . shall not be allowed to be incharge of worship. If there be any ruler that so lend money, he shall not be permitted to proceed against the god (*i. e. the temple*) or the servants. Acting in this (prohibited) manner, if any (*person*) causes default in the worship, he shall be considered to have offended against the regulations of Mūḷikkaḷam. Any one . . . pay this share and perform worship, he shall be regarded to have offended against the regulations of Mūḷikkaḷam. None shall lend money to the god (*i. e. the temple*).

No. 42.— An inscription of Bhaskara Ravivarman dated in the 2+4th year of reign.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language is engraved at the proper right of entrance on the outside of the south base of the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. But for a few damage spots, the record is in a well preserved condition. It belongs to the time of the Chēra king Bhāskara Ravivarman and is dated in the second opposite to the fourth year (*i. e.* the 6th) of the reign of that king. In this year it is stated that Jupiter was in Ṛishabha-rāśi. In the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman Jupiter was in Ṛishabha in the years 980, 992, 1004, 1016, 1028 and 1040. None of these dates could be the sixth year of the king's reign. There must, therefore, lie some mistakes either in the citation of the regnal year or in giving the position of Jupiter. If the regnal year had been given correctly and mistake made in assigning the exact position of Jupiter, we would have to correct 'Ṛishabha' into 'Kaṇṇi', on the other hand if the planet had been correctly located, the regnal year 'second opposite the fourth' would have to be corrected into 'the second opposite the twenty-fourth'. In this case, the date of the inscription would be A. D. 1004.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of money by Kōdai Kēraḷāṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai to the temple of Tirukkākkarai for feeding Brāhmaṇas. The money was received by the temple officials the *uḷpāḍaṉ* and the *perumudiyaṉ*: and apparantly entrusted to Dēvaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ and his three brothers on condition that they supplied as interest, at 10 (per cent), twelve *kalam* of paddy annually.

In case of failure to observe the condition, they were obliged to leave to the temple land yielding fifteen *kalam* of paddy. It may also be noted that in order to meet wastage, one *nāḻi* in excess was also stipulated to be paid.

The donor of this record Kōdai Kēraḷan of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai figures along with his two brothers Kōdai Ayyaṉ and Kōdai Nāraṇaṉ in another inscription of the same king found in the same place.[1] The date of this record as read is '2+29, Jupiter in Dhanus' Either the reading 29 is a mistake for 19 or the engraver has committed that mistake. It has also to be pointed out that Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai, whom we recognise as one of the brothers of our donor, figures in a still another inscription of the same king from the same place.[2] Here again the date portion is wrong. '2+19, Jupiter in Kumbha' is a mistake for '2+21, Jupiter in Kumbha'.

The proper names that occur in this inscription are:—

Kōdai Kēraḷaṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai,
Dēvaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ
Dēvaṉ Subrahmaṇyaṉ
Dēvaṉ Śuvākaraṉ and
Dēvaṉ Śēndaṉ
} Brothers
Miḻiyappaḷam, Viḷāṅgāḍu, Udaraikkuḻi, Iḷaṅguḷam and Kumaramaṅgalam among places,
Taṇivi of Paḷḷippuram,
Nārāyaṇaṉ Subrahmaṇyaṉ of Meṉṟalai,
Pāṇḍa Nārāyaṇaṉ of Meṉṟalai,
Kumaraṉ Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ and
Kumaraṉ Kuṭṭaṉ,
Kēśavaṉ Śaṅkaraṉ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam, and
Saṅkaraṉ Kaṇḍaṉ.

Of these, Kēśavan Śaṅkaraṉ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam figures in epigraph of Indu Kōdai whose date is lost. Paḷḷippuram occurs in the lines 525 and 526 of the Tiruvalla plates. Iḷaṅguḷam is mentioned in the Pālaiyūr plates as a village belonging to Iriñṅapuram dēśam.[3] Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai is still a village in the Tirukkākkarai-pakuthi of the Alangad Taluk.

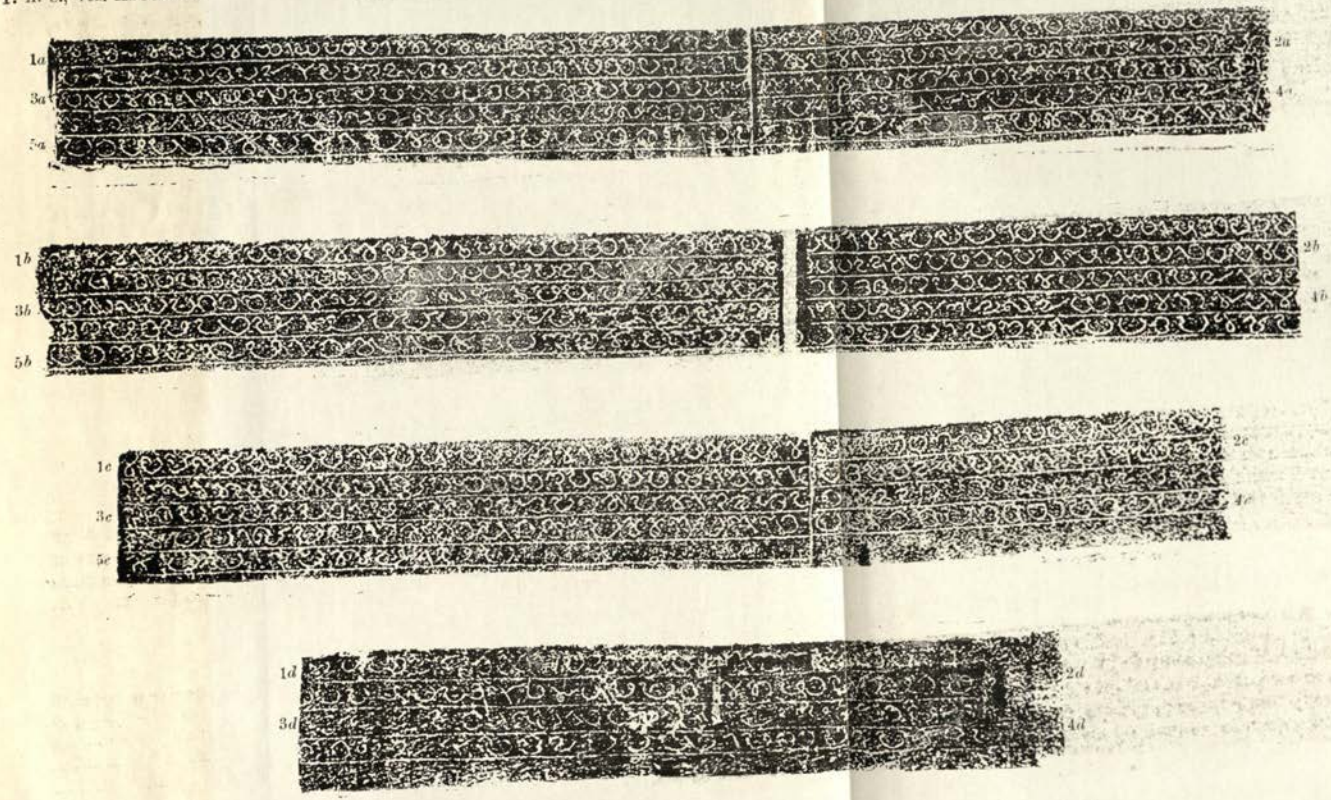
Text.

1. ஷஷ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொப்பாற்கரனிரவிவன்மர்க்குச் செல்லாநின்ற யாண்டு இரண்டாமாண்டைக் கெதிர் நாலாமாண்டு இடபத்தில் வியாழங் நி [ற்க]க் கர்கடகஞாயிற்றுச் செய்த கருமமாவது [॥*] திருக்கார்த்கை பட்டாரகருடைய உள்ப்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனுங் கய்யால்ச் சிறுமற்றப்புழைக் கொதை கொளன் அமைச்ச அக்கிர ப்பொன் [4]ஞ[ற்]பது பழங்காசிலைடுகூட பொன் நூற்றிருபதின்கழஞ்சு பொன் [॥*] . . . . அரைக்கால் . . .

1 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II. p. 84.
2 *Ibid*, p. 41 and below No. 43.
3 *Travancore Archæological Series*, Vol. III. No. 33.
4 The letter in brackets is engraved as an interlineation.

No. 42. - TIRUKKAKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF BHASKARA RAVIVARMAN.

To face page 180.



Scale: One-eighth.

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.

2. மனைஉடைய தெவநாராயணனுங் தெவந் துப்பிரமணியனுந் தெவஞ் சு
வாகரனு[ந்*] தெவஞ் செந்நனு மிப் பொன் நூற்றிருபதின் கழஞ்
சும் [பத்து] அரை பொலியால் [ஆ]ட்டும் பந்திருகல நெல் கொ
ண்டு வந்து சிறுமற்றப்புழைத் தெவ ரிடங்கழியால்க் குடுக்க கடவர்
[॥*] இப்பொன்னினு பணையம் இளங்குளத்து தங்ங நால்வர்க்கு
மூள்ள மிளியப் பழம் விளாங்காடும் உதரைக் குழியும் மற்று . . [1]

3. ங்கட்க்குள்ள மிளி பணையம் [॥*] ஆட்டாண்டுஞ் சிறுமற்றப்புழைக்காரெ
கற்கடகஞாயிற்று கொண்டு வந்து கொடா[தொ]ழிகில்ப் பதினே
ங்கலந் நெல் பொரும் பூமி தெவர் மா[னி]டத்தினு விடக்கடவர்
தெவ நாராயணனு[ம்*] தெவந் துப்பிரமணியனுந் தெவஞ் சுவா
கரனுந் தெவஞ் செந்நனு[॥*] மிப் பூமி நெல் கொடாதொழி[கில்]
தந்த்து கிட . . . ல்லும் முத . . மா . . .

4. க்கு [இவயு] கொவில்லே இப்பூமி மெல் நின்று இப் பொன் கொடுக்கப்
பெறின் தெவ நாராயணனும் [த]ம்பிமாரு உ[ள்*]ப்பாடனும் பெ
ருமுதியனு கொள்ளப்பெறுன் [॥*] நெல் நாழி பொக்கு கொடுக்க
கடவர் [॥*] இப்பரி சறியுஞ் சாதுக்கள் பள்ளிப்புறத்துத் தனிவியும்
மென்றலே நாராயணந் துப்பிரமணியனுங் கொறப்

5. பறம்பின் சங்கரங்கண்டனும் மென்றலேப்பாண்ட நாராயணனும் சூலெசெ
கரப்பட்டினத்து குமரஞ்சிரிகண்டனும் குமரங்குட்டனுங் பெருமெ
னக்கொட்டத்து கெசவ[ன்*] சங்கரனுங குமாரமங்

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the fourth opposite to the second year which was current in the reign of king Bhāskara Ravivarman, and which corresponded to the year in which Jupiter was in Ṛishabha, the following transaction was made:—

Kōdai Kēraḷaṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai instituted the feeding of Brāhmaṇas and gave, along with forty old gold *kāśu*, one hundred and twenty *kaḻiñju* of gold, into the hands of the *ulpāḍaṉ* and *perumudiyaṉ* belonging to the god of Tirukkālkkarai. Dēvaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ, Dēvaṉ Subrahmaṇyan, Dēvan Śuvākaraṉ and Dēvaṉ Śēndaṉ of Puraikkāvalamaṇai (receiving) this one hundred and twenty *kaḻañju* of gold, bound themselves to bring and measure, by the *iḍaṅgaḻi* of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai-dēva, twelve *kalam* of paddy every year, and ten and half interest.

The security[2] for this gold is Miḷiyappaḷam-Viḷāṅgāḍu, and Udaraikkuḷi as well as other . . . . *miḷis* belonging to these four (persons) at Iḷaṅguḷam. If annually, the people of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai fail to fetch and make over (this) in the Karkaṭaka month, Dēvaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ, Dēvaṉ Subrahmaṇyaṉ, Dēvaṉ Śuvāgaraṉ and Dēvaṉ Śēndaṉ shall have to leave to the representatives of the temple, land yielding fifteen *kalam* of paddy. If this land failed to yield paddy . . . . . and from the land, it shall not be taken by Dēvaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ and his brothers from the *ulppāḍaṉ* and *perumudiyaṉ*.[3] One *nāḻi* of paddy shall be given for wastage.

1 The two letters at the end may be ம் த

2 The word '*paṇaiyam*' is repeated twice.

3 The meaning of the passage is not clear owing to the gap

The following *sādhus* know this transactions:—Taṇivi of Paḷḷippuram, Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇyaṇ of Meṉṉalai, Śaṅkaraṇ Kaṇḍaṇ of Kōṟappaṟambu, Pāṇḍa Nārāyaṇaṇ of Meṉṉalai, Kumaraṇ Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ and Kumaraṇ Kuṭṭaṇ of Kulaśēkharapaṭṭiṇam, Kēśavaṇ Śaṅkaraṇ of Perumaṇaikkōṭṭam and . . . . Kumaramaṅ[galam].[1]

No. 43.— An inscription of Bhaskara Ravivarman dated in the 2+29th year of reign.

This is an inscription dated in the 2+29th year of the reign of Bhāskara Ravivarman. It comes from Tirukkākkarai where it is engraved on the outside base of the Śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa of the Vishṇu temple. It has been partially edited in Vol. II Part I. p. 41f. Only 3½ lines of the text had been given there, the rest having been found difficult to decipher.

Regarding the date of the inscription, M. R. Ry., Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai notes that it is equal to A. D. 992, October, when Jupiter's mean longitude was 44·55. The first regnal year, according to this inscription, falls in A. D 982, January 7th.

The characters in which the inscription is engraved appear to be much later than the time of Bhāskara Ravivarman. Perhaps it is due to the indifference of the scribe or that the record itself is a copy, though it is not so specifically stated. The large number of spelling mistakes found in it also points to the same end. Among the peculiarities of the language, may be noted the use of *kaḷaiññinnu* for *kaḷañjukku* and *'ulpāḍaṇum perumudiyaṇum kaiyil'* for *'ulpādan perumudiyaṇmār kaiyil'*.

Tuppaṇ, Pattanābaṇ and Kēyavaṇ stand for Śuppaṇ (a contraction of Subrahmaṇyaṇ), Padmanābhaṇ and Kēśavaṇ, respectively. *Bhaṭāra* has changed into *Paḷārar* and *manushya* into *māniḍam*. *Varugil* is another form of *varin*. It is worthy of note that the official designation *perumudiyaṇ* is used in this record with the name of one of the signatories just as *mugaveṭṭi*, *Tirumandiravōlai* etc.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of 60 *kaḷañju* of gold by Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai, to the temple of Tirukkākkarai-Bhaṭārar, for lamps. The gift amount was invested with Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Mākkaṇṇappaḷḷi who was required to supply, by way of interest, to the *ulppāḍaṇ* and the *perumudiyaṇ* the ghee necessary for burning the lamp. It is stated that nothing but ghee should be accepted and that any one who acted contrary to this order should be punished by the assembly of Mūḷikkuḷam. In case the capital was returned, it had to be invested on land.

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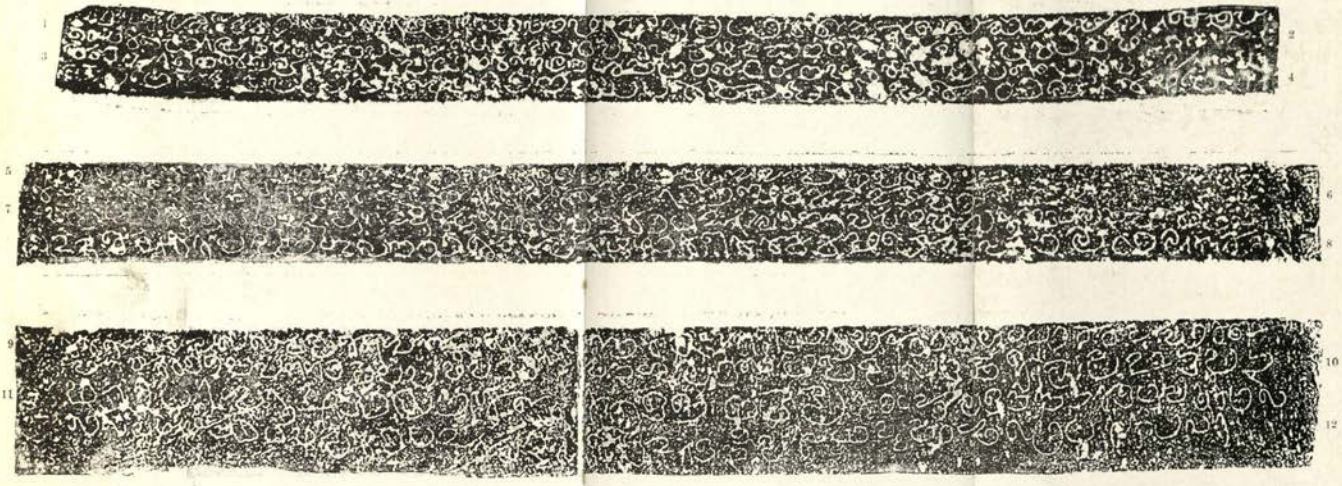
1 The portion left at the end cannot be much. It must have contained the syllables *galam* and the name of the person.



K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer. Scale: One-sixth.

The proper names that occur in this inscription are:—
Kaṇḍaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ of Mākkaṇṇappaḷḷi,
Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai,
Tuppaṉ Pattanāban of Mākkaṇṇappaḷḷi,
Kēśavaṉ Dēvaṉ of Neydalmaṅgalam,
Kōdai Kaṇṇaṉ,
Mūḷikkuḷam and Tirukkākkarai among villages.

Of these, the donor Kōdai Nārāyaṇaṉ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai figures in two other inscriptions of Bhāskara Ravivarman from the same place.[1] Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai, Mūḷikkaḷam and Tirukkākkarai are villages in the Alangad Taluk Neydalmaṅgalam occurs in an inscription of the same king, dated in the 58th year of reign.[2] The name of a native of this village, which has been partially read in Vol. II, p. 49, may probably be Kēśavaṉ Dēvaṉ, mentioned in the sub-joined record.

Text.

1. ஷ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] கொச் சிரிபாக்கரனிரவிவன்மர் திருவடிக்குச் செல்லா நி
ன்ற [3]யாண்டு இரண்டா[மா]

2. ண்டைக்கெதிர் இருபத்தொன்பதா மாண்டு கும்பத்துள் வியாழங் நின்ற
மகர ஞாயிற்று சிறுமற்றப்புழை

3. கொதை நாரணன் கையால் அறுபதின் கழைஞ்சு செம்பொன் கொ
ண்டான் மாக்கண்ணப்பள்ளி கண்ட நாராய[ணன்] [॥*]

4. இப்பொன் அறுபதின் கழைஞ்[ஞன்னு மட்டக்கடங் கொற்றியர் கெழு
ங்கு]

5. . . . . மாக்கண்ண பள்ளிஞனு பணை . . . . [॥*] . . . .
. . .

6. கழைஞ்ஞினு திருக்காற்கரைப் படாரர்க்கு கொதை நாரண னமைச்ச
நந்தாவிளக் . . . . . .

7. வாறு நெய் கொண்டுவந்து அளந்து கொடுக்க கடவன் கண்ட நாராயண
[॥*] னுள்பாடனும் பெருமுதியனுங் [கையில்]

8. ளந்து கொடு[க்*]க கடவன் [॥*] நெய்[ய*]ன்றி கொள்வொர் முழிக்
களக்களக்கச்சம் [॥*] இப்பரியறியுஞ் சாது-

9. க்கள் நெய்யல்லாதது கொள்வொனுகில் [தன்] பொகத்தொள்ள திருவா
ராதினை யூட்டுஞ் சாந்திகளா-

10. வொர் மாக்கண்ணப்பள்ளி துப்பம் பத்தனுபனு[ம்*] நெய்தல்மங்ஙலத்து
கெயவம் தெவனு

11. மறிவர் [॥*] பெருமுதியன் கொதை கண்ணனெழுத்து [॥*] கண்டநா
ராயணன் பொன் கொண்டு வருகில்

12. தில பழாரமானிடமுங் கண்ட நாரா[யண]னுங் கொதை நாரணனும் கூடி
பூமிமெ லிடக்கடவர் [॥*]

1 *Travancore Archaeological Survey*, Vol. II. p. 43, and above No. 42.

2 *Ibid*, p. 49.

3 ய looks like மா.

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Makara of the year in which Jupiter was in Kumbha and which corresponded to the second year opposite to the twenty-ninth year which was current (in the reign of) the glorious king Bhāskara Ravivarman-Tiruvaḍi, Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Mākkaṇṇappaḷḷi received from the hands of Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ of Śeṟumaṟṟappuḷai sixty *kaḻañju* of pure gold. For this (*quantity of*) sixty *kaḻañju* of gold . . . . as security . . . . . the lands. . . . . this gold, Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ shall bring, measure out and give ghee for . . . . the lamps set up by Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ in (*the temple of*) Tirukkākkrai-Bhaṭāra. (*The said ghee*) shall be measured and given into the hands of the *uḷpāḍaṇ* and *perumudiyaṇ*. Those who receive anything in lieu of the ghee, shall be subject to the regulations of Mūḷikkaḷam. Thus known to the *sādhus viz.* the priests who perform worship in the central shrine, Tuppaṇ Pattanābhaṇ of Mākkaṇṇappaḷḷi and Kēśavaṇ Dēvaṇ of Neydalmaṅgalam. This is the writing (*i. e.* signature) of the *perumudiyaṇ* Kōḍai Kaṇṇaṇ. If Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ brought (*back the*) gold, some of the representatives of the temple, along with Kaṇḍaṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ and Kōḍai Nārāyaṇaṇ shall invest it on land.

No. 44.—Tirukkakkarai inscription of the 13th century A. D. mentioning the year 3706.

From this inscription which is engraved on the south base of the *maṇḍapa* (outside), at the proper right of entrance into the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkakkarai, we learn that at the time of the record, Jupiter was in Mēsha-rāśi, and that three thousand seven hndred and six years had elapsed since the consecration of the god. Śāttaṇ Ś...ṇ was then the ruler of the country.

A word about the peculiar way in which the date is expressed becomes necessary; but before giving it we have to note that the palaeography of the inscription shows that it cannot be much earlier than the 13th century A. D. The inscriptions of Tirukkaṇḍiyūr reveal the ancient custom of reckoning time from the date of construction of temples, which might be considered an important local event perhaps coeval with the founding of the city. There are grounds for believing that this system is followed in the dating of the subjoined epigraph also. If it is, the time when the temple came into existence must be taken back to so early a date as 2500 B. C.! If on the other hand, it is to be supposed that by inadvertance the engraver omitted to write the word 'Kali' before 3705 and we supply it, the date portion would mean that on the day of the record, 3705 years of Kali era had passed away and that in the next year which was current, Jupiter was in the sign Mēsha. This leads to the result that the inscription was incised in about the commencing years of the 7th century A. D. and this result, it is needless to point out, is quite at variance with the palaeographical indications. From the passage, as it is

1 The connection of the phrase *Neyy-allādadu koḷvōnāgil tan bōgattoḷḷa* which occurs before *agattoḷḷa* is not clear.

Nos. 44 & 45. TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF TIRUKKAKKARAI.

To face pages 184 and 188.

Scale: One-sixth.

No. 46. TIRUKKAKKARAI INSCRIPTION OF KERALAKESARI.

To face page 187.

Scale: One-sixth.

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worded, it is impossible to obtain the fact that the temple was constructed in Kali 3705 or A. D. 603, as noted in the correction slip issued with Part I of Vol. II of the *Travancore Archaeological Series*. At best, from the wording of the date portion, we can only gather that there was a belief or tradition that the temple came into existence 3705 years before (the thirteenth century A. D.). The absurdity as regards facts in this case needs no comment. It has to be noted that none of the earlier inscriptions of the place refers to this belief or cites dates similarly.

Tarvvādichcham may be a Tamilised form of *sarvādhyakshya*.

Text.

1. வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] திருக்கால்க்கரைப் பெருமாள் தர்வ்வாதிச்சஞ் செய்தரு
ளிச் செல்லாநின்ற மூவாயிரத் தெழுநூற்றைய்யா மாண்டைக் கெ
திராண்டு மெடத்தில் வியாழந் நின்றக்[1] கன்னிஞாயிற்று கால்க்க-
2. ரைநாடு[ை*]டய சாத்தஞ் சி . . ன் தான் பிறந்த நாளா

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Kanni of the year opposite to the three thousand seven hundred and fifth which was current after the consecration of the god at Tirukkākkarai and which was the year in which Jupiter stood in Mēsha, Śāttaṉ . . . . of Kālkkarai-nāḍu . . . on his birth-day.

No. 45.— Tirukkakkarai inscription of Polan Ravi.

This inscription is engraved on the east base of the *śuṟṟu-maṇḍapa* (outside) of the proper right of entrance into the central shrine of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. In it are registered gifts of certain ornaments made of gold and presented to the god while Pōḷaṉ Ravi was governing the country. The donors were, besides Pōḷaṉ Ravi, Kōdai Puṟaiyaṉ and Kōdai Śrīkaṇṭhaṉ of Vēṣāli-maṅgalam. Palaeographically, the record may be assigned to the 13th century A. D.

Text.

1. வ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ [॥*] தலாத்தில் விழ[2] நின்ற கனி[3]
2. ஞாயிற்று பொழன் இரவி நாடுவாழ்க்கைய்யில்[4]
3. கொதை புறையைன்[5] பண்ணிச்[ச*] கொம்பு இருபதின் கழை-
4. [ஞொ]ரு ஒள்ளி அப்பூவு கூட்டி திருக்கால்க்கரைப்

1 Read நின்ற.
2 Read வியாழன்.
3 Read கன்னி.
4 Read நாடுவாழ்கையில்.
5 Read புறையன்.

5. பழாக்கு[1] திருவுடையாண்ட பண்ணிச்சார்த்திச்ச[ர]-
6. ன் பொழன் னிரவ்வி[2] அயிம்பத்து[3] முக்கழஞ்[ஞு*]
7. [4]அன்றெ வெசலிமஙத்து[5] கொதை புறையனும்
8. கொதை [ஸ்ரீ]கண்டனு கூடி பந்திருகழஞ்ஞு பொன்
9. கொண்டு உதரபந்தஙம் பண்ணிசர்த்திச்சார்[6]
10. அன்றெ எண கழைஞ்ஞு பொன் கொண்டுப்பு கலியம்
11. இரண்டு பண்ணி சர்த்திச்சன்[7] பொழன் இரவ்[8]
12. வி [ய*]

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! In the month of Kaṇṇi of the year in which Jupiter stood in Tulā, while Pōḷaṇ Iravi was governing the country, Kōdai Puṟaiyaṇ made one horn with twenty *kaḷañju* (*of gold*); and Pōḷaṇ Iravi, adding to it one flower, made a sacred cloth at a cost of fifty-three *kaḷañju* (*of gold*) and presented it to the god at Tirukkālkkarai.

On that very day, Kōdai Puṟaiyaṇ and Kōdai Śrīkaṇṭhaṇ of Vēśālimaṅgalam together made an *udarabandhana* with twelve *kaḷañju* of gold and presented to it (*to the god*). On that day also, Pōḷaṇ Iravi made two flower ornamented pots with eight *kaḷañju* of gold and presented them (*to the god*).

No. 46.— Tirukkakkarai inscription of Keralakesari.

This inscription in the Vaṭṭeḻuttu alphabet and the Tamiḻ language is engraved on the proper left of entrance into the first *prākāra* of the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkākkarai. The beginning of the inscription is very much damaged; but there is no doubt as regards the name Kēraḷakēsari. It is unfortunate that the portion immediately following the name, is so badly worn as to leave no trace of letters. Kēraḷakēsari might have been one of the ruling chiefs of the country; and the obligation thrown on the officers (*adhikāri*) also indicates it, besides his name. I compared the palaeography of this epigraph with several others and found that it cannot be later than the 10th century A. D.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of land to the temple at Tirukkākkarai, for meeting the expenses of the various items required for it. No proper names occur in this record.

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1 Read பழாரர்க்கு.

2 Read போழன்ரவி.

3 Read ஐம்பத்து.

4 The syllables வ்வ்வி are written above அன்றெ.

5 Read வேசாலிமங்கலத்து.

6 Read சார்த்திச்சார்.

7 Read சார்த்திச்சான்.

8 Delete வ்.

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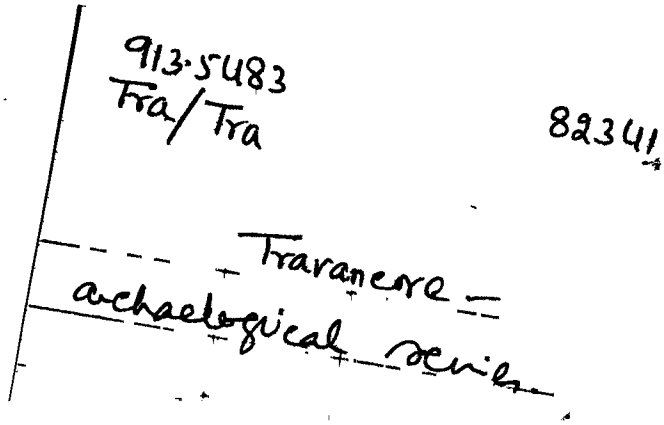

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